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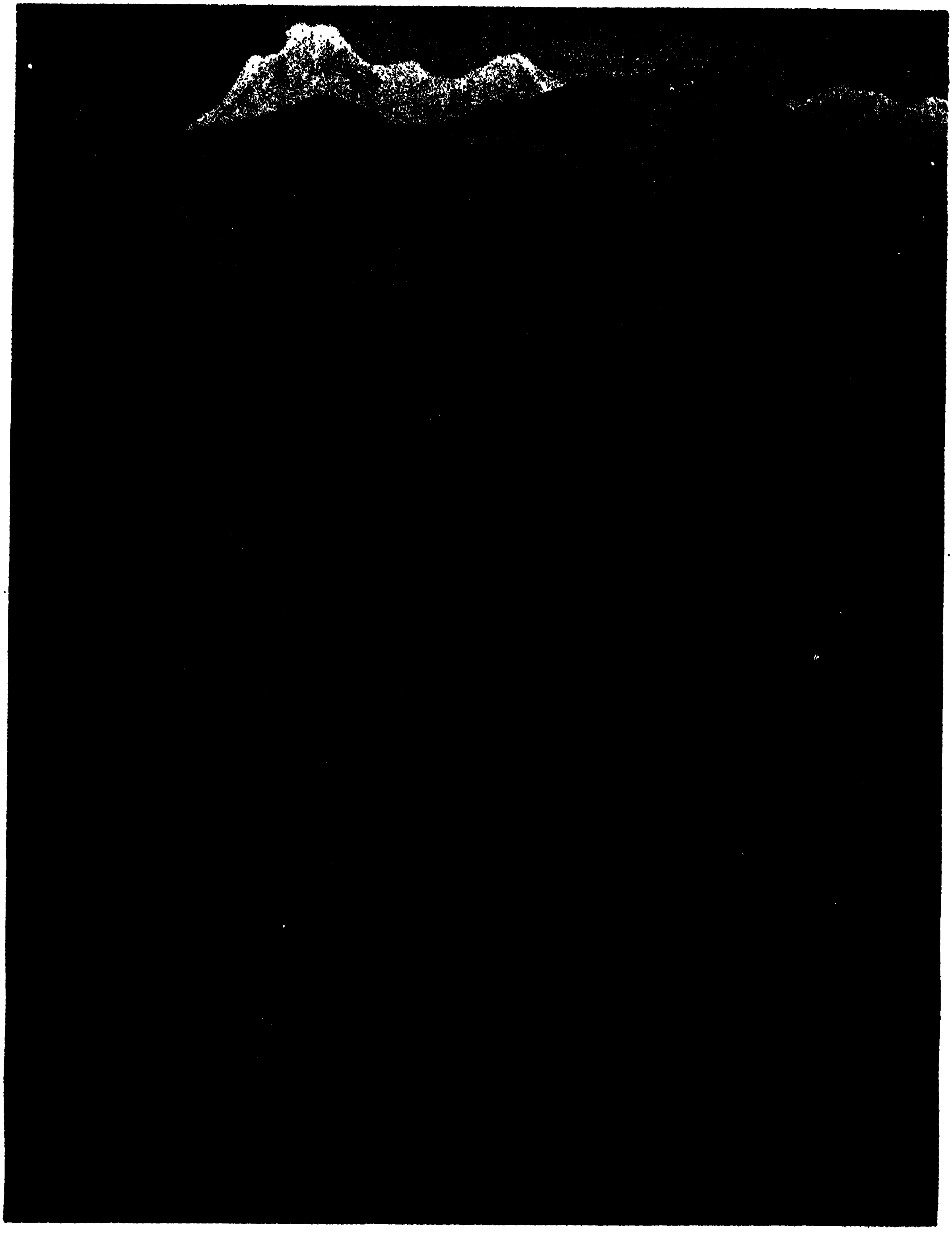
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Manindrabhusan Gupta

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NOTES

"Do Our Troops Want More Brothels"?

The Calcutta Diocesan Magazine states under the above caption how in Calcutta "at the moment. in the very heart of the residential areas, respectable people are being asked to turn out of their houses by the authorities in order to make way for brothels." The Journal further says:

> The area affected lies between Marquis Street and Ripon Street. Residents have been visited by the police accompanied by prostitutes, and told that their homes are required 'for brothels for the military.'
>
> Already the scheme has begun to take shape. Objections made in recent months by local residents to this immoral use of certain houses have had no effect. Fresh houses are being turned into brothels already. There are indications that the building next door to Saint Mary's Home and Hospital for Aged Women is to be used as a place for the medical examination of prostitutes.

The paper very properly demands that the whole scheme be dropped and asks:

> When our troops are quartered in their own country, are brothels multiplied on their behalf? In Chester, in Bristol, in Plymouth, in Bath, in York—in a dozen other lovely old English towns, do the benevolent authorities go round clearing decent folk out of their homes in order to plant brothels in the heart of the town?

While referring at some length to this disgraceful affair, *The Guardian*, the well-known Christian weekly of Madras, observes:

> On the merits of the question, we have no hesitation in cursing the method with 'bell, book and candle.' But let us not forget that all this is being done before the mass of Hindus and Muslims whom our devoted missionaries and evangelists are working to convert into Christianity. Many of them, as is pointed out by Mr. Bately in the columns of our contemporary, doubtless suppose that, patronised as it is by 'Christian' soldiers, it represents Christian standards.

Our contemporary appeals to British women of India and to women in Britain to see that "the reprehensible practice is stopped at once" and calls upon Christian bodies "to move in the matter and if necessary, make trouble till the whole scheme is dropped." We join with our Christian contemporary in condemning the obnoxious policy followed by the authorities in the matter. *The Guardian* states "that it has been assured that the military has nothing to do in the matter." If that is so, it is incumbent upon public-spirited citizens to find out the person or department responsible for it and to take effective steps to stop the evil.

S. K. L.

Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee

It is with deep regret that we record the passing away of Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee at his residence in Calcutta on Sunday, the 6th December, 1942, in his sixty-ninth year. His death creates a void in the public life of the country which it will be difficult to fill.

After a brilliant career as a practising lawyer he had served as a judge of the Calcutta High Court from 1924 to 1936 and acted more than once during that period as Chief Justice of that Court. He was knighted on the eve of his retirement from the Bench. He was subsequently appointed to act as Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive

Council in the vacancy caused by the absence on leave of Sir N. N. Sircar, the permanent incumbent. He also acted as Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal. The communal system introduced in the present constitution of India as also the folly of the Secondary Education Bill brought him to the forefront in the public life of the country and he threw himself heart and soul in the movement against these obnoxious measures. He took a prominent part in the counsels of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and the Provincial Hindu Mahasabhas in Calcutta and Patna.

In all these spheres of his public activities, as a lawyer, a judge, a public servant, a public man, he won universal esteem and admiration for his great abilities, independence of character and impartiality as also for his winning manners and charming disposition. We offer our sincerest condolence to the bereaved family.

S. K. L.

Muslim Students and the Convocation of the Dacca University

Sir Mirza Ismail delivered the Convocation Address of the Patna University on November 27, 1942 as also of the Dacca University on December 2, 1942. In his speech at Patna, Sir Mirza, among other important matters, spoke about India's essential unity and exposed the ridiculous absurdity of the position taken up by Mr. Jinnah and his entourage on the two-nation theory. This view also received emphasis in his speech at Dacca. Both his addresses were thoughtful and would be read with pleasure and profit by enlightened people all over the country. Muslim students of the Dacca University, however, took a different view of Sir Mirza Ismail's address at Patna. As a mark of their protest Muslim candidates, who had registered themselves for attending the Convocation to receive their diplomas, absented themselves from the function and groups of Muslim students picketed and prevented Muslim members of the Executive Council of the Dacca University, Muslim teachers and Muslim students of the University from attending the Convocation. Khan Bahadur Dr. M. Hasan, Vice-Chancellor and Khan Bahadur Nasiruddin Ahmed, Registrar, somehow managed to be present. As reported in the Press, only a few Muslims were present at the function and it is significant that this was the first time in the history of the University when the Chancellor was not able to be present at this annual function. His Excellency in a message expressed his regret at his inability to be present owing to sudden indisposition.

S. K. L.

Sir A. H. Ghuznavi and Khan Bahadur S. M. Jan's Condemnation of Dacca Muslim Students' Conduct

Both Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, who is also President of the Central Mahomedan Association, and Khan Bahadur Sheikh Mohammad Jan, Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, have set an excellent example by condemning in the strongest terms the behaviour of Muslim students of the Dacca University towards Sir Mirza Ismail, in statements issued to the press immediately after the Convocation Address at Dacca was over. "By insulting one of their eminent co-religionists," says Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, "they have not only insulted themselves but tarnished the fair name of Dacca." He adds :

> I wonder what Sir Mirza had done to merit this sort of reception at the hands of his own co-religionists. In his Convocation Address at the Patna University, he passionately advocated the cause of Indian unity and the building up of one strong Indian nation. Well, Sir Mirza was not alone in holding such a view. There are many other Muslims who hold similar views—men, who would prefer a strong, peaceful and United India to an India whose people are constantly at war with each other. By upholding Indian unity Sir Mirza did not, I believe, give offence to any political party in this country.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Jan in his statement says :

> Student community in India in general and Muslim students in particular, will hang down their heads in shame at the behaviour of some Muslim students of Dacca in not only boycotting the Dacca University Convocation addressed by such an experienced statesman and illustrious educationist as Sir Mirza Ismail, but also in resorting to picketing at the gates of Curzon Hall in order to prevent others from attending the meeting in protest of "one nation theory advocated by him." Free and honest expression of thought is one of four freedoms for which Allied Nations, according to President Roosevelt, are fighting. If we lost it on domestic matters, all our advocacy for self-determination in strict sense of the term according to some Muslim Leaguers or in wider sense as understood by United India, goes to the wind. One may believe in Pakistan and regard himself as belonging to a different nation, but he cannot coerce others to agree to what they do not believe or compel them not to hear what they want to hear.
>
> I hope representative student organisations all over India, irrespective of party affiliations, will condemn with one voice these tactics of Fascist origin, so that these may not be repeated again in our public life, and though we may not gain full economic freedom which we all desire in order to build up happy India, we may

not lose what we have already got, namely, free expression of our views and elementary human right to convince others by arguments and free discussions, without which all progress of the world may come to an end.

It is gratifying to observe Muslim leaders condemning the improper conduct of Muslim students at the Dacca University.

S. K. L.

Benares Hindu University

At the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Court of the Benares Hindu University, held on the 28th November, 1942, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, made an important statement on the work of the University. In view of the difficult situation created at the University as a result of the wave of excitement and indignation that swept the country on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other political leaders, Sir Sarvapalli's statement will certainly reassure to a certain extent the public mind about the future of the University. The University buildings were requisitioned by the Government under the Defence of India Rules and for a time, Sir Sarvapalli says, it seemed that they might not be able to start work for an indefinite period. Happily, we are told, the University has been able to resume its activities and is now getting on smoothly. As the financial prospects for the year do not appear to be hopeful, efforts are being made to control expenditure, of course, in conformity with the obligations that the University owes to its students and teachers. A distinguished Committee has been appointed to report on the academic and financial sides of the University.

S. K. L.

University Convocation Addresses

During the last few weeks Annual Convocations of a number of our Universities have been held. The Convocation Addresses delivered at these functions deal with some of our most pressing educational and other connected questions. These require the closest attention of the authorities, educationalists and public men in the country alike. Unfortunately, the stress of more exciting events monopolise the attention of most of these people. The result is that educational problems demanding immediate consideration and solution are treated with the scantiest notice. We desire to refer, though only very briefly, to some of these matters with the object of inviting the serious attention of people interested in safeguarding the future welfare of the country and its people to the need of tackling them without any delay. Sir C. V. Raman delivered a most interesting address at the Convocation of the Madras University held in the latter part of November. He very appropriately described the production and diffusion of knowledge " as the greatest industry, the key industry of a nation," and among other things stressed the value of research in basic sciences. His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore delivered the Convocation Address of the Annamalai University at Chidambaram on the 9th December last. His Highness made an appeal for cooperation among the universities with a view to avoiding unnecessary duplication of work along with an uneconomic use of the resources available to them. This is certainly a weighty suggestion and deserves consideration.

In this connection the Maharaja of Travancore urged the need of larger and more liberal educational endowments and commended to the notice of the generous public the munificent endowments made by Palit and Tagore in Bengal for the advance of education.

S. K. L.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Plea for Indian Independence

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, made an impressive speech at the Convocation of the University, held on the 29th November, 1942. In making a passionate plea for Indian independence, Sir Sarvapalli registered a vigorous and spirited protest against the recent pronouncements and policy of those responsible for the Government of India, both in this country and in Britain. It was impossible for those who had not experienced foreign rule to realise, the speaker said, how deadening this was to the soul of a country. He added that a nation that had produced such culture and such men, as India had produced for centuries, had a right to independence to shape her own future in keeping with her past; India was not always to be a passive instrument of outsiders' wills and forces. While pointing out how India had always stood against isolation and narrow sectionalism, Sir Sarvapalli stated :

> India never stood for national and cultural isolation. Her spiritual heights rest on a basis that embraces all humanity. Wherever men love reason, shun darkness, turn towards light, praise virtue, despise meanness, hate vulgarity, kindle sheer beauty, wherever minds are sensitive, hearts generous, spirits free, there is your country. Let us adopt that loyalty to humanity instead of a sectional devotion to one part of the human race.

S. K. L.

Sir Mirza Ismail on Indian Unity

Sir Mirza Ismail delivered the Convocation Address of the Patna University on November 27, 1942 and of the Dacca University on December 2, 1942. In both his speeches, the speaker referred to a number of important educational problems and made thoughtful suggestions. These, no doubt, require careful consideration. But more important than his discussion of these subjects was the manner in which he met the views of those who urged that India was not, and could not be, one nation, and that a permanent conflict of interests existed which made impossible any singleness of consciousness and constitution. In his speech at Patna Sir Mirza said :

> If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, it is just this that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate: ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory, of a single nationhood. . . . To me, India, one Nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one. I see, too, all around the growth of this consciousness. This is the land of all of us, to whatever race or creed we may belong.

While emphasising this point in his Dacca speech Sir Mirza observed : "In unity alone there is freedom and in freedom alone lies real life and happiness," and added : "The destiny of India is unity." The speaker very appropriately referred to the obstruction put in the way of educational progress during war-time. In this connection, he cited the laudable example of Britain, where even during the war, far-reaching plans of educational advance are being considered, and said :

> The postponement of educational advance would be specially unwise in India where we are only at the beginning of the education of the masses, and when the so-called higher education is so far below the level of what the education for Indians in India should be. Personally, I feel that in India, it would be tragic from every point of view to restrict expenditure on education and other forms of social services on the plea that India is at war.

The tragedy to which Sir Mirza Ismail refers in his speech at Dacca, is being actually enacted in this country by stinting educational expenditure and limiting educational activities in every conceivable way.

S. K. L.

War-time Education in China

At the Annual University Convocations held during the last few weeks, more than one speaker referred to the inspiring example of China for pushing forward educational advance during the war. As Mirza Ismail points out, notwithstanding the sufferings of a deadly struggle which has now lasted for five years she has not relaxed her educational efforts. The terms of her educational appropriations as laid down in the draft constitution for China give eloquent testimony to her remarkable enthusiasm for educational uplift. Article 137 of the Constitution runs thus :

> Educational appropriations shall constitute no less than 15% of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than 30% of the total amount of the provincial, district, and municipal budgets, respectively.

While imploring that there should be no relaxation of educational effort on the plea of war, the Maharani of Travancore in her speech at Guntur eulogised in impressive terms the achievements of China in the matter. Her Highness said :

> The future opens up a vista of infinite possibilities. and we are noticing all around us and even in the midst of the prevailing turmoil the result of what can be done by courageous enthusiasm and nation-wide effort. The chronicle of what is being achieved in the Chinese Universities is one of epic grandeur. Assailed from the air and on land, the apparatus and even the furniture of the Universities were bodily shifted and taken from place to place by students and teachers alike so that even in the midst of the clash of arms and the assaults of the dive-bomber and the machine-gun, the boys and girls of China were not deprived of the mental and spiritual training which was their due.

The Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar also in his Presidential Address at the All-India Educational Conference held at Indore on the 27th December last commended to its notice the example of China.

S. K. L.

Mr. Edward Thompson on Censorship of Indian News

The nature of censorship that is being exercised by the authorities in Britain and India against a proper dissemination of news about India as also the character of the campaign that is being carried on with a view to smashing the Congress have very naturally aroused deep resentment in the minds of right-thinking people. One gets an idea of the extent of this censorship from a letter from the pen of Mr. Edward Thompson, the well-known British writer, who makes a spirited protest against these dishonourable devices in the columns of the English weekly, *The Spectator*. Mr. Thompson writes :

> We know only the little we are officially told, which for the last few weeks has been much less than has happened. If there should happen something which left lasting hatred between us and India, there is no reason why we should hear of it till long afterwards. Jalianwalabagh was in April, 1919, and knowledge of it seeped out in December; even the Secretary of State, as Arthur

Henderson remarked, had not known the facts. All mails, news, wireless, all sea and air passages are now rigidly controlled, and no one not hundred-per-cent, approved by the India Office can leave England. The cables and radio tell India exactly what is considered good for her to know, which in the case of Burma and Malaya later revealed discrepancies with the events and have left a dread that India if attacked would not be defended as we should defend Britain, but be merely a military base. . . .

Mr. Thompson concludes his letter by asking, "What will it profit us if we succeed in smashing Congress—and lose also our chance of a civilised friendship with India hereafter—and immensely drag out this war, its blood, sweat, tears ?"

S. K. L.

Sir M. Visveswaraya on Development of Indian Industries and Post-war Reconstruction

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation held in Bombay, on the 20th December last, Sir M. Visveswaraya made a very important pronouncement on war-time development of Indian industries and post-war reconstruction. Sir M. Visveswaraya makes a scathing criticism of the policy followed by the authorities in the matter, makes a number of practical and well-considered constructive suggestions, and calls upon the people in every district and region to organise appropriate councils, committees or other corporate bodies according to local circumstances "to promote self-help and joint effort among themselves." He shows how the authorities "have all along shown a rooted antipathy to the growth of industries"; points out how such important heavy industries as locomotives, automobiles, aeroplanes, internal combustion engines, manufacture of dye-stuffs, shipping, steel and heavy engineering and chemical industries generally, "have failed to materialise through failure of Government support,"—in fact, in some of which, schemes, worked up by private promoters at great expense and trouble "have actually been obstructed by Government from the very inception"; and discloses that while development in India has been discouraged, foreign exploitation has been encouraged at very great sacrifice of the resources of the country, causing incalculable loss to India. A Consultative Committee of Economists with several Reconstruction Committees was set up more than a year ago by the Government of India but no information is available to the public as to what these bodies have so far done. Sir M. Visveswaraya says :

"The extraordinary feature in the situation is that Government have been hindering instead of helping industries. They have no policy or plan, no unified conception of what they are doing or what they propose to do, in a manner which gravely affects the purchasing power of the 400 millions of our population."

With a view to averting the possible danger of international economic war as soon as the war is over, and to give the country adequate protection Sir M. Visveswaraya urges the appointment of a representative Central Council of business men, experts and leaders in science and politics to watch the trends and make preparations to meet all possible obstacles and opposition. The proposed organisation may be called a 'Development Board' or an 'Economic Council' and may take the place of the existing Consultative Committee of Economists on Post-war Reconstruction. In view of the promised transfer of political power to Indian hands when the war is over, Sir M. Visveswaraya calls upon the people to give the subject proper consideration. This will assuredly enable them to gain knowledge, capacity for initiative and sufficient self-confidence to put their resources and opportunities to the best use and lay the foundations of a prosperous future for themselves and the large masses of population in their neighbourhood.

S. K. L.

Beveridge Scheme to Secure 'Freedom from Want'?

At the instance of the British Government in Britain, Sir William Beveridge has drawn up a scheme to guarantee "freedom from want" to every man, woman and child in that country by a single state social insurance. The scheme is described as follows in a message from London, dated December 1, by *Reuter* :

> Sir W. Beveridge proposes this assurance as of right and not charity but on condition of service and contribution. His plan would ensure a basic minimum income to everyone in need, irrespective of the cause of the need, with adequate benefits for unemployment, sickness, accident, widowhood or retirement through age. This 'national minimum' income is designed to encourage, not to stifle, individual incentive to earn more than the minimum social security. And the benefit must be associated with measures to enable the people to regain normal earnings as soon as possible—training of the unemployed and treatment of the sick and disabled in order to make and keep men and women fit for service to the community.

Sir William Beveridge in the course of a subsequent note elucidates the scheme in the following words :

> 'The Atlantic Charter, among other aims, speaks of securing for all, improved labour standards, economic

advancement, and social security. The Security Plan in my Report is a plan for turning the last two words—social security—from words into deeds; for securing that no one in Britain, willing to work while he can, is without income sufficient to meet at all times, the essential needs of himself and of his family.

Sir William Beveridge's scheme has not yet been considered by the British Government. Neither has it been discussed in the British Parliament. But it has been discussed very widely and has evoked widespread approval and admiration both in America and Britain. The *New York Herald Tribune* remarks that "it will mark a stimulating and exciting step in the development of our ideas of democratic future." Mr. Edward Murrow, the commentator of the Columbia Broadcasting System, describes the Beveridge Report as "the first major effort to translate the words of the Atlantic Charter into deeds." We are told that the United States of America counterpart to the scheme will be forthcoming from President Roosevelt when the United States Congress meets in the present month. Sir M. Visveswaraya refers to Sir William Beveridge's report in his speech at the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation held in Bombay on the 20th December last. He suggests that considering that in this country unemployment and short employment in rural areas are a century-old phenomena, and destitution and poverty are a marked feature of human habitations in many parts of the interior, the Economic Council proposed by him to be established should be entrusted with the work of conducting proper enquiries and recommending suitable remedies for affording adequate relief.

S. K. L.

Appeal to the Viceroy to End Indian Deadlock

A *Reuter* cable from London, dated the 27th December, runs thus:

Officers of the National Peace Council have sent a cable to Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, urging him to mark the extension of his term of office by a "fresh effort with Indian leaders to end the present deadlock." Among the signatories are Sir Arthur Eddington, the President; the Bishop of Birmingham, Doctor E. W. Barnes; the Chief Rabbi, Doctor J. H. Hertz; Lady Parmoor and the Dean of Canterbury, Doctor Hewlett Johnson.

In his address at the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, held in Calcutta on the 17th December last, Lord Linlithgow discussed at some length the situation arising out of the present political deadlock in India. His Excellency, however, made an entirely wrong approach to the problem. The Viceroy ascribed the deadlock to absence of agreement between the parties, the conflicting claims of communities, and repeated all the other old arguments that had been put forward, times without number, by the British Premier, the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy himself and their reactionary and anti-Indian supporters against any change of the present Indian policy. Influential and weighty opinion in America, China, England and India has alike been insistent in their demands that a liberal and generous policy should be followed to bring to an end the Indian deadlock. Lord Linlithgow said in the course of his speech referred to above: "Believe me when I say that if in ten months' time or so, I can help to bridge these gulfs which I have spoken of, I shall live a happy man." The utterances of the British authorities, the fantastic misrepresentation of their propagandists in America and elsewhere, the way in which they still cling to the old theory of Empire, and the manner in which the administration is being carried on from top to bottom in this country, do not give any hope that there is any prospect of a proper settlement of the Indian problem in the near future.

S. K. L.

Price Control in India

Prices in India have been moving steadily upward since February, 1941. There was a sharp rise in prices immediately after the declaration of the war, and by December, 1939, the weekly Index Number rose to 135·9. A period of generally declining prices however set in, and by February, 1941, the Index Number fell to 109·7. The rise which has begun since then went up to 155·2 by June, 1942. During the past few weeks there has been a steep and in some cases abnormal rise in the prices of foodstuffs and essential commodities.

The indication of prices by Index Numbers in this country is in itself fallacious. No Index Numbers for retail prices are compiled in India. Those compiled for wholesale prices are defective because, in these days, the prices are widely fluctuating within very short periods. There is practically no stability in wholesale prices and it very widely differs from the retail prices.

The price control machinery of the Central Government and of the Bengal Government has failed to check the rising prices although it secured some amount of success in the early months of the war. The Government of India had convened six Price Control Conferences which passed numbers of resolutions expressing

their pious wish to control prices, but nothing tangible has so far come out of them. For example, the First Price Control Conference held on October 18 and 19, 1939 reached the following conclusions among others :

(1) That the list of essential commodities already notified was adequate.

(2) That in the case of imported goods and those that were of all-India importance, the basic price at the first stage should be fixed centrally, and in the case of other goods by the Provinces.

(3) That the normal basis should be "replacement cost."

(4) That it was desirable to develop a "price intelligence service."

In the Second Conference held on January 24 and 25, 1940, the need for co-ordination of activities was emphasised.

The Third Conference was held on October 16 and 17, 1941, and the foremost attention was paid to the cases of cotton cloth and yarn, prices of which had soared as a result of the freezing order against Japan. Plans for the production of standard cloth and control of distribution of yarn were discussed. The wheat problem had also by that time assumed serious proportions, and the then Commerce Member of the Government of India, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who presided over the Conference, had observed that "It might be possible, or even necessary for the Central Government to intervene at any stage if there was a tendency for a rise in the price of wheat." More than a year has elapsed since this Conference. The standard cloth is not yet to be seen. The control of yarn has failed, and atta still remains a very dear commodity procurable with difficulty and at an unusually high price in spite of the appointment of a Wheat Commissioner for India and a revision of the maximum prices for wheat. Very little has been done to co-ordinate supply with demand by providing better transport facilities leading to a better distribution of this commodity to meet the demands from different areas in the country.

The Fourth Conference was held on February 6 and 7, 1942. In this Conference, it was recognised "that the accommodation of traffic to the most efficient use of the limited transport facilities available was a consideration of great importance and that the control over distribution in co-ordination with transport arrangements might have to take precedence over control of prices. A distinction was drawn between commodities (like wheat) which were subjects of all India distribution and others (like rice and bajra) which, broadly speaking, had to move only within certain zones. To deal with the latter, the idea of Regional Price and Supply Boards, to work in close relation with Regional Transport Boards, was evolved."

By the middle of December, the Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal, had sent a telegram to the War Transport Board, Government of India, drawing the latter's attention to the "serious shortage in the supply of wagons for the transport of coal to Calcutta." Until a week before the telegram was sent, only one-third of the requisite number of wagons was being placed at the disposal of Bengal by the Controller of Coal distribution. This number had been increased to some extent on a representation from the Directorate of Civil Supplies, Bengal, but the total number of wagons available every day is considerably short of the minimum requirements of Bengal. This shows that there is very little co-ordination between a Provincial Directorate of Civil Supplies which is required to control prices and the War Transport Board which is to provide wagons for the movement of essential commodities.

The Fifth Conference held on April 7 and 8, 1942, emphasised the "vital importance of linking control over distribution with price concontrol."

In the Sixth Conference held on September 7, 1942, the present Commerce Member said :

"It is clear that so long as the controlling authority does not control the supply of commodities and their distribution and is not in a position to sell in the market large quantities through recognised trade agencies at the controlled rates, the legal maximum cannot be made effective over a large range of the market. Control over supplies and distribution are, therefore, essential and vital corollaries to effective price control."

From all these proceedings, it is clear that the Government of India was aware of the futility of attempting at price control without making transport facilities available for the distribution of essential commodities all over the country. They failed to arrange and encourage the manufacture of wagons when there was still time to do so, and the Member-in-charge of Transport permitted a reduction of 147,000 wagons, which were available for loading, within a period of 15 months. In April, 1941, 661.000 wagons were loaded on Class I Railways, which came down to 514,000 only in June, 1942. The Transport Member has warned the public only a few weeks ago to be prepared to suffer the consequences of a further reduction in the supply of wagons.

Transportation difficulties is not, however, the only cause of rise of prices. It has been caused by numerous factors including increase

in note issue, shortage of supplies, lack of production of machinery and tools in the country leading to the establishment of new industries, lack of production of wagons and steam ships for facilitating inland trasport, shortage of supplies, transportation difficulties over all the three types of routes, viz., rail, road and water. And lastly, the most disturbing factor has been that of hoarding and speculation. Had the Government of India undertaken the task of regulating supply with demand by increasing manufactures and replacing imported goods in the case of essential commodities and by co-ordinating supply with transport facilities by rail, road and water, the abnormal rise in prices should have been offset. But the failure of the Government of India to implement the decisions of the Six Price Control Conferences and the very weak and faltering nature of the "emphatic" wishes expressed at these Conferences will prompt the public to think that they have hardly anything to expect from the present Government of India. The example of China will make it clear that a truly National Government is an essential prerequisite before any attempt at an effective control of prices of commodities essential for the civilian requirements can be made.

Price Control in India and China Compared

The causes of the high rise of prices in China are practically the same with India, *viz.*, "increase in note issue, hoarding, speculation, shortage of supplies, lack of production tools and transportation difficulties." The Chinese Government endeavoured to regulate the demand and supply of essential commodities. The production and distribution of iron, steel, cement, cotton yarn, cotton piecegoods, oil, fuel and paper have been placed under control. Besides these, controlled articles, the sale of salt, sugar, tobacco, liquor, tea and matches have been placed under Government monopoly. The Government has created a fund of 45 crores of Chinese dollars for price stabilisation purposes. Part of this sum is being used for purchase and redistribution of commodities and part is being utilised in granting loans to the producers of essential commodities. A machinery for co-ordination was created in February, 1941, *i.e.*, soon after the Second Indian Price Control Conference was held. A summary of how China has attempted to solve the problem of price control is given below. The source of our information is the brilliant work "China after five years of war" published from Chunking.

In February, 1941, an Economic Council was formed in the Executive Yuan with a Secretariat and eleven sections in charge of political affairs, food, commodity, trade co-operatives, wages, transportation, finance investigation, inspection and military affairs. The duty of the Council is to plan and to administer price stabilisation activities on a nationwide scale, while all Government organs concerned were to be responsible in their own sphere of work. Although functions of the Council have been absorbed by the National Mobilisation Council since May, 1942, this arrangement is still in force. For instance, the Ministry of Food is to control prices of food supplies; the Ministry of Economic Affairs the prices of industrial and mining products and daily necessities; the Ministry of Social Affairs labour wages; the Ministry of Communications the railway, water and animal transportation charges; and the Foreign Exchange Control Commission of the Ministry of Finance the prices of imported goods and their relations with foreign exchange. Last of all, the Joint Board of the Four Government Banks is to handle matters dealing with the price stabilisation fund. Until last May, the Economic Council was the highest organisation in price control, being responsible for planning, co-ordinating, directing and supervising the activities of all subordinate organs in the country. It maintained an economic police to investigate cases of hoarding and profiteering.

No such co-ordination among the different Government departments under the direction of a Central Council, has even been attempted by the Government of India.

The Economic Council made an exhaustive study of the demand and supply of commodities, the sources of their production, their price relations and other economic factors. As soon as the Council learned of a rise in the prices of certain goods, in wage or freight charges, it immediately informed the Government organs concerned to take effective counter-measures. Based on reports from its field-workers, the Council revised price-levels as a basis for stabilisation by local authorities.

In India, no definite economic policy appears to have been pursued in the fixation of prices. In most of the cases, market price has ruled higher than the controlled prices. The Government of India seems to be serious about controlled prices only where purchases by the Government and the U. K. C. C. are concerned.

Since the inauguration of Commodity Administration of the Ministry of Economic Affairs in May, 1942, a stricter control of commodities has been enforced. Divided into the departments of general affairs, supervision, control and finance, the administration is financed with a capital of $450,000,000 from the price stabilisation fund. The organisation of the new administration was motivated by two objects. They are to effect a rational supply of daily necessities and to lower commodity prices by eliminating, hoarding and profiteering. A great part of its work is to investigate and to register all daily necessities with regard to their production, distribution and consumption.

No such stabilisation fund has been created in India and no attempt at the registration of daily necessities with regard to their production, distribution and consumption is known to

have been made although the Government of India is better supplied with economic statistics.

In China, control was to start with fuel for household purposes and clothing materials and some other items. In India, price control was started with nothing and has ended in nothing.

An important task of the Administration is to establish storage-houses in different places to keep agricultural and industrial products. This has been a good way to safeguard against any possible shortage of commodities and to keep a constant flow of articles from the producers to the consumers.

In the cotton and wheat areas of India, some attempt at the establishment of warehouses has been made, but in Bengal nothing has been done in this direction inspite of repeated demands from the public.

All Cotton Mills must get their allotted quota of yarn. The production and supply of cotton was first regulated followed by the control of yarn and piecegoods. The Administration has set standards for the quality, prices and production of cotton cloth.

Not to speak of such organised control over the manufacture and sale of cotton yarn and cloth, the Government of India have been unable to bring out their much advertised standard cloth in the market in spite of their attempts during the past one long year.

An important step in China to stop profiteering is the institution of Government monopolies on articles of daily use. In India, the reverse is the case. Large business houses with enormous fortunes made during these three years, have turned out to play the role of monopolists as a result of the short-sighted policy of the Government of India pursued in regulating trade, commerce and industry under the Defence of India Rules. Export, import and transport restrictions imposed by the Government of India has steadily ousted large number of smaller competitors out of the field of competition, virtually conceding monopoly powers to large concerns and thus placing the helpless and unprotected consumers in their hands.

India and China both have a population of 400 millions each. The resources of China are much poorer than those of India. In spite of all her limitations, China has succeeded in controlling rising prices with a stabilisation fund of 450 million dollars but India with all her resources, has been unable to do anything tangible in this direction because she has no National Government responsible to the people.

Appeal of the American Publicists

The following appeal to the American public to express their opinions freely on the question of Indian freedom appeared recently as a full page advertisement in the *New York Times* :

Is India America's business ? Yes, because we need India's millions on our side against Japan. The people of India do not want Japan. They want freedom. If they can be assured of freedom, they will fight against Japan as China is fighting.

How can the Indian people be assured ? Not by words and not by promises. They fought bravely through the first World War, believing that they would be given freedom through an orderly process of reforms to begin immediately after victory. They waited two years and nothing happened. Then they began their own long struggle of which today is only a part. They will not believe promises again.

Action is required, not promises—and action now, before it is too late. All is not well in India. The independence movement is only beginning in full force.

Our Chinese allies are greatly disturbed and are anxious for the allied cause in Asia.

We believe that the present situation in India is unnecessary and can be changed. We believe that it must be changed for our common cause, victory for the Allied Nations.

The Indians themselves have declared that they are ready for fresh negotiations looking toward a government of all parties and religions as a step toward a federal union which might be like that of the United States. We do not prescribe what that government should be but *the variety of India's people should not be an obstacle to their union in independence, in view of our own experience as a nation.* We are confident that all Indian elements will participate in a provisional government which would be modelled on a federation.

The time for mediation in India is now.

Japan is busy exploiting the apathy of a people sinking into hopelessness and sullen rebellion. The leaders of the people who alone might rouse them and unite them into resistance are in jails.

It is idle for the United Nations to wait, expecting that to happen which cannot happen unless it is planned and provided for.

We are in grave danger lest the disasters of Burma and Malaya be repeated in India with even more effect.

That Indian readiness to negotiate is unchanged is proved by Gandhi's expressed desire to meet the Viceroy before he was imprisoned and again by his recent appeal from prison. It is only to the benefit of the Allied Nations to take advantage of this reasonable attitude shown not only by Gandhi but by other Indian leaders as well.

We therefore urge upon President Roosevelt and upon Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that they recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and that they use their good offices to ask the British Government and the National Congress of India and other leaders to open new conferences, with mutual determination to find that way of action which will most speedily bring India into the ranks of our allies by beginning now the programme of her independence.

We urge all those who are in sympathy with this statement to express it in all ways open to free American public opinion.

Among the signatories to the appeal are :

Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union; Bruce Bliven, Editor, *The New Republic*; Clare Booth; Louis Bromfield, Author; Pearl S. Buck, Novelist; Stuart Chase, Economist; Dr. Sherwood Eddy, former Y. M. C. A. National Secretary in India; John Erskine, Author; John Gunther; Henry I. Harriman,

former President, U. S. Chamber of Commerce; Professor William E. Hocking, Harvard University; Paul Kellogg, Editor, *Survey Graphic*; Dr. Frank Kingdon, President, Union for Democratic Action; Freda Kirchwey, Editor and Publisher, *The Nation*; Alfred M. Landon, former Governor of Kansas; Professor Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, former President, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Professor Frederick L. Schuman; William L. Shirer, journalist; Upton Sinclair; Norman Thomas, Chairman, Post-War World Council, New York; Richard J. Walsh, Editor, *Asia*; Walter White, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People; Dr. Mary E. Woolley, former President, Mt. Holyoke College and many others.—*The Hindu*. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

America has solved the problem of minorities. It is her *experience* that racial, religious or cultural differences cannot be any obstacle to union in independence.

Price Control for Whose Benefit?

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member of the Government of India, made the following observation at the opening of the second meeting of the Advisory Panel of Accountants held in New Delhi on December 7 last:

> Since the loss of Hong Kong and Malaya and other Far Eastern countries has brought out all the more clearly the importance of India as an arsenal for the United Nations and has emphasised the necessity of increasing the volume and variety of supplies which she is sending to the various theatres of war. As a result, the demand for goods is becoming more pressing day by day and the range of articles over which those demands are in excess of available supplies is constantly becoming wider. *Government has often to reserve a very large portion, if not the whole, of the capacity of an industry for its own needs, and the field in which the statutory and executive control of Government over the sources of available supplies is exercised is becoming ever more extensive.* The result of all these factors is that the method of inviting tenders and giving contracts on the basis of those tenders is being progressively replaced by a system of settlement by negotiation and this has brought with it new and complex problems in the solution of which you can give us valuable help and advice.
>
> Not the least difficult of these problems is so to conduct our supply operations as to prevent the accrual of excessive profits out of war contracts. In this sphere, our efforts have been directed primarily towards evolving a system whereby we can arrive at a "reasonable and fair price" and, though we cannot claim to have achieved complete success, we have made some progress. In this connection, the method by which fixed prices are verified by reference to the accounts of the contractors and the relating of the amount of profit to the capital employed in the business may be mentioned. In the last resort, the statutory powers which Government have acquired by which they can order work to be carried out compulsorily at fixed prices may have to be employed, but this method is naturally reserved for cases of extreme recalcitrance. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*)

Does the Finance Member mean that 'the Government of India is serious about checking profiteering only when the Government is purchaser and not when the purchases are made by the consuming public? One important reason for the shortage of supplies in the case of certain manufactured articles has also been revealed in his speech.

Christian's View on Indian Deadlock

The Christian Society of Friends in London observed in a statement:

> It is unreal to say that the Indians must first agree among themselves before any advance can now be made and at the same time refuse the means whereby they may come to an understanding.
>
> "We feel indeed that the Christian Mission world is deeply concerned at all such refusals to allow direct efforts at reconciliation.
>
> "We urge, therefore, the removal of the present ban on conversations between the interned leaders and responsible third parties. We urge this as citizens but we urge it much more as Christian people. We earnestly ask for co-operation from our fellow Christians in promoting steps towards understanding and impressing on the Government that the policy of closed door is contrary to Christian public opinion.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Lord Linlithgow prevented the attempt at reconciliation between the Congress and the Muslim League through the mediation of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. The latter's request for permission to see Mahatma Gandhi after his consultations with Mr. Jinnah was turned down by the Viceroy and his reasons for this refusal was most unconvincing. It is difficult to believe that the Viceroy does not realise the impossibility of running the Administration at least in six provinces without the help of the Congress. It is only a truism to say that no constitution however cleverly devised can be worked in India without enlisting the support of the Congress to it. His refusal to permit one, who is genuinely eager for a solution of the present deadlock, to meet Mahatma Gandhi in prison rather smacks of a tendency to bolt the door of negotiations. Negotiations with Congress leaders in prison is nothing new in India.

East African Import Corporation

> New Delhi, Dec. 13.
>
> A deputation, headed by Mr. Hosainbhoi Lalji, M.L.A. (Central) and representatives of businessmen, industrialists and labour arrived here today to wait on the Commerce and Indians Overseas Members in connection with the proposed East African Import Corporation. The deputation will meet the Indians Overseas Member, Mr. M. S. Aney to-morrow and the Commerce Member, Mr. N. R. Sarker on Tuesday.
>
> The deputationists' case is that a company or corporation is being formed in East Africa which will be accepted by the Governments of the East African colonies as the sole channel of importation from India of bleached and unbleached cotton piecegoods, coloured

drills and kanikis. It is stated by the deputationists that the "ostensible reason for the creation of this corporation is that it will save shipping space, remove the shortage of supplies, make equitable distribution and make price control more effective." The deputationists argue that all these grounds are without substance and *this move "on the part of the East African Governments is a move on the part of the European settlers in East Africa to elbow out the economic existence of the Indian settlers in those territories."* They urge on the Government of India to put themselves in communication with the Governments of the East African Colonies and call upon them to stay their hand and do nothing till the matter is fully thrashed out between the two Governments.—*A. P.* (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

The U.K.C.C. is thus to have a sister monopoly corporation very soon. The U.K.C.C. was constituted for trading in the Balkans, but in a short time it spread out its grip to India through the Middle East. Now the E.A.I.C. is going to be formed to oust Indian business from Africa.

Evacuation of Calcutta after the Raids

The New Delhi *communiqué*, published after the first three raids, declared that there had been "no evacuation" of people from Calcutta. A number of telegrams of mutual congratulations passed among the high officials and functionaries cheering up one another and the public. Sir J. P. Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence in the Governor-General's Executive Council went to the length of declaring that "there is no truth whatsoever in the reports that Calcutta is emptying out both by road and rail. Yesterday afternoon the people were going about their businesses as usual and the streets were full of crowds with no thought other than making the most of Christmas festivities." In his overzealousness he forgot that this year there was no attraction for the Christmas festivities owing to the absence of Circuses and Carnivals, and Hindus and Muslims could not be expected to have had gone to the churches for making a "Merry Christmas." With Sir Srivastava's statement was published in the same paper an announcement that arrangements had been made at the Sealdah Station to control crowds there, seats instead of berths would be booked for First and Second Class passengers indicating that not only the poor working class people but also the rich in the city who could pay first class fares were also getting out. and

"on the B. & A. Railway arrangements have been made for *regulating the sale of tickets* for City Booking Offices according to the fixed quotas so that only a *limited number of tickets may be sold everyday, corresponding to the maximum capacity of the respective trains.*" (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

Special arrangements for entrance into the Howrah Station have also been announced to have been made.

During December last, Government made some arrangements for the evacuation of people from Calcutta. A Civil Evacuation Officer was appointed and some bamboo sheds were erected in some places—spending a substantial sum on them. The Government did not think the publication of the news of evacuation as likely to be of any value to the enemy. Conditions regarding evacuation then and now have hardly changed. Threat of invasion is as distant today as it was a year ago. Then why this hush-hush about evacuation this time? *The Statesman*, the foremost British-owned daily in India, has strongly condemned this evasive and illusory method of approaching reality. The real testing time has at last arrived and the public has a right to know what the Government has done during this long period of one year in effecting a peaceful and orderly evacuation of the City. They never grudged the Government money for making these arrangements. The public want more substantial things from the Civil Defence Minister than his flying visits to Delhi and to the Sealdah Station.

There is no doubt that people are leaving the City without waiting for the Government to do their part of the job. The Bengal Government themselves desired that "non-essential" people were unwanted in the City and should better go out. They have nothing to complain or hide if such people move out, it was their duty to assist such people in evacuating. But when the time for evacuation came, the Government were conspicuous by their absence and the people did not wait for them.

A Government which is unable to assist its people in a situation like the present one, can hardly expect the people's moral sympathy and aid. Prompt and sympathetic actions, not press notes and *communiqués*, build up public morale.

Mr. Haddow's Discourse on Indian History

Mr. R. R. Haddow, a British Merchant in Calcutta indulged in the luxury of lecturing on Indian history in his speech delivered at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. Most possibly he came across a school text-book on Indian History written by some English author within the framework of a given school curriculum which his boy might have been reading. The last chapter of the book on the rise and fulfilment of the British Power in India probably fascinated him and he could not resist

the temptation to deliver a discourse on Indian history. We quite realise that he had no time to study the volumes of recent researches in Indian history which have undone the works of many English writers of Indian history and established that even the Muslim conquerors of India were superior to the British. The last, even in the matter of conquest, may not always be the best; Mr. Haddow's own Christian precept would remind him in his less zealous moments that the devil takes the hindmost.

Mr. Haddow said :

"For centuries before the British took over the reins of Government of India, the country's political history has been a long succession of conquests, as wave after wave of new invaders swept over it. . . ."

Indian history had been manufactured in India during the British period. After the manufacture, the consumption had also been carefully planned. Until two or three years ago, Indian history was taught only upto the 3rd class in the schools and was made an optional subject for the Matriculation Standard. Our boys were not to read Indian history as soon as they began to have maturer intelligence. During the next two years, *i.e.*, when the boys were 16-18 years old, they have to study Greek, Roman and British histories for their Intermediate Examination. No Indian history. For the degree course, again, history is an optional subject and three papers are set on it. Two of them are on European and one on Indian history. The paper on Indian history is, again, divided into three parts, 30 marks for the Hindu period which gives the real history of India and the Indian civilisation, and the rest for Muslim and British periods. The glorious achievements in the Muslim period, and its contacts with the Hindu civilisation are taught as little as possible. The emphasis is always laid on the darker side of the Muslim rule, thus bringing out the history of the British period in some relief. The Muslim period produced an Alberuni, an Indo-Saracenic art, a new language—Urdu—which bridged the gulf between the Arabic and Hindi languages, an economic structure formulated on the Hindu revenue system which was enforced by Sher Shah and accepted by Akbar, the son of his enemy Humayun.

The British have brought here railways, motor-cars, electric fans and matches. These are in reality products of time, and have spread out from South America to Japan all round the earth whether they were introduced by the British or not.

The British people boast of bringing law and order in India, but in fact order prevailed in India from Chandra Gupta's reign down to that of Akbar, being disturbed on certain occasions in certain areas when invaders came in. The people enjoyed good Government. There was perfect law and order and in many reigns not a single case of theft was reported. The British brand of law and order so highly spoken of was probably the first to introduce lock and key in every house, every room.

Conquests in India were never complete. Cyrus, Darius, Alexander, Bactrian Greeks, Parthians, etc., conquered only some principalities on the Indus or Western Ganges Valley. The most powerful of these conquerors, Alexander, conquered only some of the small and scattered states in the Punjab and he dared not invade Eastern India for fear of coming into conflict with Magadha. His General Seleucus tried the unfinished job some years later, but was completely defeated in the encounter and had to surrender large territories to Magadha after his defeat. The Sakas, Parthians, Kushans, Huns, Arabs and Turks came as invaders but were absorbed in India amongst her own population.

Mr. Haddow may profitably refer to the British and European history. The number of wars fought in any one decade in Europe would be more than the number of wars fought in India in one century. European history is a history of wars, seven years' war, thirty years' war, hundred years' war—and Indian history is a history of the building of civilisation and culture; attempts at synthesis of music, art, language and government of the two conflicting ideologies—Hindu and Muslim.

Good Government in English history begins from William the Conqueror, some years after the great Muslim scholar Alberuni had written his celebrated book *Indica*, giving an account of Hindu civilisation and philosophy. The accounts of Megasthenes, Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsang and Alberuni have recorded ample proofs that India was enjoying a good orderly government, in spite of the occasional invasions, centuries before English history had begun.

British Trade in India

Mr. Haddow said in the same speech :

"The British assumed responsibility for the governing of India purely because they wished to trade and secure the conditions for respect for agreed treaty and law and absence from violence without which trade was impossible."

Mr. Haddow would do well to read the fol-

lowing passages written by Macaulay. Nobody would claim that Macaulay had penned these words with any political motive or with any object of belittling the British. These passages illustrate how "conditions for respect for agreed treaty and law and absence from violence" was secured by the British in India. This passage was quoted by Florio Hutchisson, better known as George Trigger, and published in his book in London in 1883. The book was his reminiscences during his 18 years' residence in Bengal. Macaulay wrote :

> "The servants of the Company obtained—not for their employers but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents, who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while *30 millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness.* They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Suraj-ud-Dowlah.
>
> "Under their old masters they had at least one resource—when the evil became insupportable the people rose and pulled down the Government. But the English Government was not to be so shaken off. *That Government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the Government of evil genii rather than the Government of human tyrants.* Even despise could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed—the hereditary nobility of mankind—whose skill and valour has so often triumphed in spite of ten-fold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahrattas; and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate. The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighbouring powers, and to all the haughty race presented a dauntless front." (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

George Trigger himself wrote :

> At the time I am speaking of the British adventurers were a rapacious corrupt and disorganised set of men, little caring what means they adopted to amass individual and private wealth, and equally indifferent to the general weal of the Company which they professed to represent. Their proceedings in establishing themselves, their factories and warehouses, as in all other cases were marked by the usual characteristics, and were carried on and achieved entirely by superior tact, cunning, bribery, promises and personal humiliation of the native power. In all these particulars *they showed themselves to possess as little regard as to what means they used to accomplish their wishes as any of the oppressors of India between 326 B.C. and 1757 A.D.* The histories of those times will fully bear out these remarks, which for truth's sake can neither be disguised, forgotten nor silently passed over. *Little or no attention was ever paid to treaties entered into in times of peril; for when the danger disappeared, the Hon. Company either disregarded the letter and spirit of them, or else proceeded to enlarge and alter them.* (Italics ours—Ed., *M. R.*).

The English trade in India was the first to start a systematic drainage of the country's wealth. The following remark by Major Wingate, formerly Revenue Survey Commissioner of the Bombay Presidency, will be illuminating particularly to Mr. Haddow :

> "Not only is it a fact that India has been acquired without the expenditure of a single shilling on the part of this country, but it is equally a fact that, so far from involving outlay, India has regularly paid to Great Britain a heavy tribute, which there is reason for thinking has not fallen far short of the almost incredible sum of a £100 million in the course of the present century! . . . . The exaction of a tribute from India, as a conquered country, would sound harsh and tyrannical in English ears; so that *the real nature of the Indian contribution has been carefully,* though possibly unwittingly, *concealed from the British public, under the more inoffensive appellation of Home charges of the Indian Government.*" (Italics ours—Ed., *M. R.*).

This account was "possibly unwittingly" given for the first 100 years of British rule in India. During the second century, the amount of the Home charges has risen up to £30 million a year.

The ruin of Indian trade and industries during the British rule is a matter of history. Mr. Haddow may profitably read Major B. D Basu's small monograph on the subject, if he has no time to read more voluminous books.

Lord Linlithgow on India's Unity

In the course of his speech at the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce Lord Linlithgow said :

> Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important, as it ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and legitimate claims of the minorities, whether these minorities be great or small. That would be a desirable aim, no one, gentlemen, can doubt who tests that proposition in terms of foreign policy, of tariff policy, of defence policy, of industrial development.

Again :

> Indian unity, subject as I have said to full and sufficient provision for the minorities, accepted as such by those minorities, is of great and real importance if India is to carry the weight which she ought to carry in the counsels of the Empire and of the world.

It is well that Lord Linlithgow at last thinks it proper to declare in favour of India's geographical unity. This, of course, is a belated

acknowledgment of a fact and a reality. The unity had, however, been authoritatively admitted many times before this by Britishers themselves and cannot now with any show of reason and commonsense be in any way questioned or disavowed. With reference to the question of minorities it cannot be said that His Lordship does not know that they have been assured all legitimate. reasonable, and possible safeguards of their political, cultural and religious rights, by the Indian National Congress as well as the majority community and Indian leaders. But they can never agree to an arrangement which reduces the majority, in fact, to a very ineffective minority and favours the very exaggerated claims of certain minorities and minorities of minorities to stand against all progress and reform.

S. K. L.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan

Deep regret will be felt all over India at the sudden death of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan at Lahore at midnight on the 27th December last. He was Premier of the Punjab since the inauguration of the new constitution from April, 1937. Born in June 1892, Sir Sikandar was educated at the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, and subsequently at the University College, London. He was a member of the Punjab Legislature from 1921. He held the post of Temporary Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of the Punjab in 1929, became Revenue Member, Punjab Government, 1930-35, twice acted as Governor of the Punjab for temporary periods (in 1932 and 1934), and was for some time Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. He had to his credit some active military service, having fought during the last war. As Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar gave evidence of his great abilities, tact and skill, both as administrator and politician. Sir Sikandar advocated a spirit of toleration and good understanding between the communities. He showed his earnestness and sincerity in the matter by inaugurating a campaign for the creation of a better communal atmosphere in his Province. In a social gathering, held under the auspices of the authorities of the North-Western Railway, to further the objects of this movement, almost immediately before his passing away, Sir Sikandar made an appeal to the services, particularly responsible officers, to create a better communal atmosphere by their thoughts and deeds within their offices. He advised the officers to approach their problems not in a communal spirit but as Punjabis determined to do justice to all irrespective of the community to which they belonged. If they succeeded in creating a better communal atmosphere within their offices he was sure, he added, that they would bring about communal unity much earlier than through mere social gatherings and that would undoubtedly pave the way for the attainment of their political rights. The Premier said that they should strive for equality of rights for all Punjabis and their ideal should be a free Punjab in a free India. Sir Sikandar never agreed to serve as a gramophone to Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League. He opposed dismemberment of his country and stressed the unity of India.

S. K. L.

Relative Incidents of Venereal Diseases Amongst the British and Indian Troops in India in 1940

From the *Annual Report on the Health of the Army in India for the year 1940*, it appears that the ratios per 1,000 of strength of the British ranks and the Indian troops who are suffering from venereal diseases are as follows :

	Admissions British	Admissions Indian
Venereal diseases	.. 58·1	18·9
Gonorrhœa	.. 30·9	7·5
Soft chancre	.. 8·9	1·4
Syphilis	.. 12·7	6·1
Other cases	.. 5·6	3·9

Relatively more than *three* Britishers are suffering from venereal diseases for every Indian. The greater incidence of these diseases among the British troops is a constant feature of the Army Health Reports.

J. M. DATTA

Appointment on Communal Considerations in Mughal India

In the Puja Number of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali writes an article on *Moghul Administration in India,* in which he says :

"In the appointment of high officers no communal considerations were allowed to sway the judgment of the Emperor. **Ability was held to be the only qualification for office** (antiques ours). Even Aurangzeb would not allow his judgment to be warped by such prejudices. On a petition by one of his proteges, for official preferment, on communal grounds, he wrote as follows : "What connection have worldly affairs with religion ! For you is your religion and for me is mine. If the rule suggested by you is established it would be my

duty to extirpate all Hindu Rajahs and their followers. Wise men disapprove of the removal from office of able officers."

Those Muhammadans, who in season and out of season, clamour for their *hissya* in Government services—be it the A. R. P. or any other civil appointment, who established the rule of communal promotions, and prefer transfer of officers from one district to another on communal considerations in Bengal,—are they greater well-wishers and guardians of Separate Muhammadan interests, (if any) than the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb himself ?

J. M. DATTA.

Food Supply in Bombed Calcutta

A year ago, the Bengal Government had expected that there would be difficulty in food supply if Calcutta were bombed. Discussions were held on the establishment of food depots in the City. They had got one year's time to translate the decisions into action. But after the raids have begun, no arrangements for food supply appear to have been made. Grocers' shops in the local markets are rapidly getting depleted and prices already tremendously high are going further up. What the Government considered to be their duty one year ago, certainly remains so when the real emergency has arisen. Transport difficulty in Calcutta is one main reason for maldistribution of food in the City markets. When the casualties are so small, cannot a part of the large number of buses and lorries herded together in A. R. P. sheds be released for moving foodstuffs ? These can return to their bases when the Siren goes.

Air-Raids on Calcutta

Calcutta has been raided by Japanese planes five times during the end of the month. The news of the bombings released to the public were meagre, vague and on fourth occasion it was extremely belated. The *communiqué* admitted that the bombing was indiscriminate and that there were some casualties, but no details were given. This belated publication of the news and its meagre and vague nature was resented even by the *Statesman* whom the Government cannot possibly charge with carrying on political propaganda. On December 25, the *Statesman* drew attention to the lack of precision in the official *communiqué* which gave a "comprehensive picture" of Calcutta's first three air-raids and commented :

> Precision in official announcements, always desirable, is the more so when the facts described fall within the common man's direct experience.

On December 27, it made the following comment on the Government's abject failure in releasing news of the raids promptly and precisely :

> Something requires to be done, and done urgently, about Calcutta's air-raid publicity. The authorities have had a full year to prepare. It had been assumed, before this month's bombing began, that they had a workable plan ready for putting reliable information promptly before the public. Hitherto little evidence of plan has been discernible, and more evidence of muddle of a sort which earlier evoked condemnation in places whose time for preparation was less. After the fourth raid, on Christmas Eve, more than 12 hours elapsed before any official information regarding it reached local newspaper offices; the announcement then was of the most meagre sort, only about 40 words. The raid had ended at a comparatively early hour; but newspaper staffs, who, as they work by night know something of what then happens, were unable to obtain the authorities' permission to publishing in the morning city editions even a bare announcement that a raid had occurred. Papers were thus distributed to the city's population devoid of any reference to the fact uppermost in most minds. This is ludicrous; it puts the Press in an almost unendurable position, and the Press has its own duties to fulfil to the public.
>
> Nor is this the only point for criticism. Photographs passed for publication by one authority in one newspaper have been rejected by another authority for another newspaper. As we have previously remarked, a *communique* issued from New Delhi after the third raid was, to the knowledge of Calcutta's citizens, false in two important particulars; for that the New Delhi authorities, 800 miles distant, cannot be held primarily blame-worthy. This kind of confusion cannot go on. It is bad for morale, which authority should be vigorously concerned to uphold. The public for months past has been exhorted against believing rumour. Most of them have no wish to do so, their spirit is firm, and their good sense may be relied upon. But when authority fails to put forth reliable information promptly or in adequate amount about outstanding local happenings, it is inevitable that rumours should gain some currency

Came To Do Good But Did Pretty Well

Lord Linlithgow paid a short visit to Calcutta this Christmas to deliver his address in the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. He tried to give a new twist to the present political deadlock. He said that the gentlemen present were familiar with the suggestion that the troubles of India were due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power. He explained that 'exactly contrary was the case' and said :

> Those troubles were due to Great Britain's readiness to part with power. It was because agreement could not be reached between the conflicting interests in the country as to who was to take over the responsibilities, which Great Britain was only too ready to transfer to Indian hands, that the deadlock had arisen. It was

from no reluctance on the part of the Government to transfer power.

A Viceroy should not have the short memory of the public. The Cripps' Negotiations broke down specifically on Clause (*e*) of the Draft Declaration which negatived any transfer of power for the duration of the war. The attempt to reach an agreed formula on Defence with the help of Col. Johnson failed. The simple Defence formula put forward by the Congress would not be accepted by the British Government for the simple reason that they were *unwilling* to transfer *real* power. Sir Stafford Cripps went over to the Congress to induce it to accept power, and the Congress showed its readiness to accept, only if it were worth accepting. Scores of questions and explanations arose *after* the breakdown.

The Viceroy reiterated that Great Britain's help would always be available. The Indian people may well beg to decline with thanks the offer of the British to help us and say,—they came to do good but did pretty well. Save us from our Saviours.

Where Are They ?

The citizens proper of Calcutta have taken the air-raids with *sang-froid*. Panic has been created among the floating population of the city and amongst the profiteers and racketeers who have so long flourished here under official patronage. It is these people who have fled from the city by "all means of locomotion including their legs." The National War Front and the Public Relations Committee, which spent large amounts of tax-payers' money for "keeping public morale intact," do not seem to be functioning though the bombers have arrived.

The Government should now see that the people who want to remain at their posts in Calcutta are not compelled to leave the city for want of food and other essential necessities. They are moving too slow in this direction. The two costly bodies mentioned above may now be disbanded and their funds utilised for this purpose.

B. B. Roy

Mr. B. B. Roy, Assistant Editor of the *Statesman*, has passed away. He was a successful Professor. He also came out as a brilliant journalist. His political views were moderate. His writings were well-reasoned, argumentative and bore a stamp of scholarship. He was a bachelor. May his soul rest in peace.

New Definitions of Serving Humanity

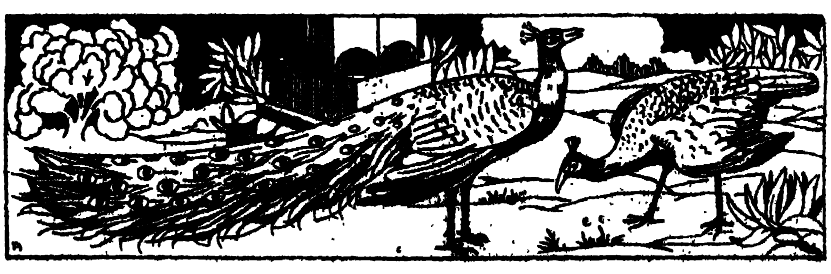
Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin of the Muslim League gave a new definition for serving humanity in his Calcutta Id Re-union speech on December 20. He said :

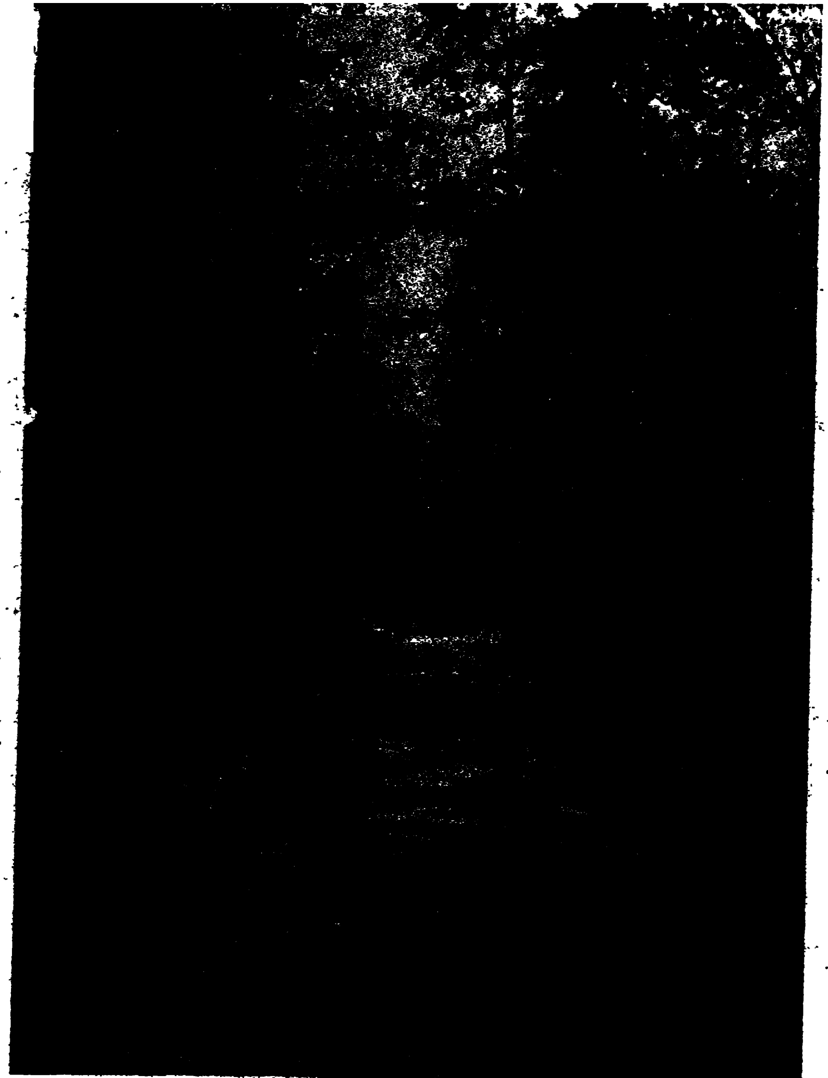
> You cannot serve humanity unless you have power, which means ruling power. True service can only be rendered when the reins of Government are in the hands of Muslims, and this is the reason why the Muslims of India consider it their Islamic duty to obtain what is called Pakistan.

Three days earlier, Mr. Haddow of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce very eloquently spoke of the "mildness and humanity" of the British rule and expressed the "wish of the British community in India to continue to be of service to the country and to assist in its progress."

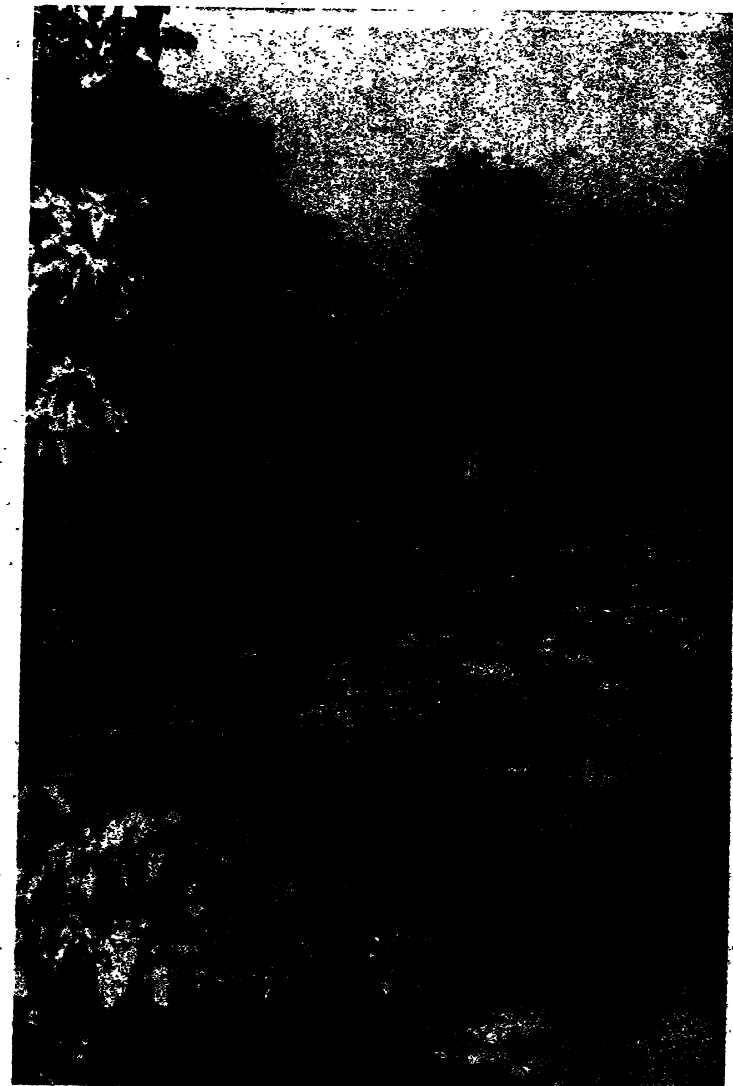
Mr. Haddow desires to be of service to the 400 million people of India by the consolidation of British power in the country, while at the same time Sir Nazimuddin of the British Government's pet Muslim League wants to do good not only to the Indian people but also to the people outside its borders by the consolidation of Muslim power in India. For this reason the creation of a Pakistan is considered by him as essentially necessary.

Sir Nazimuddin's definition of serving humanity includes the Muslim League's claim to rule the world with minority protection for itself, and this protection should come from the kith and kin of Mr. Haddow when Sir Nazimuddin would like to elbow out of India !



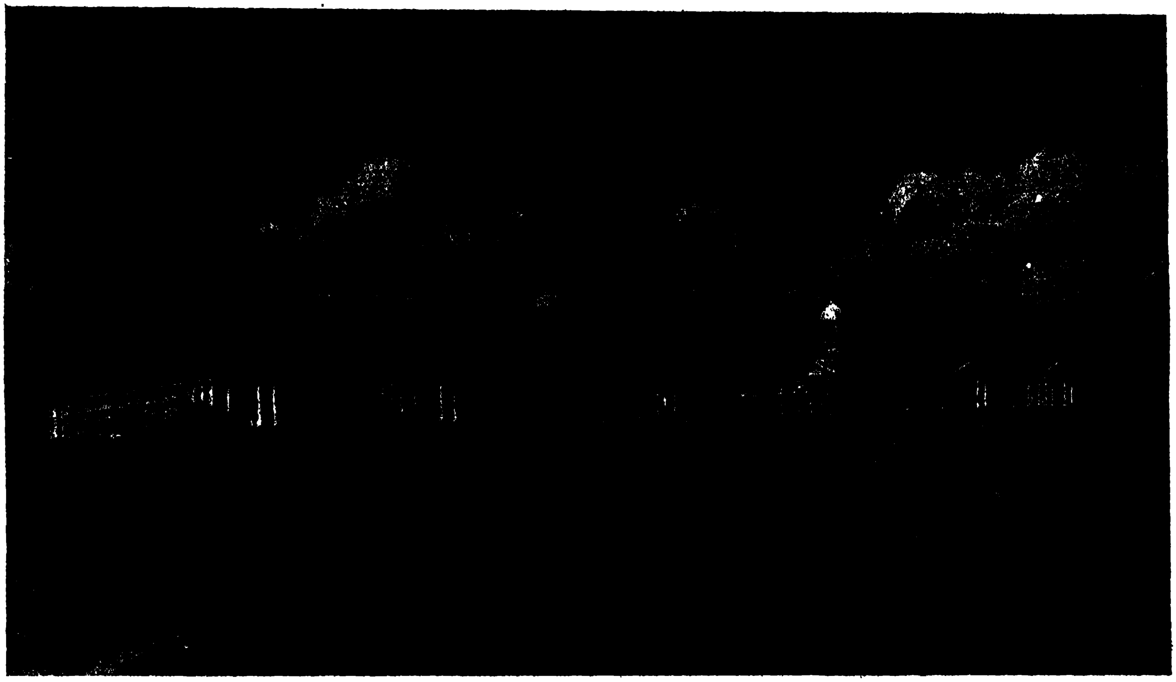


Sal or *Shorea Robusta*, to give it the name bestowed upon it by botanists one of the most valuable woods in India's far-flung forests, grows profusely over a large portion of northern India



Brooks babbling through forests lend enchantment to the sylvan scene

Copyright photographs by St. Nihal Singh



The nerve-centre of India's forestry. The Indian Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun



Deodar sleepers from the Himalayas, floating on Jumna's breast, on their way to a Punjab timber depot

Copyright photographs by St. Nihal Singh

similarity to the old principle of buying goods on money-loan account. India, for example, is not being told that the goods now supplied to England would be repaid by goods at some future date. Instead, sterling balances are being earmarked to her account, with the result that the repayment, if and when made, would be on money basis. In fact, it was openly argued by the Canadian finance minister that the Canadian gift of 1000 million dollars to Great Britain was as much a "hard-boiled business" as an act of altruism. This is, to say the least, moving on old and dangerous grooves.

We therefore see that apart from the direct exploitation as often resorted to by Germany, the present war has given rise to two main types of economic relationship. The first is dangerously similar to the methods of the last war and has emphasis on the monetary aspect. The second in a novel one which perhaps has its origin in a better realisation of the ultimate principles of international trade and therefore lays stress on goods rather than on money. This is definitely better, but as we shall presently see, it has not yet been free from potential dangers. Unless the statesmen and economists become alive from now to these dangers, there is no hope that post-war economic reconstruction would, by itself, be a success.

Let us begin with the dangers of the money-principle. It is not necessary here to elaborate in detail the economic problems of the last twenties. Suffice it to say that any such money-payment must raise two sets of difficulties. First, it is a question of securing a sufficient balance for making the payment, which must ultimately come from an enlarged national income. A favourable trade balance is obviously the most important factor in this case. The second problem is that of transfer, for it is almost a miracle to effect such huge transfer without an economic breakdown. Without entering into the vehement controversy that has existed among economists on these points, we might say that the post-war world experienced difficulty on both these counts. The payment extorted from Germany mainly came from the loans given to Germany by the allies. It was also seen that in order to enable the debtor to pay, she must be assisted to build up an export surplus, which again means that the creditors, such as Great Britain, France and the United States, must consume more goods produced by their debtors at the cost of their own industry. The creditors of the last war tried to stop this infiltration of goods from the debtor countries by various devices, such as the American Hawley-Smoot tariff, the Ottawa agreement and so on. The result was a complete economic breakdown and the Great Depression. If the units of the British Empire now demand similar payment in money, the result may be equally disastrous for the world. It will not only be harmful for Great Britain but more so for her creditors. These creditors are on the whole relatively backward in the industrial sphere and, if repayment in money means that these creditors will have to consume more of British goods, it will not only mean a slump in the creditor countries but their industrial effort would be harder hit—perhaps thoroughly shaken —than the British industry in the post-war period.

We now turn to the other principle. Goods paying for goods appears to be a sounder policy as it tries to avoid the dangers inherent in the other principle, but it is at present fraught with other dangers of no less magnitude. We have seen that the other principle affects in the first instance the course of international trade and secondly the international and national price-levels. That is to say, it affects the national industrial structure of the debtor country only indirectly through the mechanism of trade, exchange and price-levels which receive its direct impact. But if goods are to be repaid by goods on the grand scale, it is not much of a prophecy to say that the creditor country will not only have influence over the foreign trade, exchange and price-levels of the debtor country but would also weild an extensive, if not a complete, control over the entire economic structure of the debtor country. It is therefore only natural that there should now be a demand for freer trade. It was one of the points of the Atlantic Charter that free trade would be restored to the fullest possible extent after the war. It is interesting that when free trade meant the ruin of creditor country, protection was in high demand. But when there is no possibility of recovering loans except through freer trade, a cry has been raised for the abolition of trade barriers. But there is no practical difference between the two, for in the present context both are instruments in the hands of the creditor country to exploit the debtor country.

This is clearly unsatisfactory. Post-war economic reconstruction must, in order to be successful, be based on an honest effort for world welfare. Such economic imperialism masquerading under the cloak of generosity would be a greater disaster than open economic

exploitation. The first task of an economist in these circumstances is to find out a technique through which transfer can be made without any economic breakdown, even the debtor country receiving substantial assistance for stabilisation. This is obviously a long-term affair and here the politicians can materially come to the assistance of the economist by creating conditions for lasting peace and an atmosphere of goodwill. But apart from the question of politics, it is also necessary to evolve, as suggested, a satisfactory technique. The goods-principle is surely more helpful than the money-principle in this respect, but it cannot be successful if it also turns out to be another instrument of economic imperialism. So it is necessary, in the first place, to prevent it from degenerating into an instrument of economic imperialism. Secondly, the goods-principle cannot function successfully if the money principle is not tackled satisfactorily so that the financial relations based now on the latter principle may not react unfavourably on the other principle and thus be a cause of another breakdown. Considered realistically, this means that apart from a solution of the economic problems of the United Nations *vis-a-vis* Germany, we shall have also to solve the problems arising out of the peculiar economic relations between different units of the British Empire before we can tackle the Lend-Lease question. There are no indications that the governments are fully alive to these potential dangers, but time has come when they should wake up to their responsibilities.

It may be added that this is only one aspect of the international side of the question. The war has led to the discovery of many new techniques of control also in the national sphere. It is quite likely that these controls would not disappear in the post-war world but may be conveniently utilised for harnessing economic forces for human welfare. International reconstruction must also depend on national policies and national economic structures. A complete discussion of the problem must take into account all the complex and interacting forces in their entirety.

AKBAR AND INDIA TODAY

By Prof. P. A. Wadia

The enthusiasm with which we are celebrating the Akbar Quatercentenary is perhaps symbolic (1) of the demand for a *unified* India (2) of the growing self-consciousness on the part of our people and their desire to live their own life at its best so that India may contribute its own quota to the accumulating heritage of human culture. For culture knows no distinction of colour or creed. The West is found to be as savage or barbaric as the East was once supposed to be; and this in spite of 20 centuries of Christian teaching and influences—and Christianity is more a product of the East than of the West. Nay even the Homeric Gods on their Olympic Heights would have burst with laughter if an Aristotle after visiting the modern world had reported to them about what he had seen of those unnatural and diseased growths of the City State which men call Empires and how he had found a man called Churchill who had proclaimed that he was unwilling to preside over the liquidation of this huge protuberance of the body politic.

Our enthusiasm for Akbar and for the glories of his political achievement is perhaps a measure of our longings for unifying India under a single national government. For, whatever a common administrative machinery and a common administrative language may have done for us in unifying the country to-day through a century of British Rule, the fact remains that a machinery imposed from without, and administered by a government of alien rulers whose interests never entirely coincided with the interests of the people of India could not achieve what Moghul Rule under Akbar could achieve. For the Moghuls were not foreigners who ruled from a country 6000 miles away: they were or they became the children of the soil; they settled in the land they conquered and shared in the joys and sorrows, in the fortunes and misfortunes of the people whom they conquered. Their administrative machinery was not imposed from without, but was almost a growth from within—and paved the way for a unified India.

We need not on this occasion refer in detail to any aspect of the rule of Akbar. Shall it be

suggested, shall we be told, that Akbar's rule has been a myth, like the alleged glories of the capture of the Bastille in 1789? Even if it were so, I would not consider the myth any the less valuable than the so-called pure, undiluted facts of history. The undiluted historical truth is very difficult to locate. It is a product of the creative imagination of the historian, determined by his inherited prepossessions and his acquired attainments. Far from regarding the Akbar myth, if such we call it, as valueless, we should even cherish it as a myth. A myth is not ordinarily an irrational product which needs to be discarded as harmful to the growth of the individual mind or to the social welfare. Plato long ago defended the myth as a medicinal departure from the truth, a product of the imagination that transcends rather than contradicts the reason—the finite, limited erring reason of finite men.

Assuming that the myth of Akbar's rule in India is a myth of this kind, let us preserve it with the most scrupulous care, and place it in the forefront of the stories by which we hope to mould the emotions and understanding of infant and young India,—the faith on which the rising generation both Hindoo and Moslem could be brought up, so that they may cease to believe in the platitudes of historical struggles between the two communities in the past, platitudes which, even if true, cannot contribute to the building up of friendship and co-operation to which we all look as the foundations of a better and greater India. Continuous reiteration of the fact of disagreement between the two communities even if it is a fact, is psychologically harmful. And whatever our rulers do in rubbing in this fact into the minds of our people it ill-becomes us to lend ourselves as willing instruments to this political game.

We live in a country where for centuries we were used to a contented and a peaceful existence in our self-sufficient villages, unconcerned about who governed us and ruled over us from the top, at Agra or at Delhi. If our British Rulers following the traditions of Moghul Rule under Akbar, had kept true to this political heritage, we would have had self-governing institutions developed from the bottom where the foundations were already firmly laid, with a system of widespread primary education to back them. Instead, the beginning was made at the top by the introduction of higher education and the universities and of parliamentary institutions in the provinces and at the centre in the field of government. But parliamentary institutions thus introduced at the top cannot have the remotest chance of success with a half-educated electorate, led by demagogues tempted to sacrifice the larger interests of the country to considerations of their own temporary advantage or to the desire for power. In the result self-government at the bottom has disappeared only to be replaced by local boards which reproduce the worst features of a mockery of party government borrowed from the top. Primary education has been neglected; and now even the centralized uniformity of Moghul Rule is to be subordinated to provincial jealousies and bickerings and to separatist tendencies running riot in the name of autonomy. Is there anything unnatural if to-day we look back with longing eyes and cherish the memories of the past, glorified it may be by the creative imagination, but the product of a sense of disillusionment and disappointment with the present?

One thing more. The Moghul Rule under Akbar was typical of benevolent despotism at the centre that left the subjects in peace, without any of the artificially induced religious conflicts of the present. If religious conflicts existed they were not allowed to mar the political relations between the Moghuls and the Hindoos. Akbar had especially that insight of a ruler into the spirit of the times which has made all future historians of India look to him as a model and an exemplar. If the later ages in which we live happen to demand the substitution of popular forms of government for a benevolent despotism, we might at least have hoped that our British Rulers had avoided the patent self-contradictions which are involved in a Parliamentary form of government based on religious groups working in the name of parties, and claiming protection as minorities. But when the height of absurdity is reached in the protection of majorities against minorities,—and this in the name of democracy, we might well be pardoned if we look back with longing to an age like Akbar's hallowed by the glamour incidental to the past. A hundred and fifty years ago a great British statesman uttered these memorable words: "In a mass we cannot be left to ourselves. We must have leaders. If none will undertake to lead us right, we shall find guides who will contrive to conduct us to shame and ruin." It is the misfortune of our country that our only guides to-day are our Churchills and our Amerys, our Moonjes and our Jinnahs.

[This is the text of an address at the Government Law College, Bombay, delivered on 12th Dec., 1942.]

MORPHOLOGY OF POETIC CREATION AND APPRECIATION

By JITENDRA CHANDRA MAZUMDAR, M.A., B.C.S.

LIKE all arts poetry is a means to an end. Those who hold that an artist is a 'doer, a maker, a revealer, a creator' seem to suggest that what an artist creates is a world unique and valuable in itself. The art-product need not, according to them, be sought to be related to anything within or without the artist's life. They hold that the artist's own wishes, aspirations and follies may have something to do with the process of production, but these subjective data are absolutely irrelevant to our understanding and appreciation of the product. The product stands free from its history and is an independent story. They hold that the personal biography of the artist may be moulded and made by his art to an extent but for us who stand outside the dynamic self of the artist the product is an end-in-itself. They hold that we ought to appraise the thing on its own beauty and joy-giving quality just as we ought to appraise the fragrant bloom of a rose on its own merits without referring it either to the natural-purposive process of fructification which underlies the being of the flower or to the fashionable market for which it may have been reared.

This is a position which may be taken and has been taken. But the position is not maintainable on the following grounds.

The words 'beauty' and 'aesthetic quality' and others are abstract words and suggest the existence of a static kind of reality. But concrete appreciation of beauty is always a matter of complex origin. I do not appreciate the phrase, 'the desire of the moth for the star' concretely and truly till a particular moving experience in me testifies to a similar harmony of desires. As the copy, *i.e.*, the appreciation so the origin, *i.e.*, the creation. The poet is always writing under the stress of the human and inevitable desire for working out a definite pattern off his experience. Sometimes he is absorbed in his own struggles, sometimes in the struggles of others, but even then in them as a symbol and extension of his own self. Always his creation is directed by the irrepressible urge to make a whole out of chaos. Poets working under this urge always appear more dogmatic to us than philosophers. Therefore, we say that Shakespeare has no solution to any of the vexing questions of mankind, which is just another way of saying that he has many solutions but that they are all traditional and dogmatic and hence unacceptable to the critical mind in its critical mood. Somehow poets feel the demand of this urge to faith in some view of life more intensely than the ordinary men and they try to work out through their products, poetry, a justification for their existence. When the poet says that for him poetry in the abstract is an end-in-itself. he simply implies that he sees the ultimate worth and the final justification of his existence in trying to grow a harmony within himself through concrete and particular works of poetry. For him poems, the actual products are only means; at the same time poetry, in the abstract as a term indicating in brief the act of poetic excursions from moment to moment, is an end-in-itself. Poetry, in other words, really is a means intimately connected with the passion for growth and development urgently pressing within the poet: but to make it even effective as a means it must be regarded as an end at a certain point of life. This is a paradox which runs through all mental life. What we make ends within ourselves is really so often a means towards something that has not yet been but will be.

If the above view about poetry *vis a vis* the poets be correct then the following view about poetry *vis a vis* the readers must also be correct. To appreciate poetry is nothing but to assimilate the experiences of the poet to one's own experiences. Lacking love-experience love-poems are nonsense. Of course, love-experience must be interpreted generously; even the wish to love and be loved, the half-dreamy, haunting desires to make love, before actually making it which is peculiar to a particular stage of life is a kind of experience of love. What is relevant is the dynamic wishes. What energy is in the kingdom of matter and power in the sphere of politics, wishes are in the domain of poetry. All the aspirations, ambitions, ideals, anticipations, idealisings and memories are included in the term 'wishes'. Every individual appreciates a poem in his own way. But he appreciates it as a thing of beauty because it somehow reconciles some of the vague, faint and haunting conflicts among his own wishes and thus beautifies him to a certain degree. A thing is beautiful because it somehow renders me somewhat

beautiful. When do I call a man beautiful? When he rouses the urge to harmonise myself that is in me and he actually does harmonise me to a certain extent. A man whose presence arouses conflicts within me is an ugly man. Similarly with regard to poetry. A poem is as much an external situation as an encounter with a man. Both need adjustment and both are appreciated because of their effects on us, never because of themselves. It is absurd, therefore, to hold that readers appreciate poetry for its supposed artistic worth. The intrinsic artistic worth of a poem is a worth or quality which we suppose to exist in a poem as the objective counterpart of the fact of its having actually cured us of some of our conflicts. A perfect man will not appreciate poetry; because he has resolved all the conflicts. Plato is right from the standpoint of a perfect man. Poetry is a business with the shadow of shadows for one who is in full accord with the true universe.

The question about the relation of poetry to truth is a difficult one. Poetry is a kind of peculiar experiment in practical beliefs. But it is not true that what the poets feel and wish to feel is always healthy and what should be desired on scientific grounds. Even though God may be untenable on theoretic grounds, feelings about something which is imagined or felt as God may be the content of poetry. Poetry, therefore, does not always respect the theoretic reason or intellect. Neither does a great artist deliberately go against the certain decisions of the theoretical intellect of the day, except symbolically.

Poetry is more a necessity for poets than for those who are not poets. It is an individual affair to that extent. But though the production of poetry is an affair which is peculiar to a few individuals who possess the gifts its reproduction is possible to some extent by almost all. Similarly though the production is essentially due to character of the poet and for the character-making of the poet (the word 'character' is used in its psychological sense), its relation with the general readers is not negative. Individual experiences and efforts are symbolical of social experiences and efforts. Readers reconstruct themselves through appreciation. Appreciation is a kind of production for those who are without the capacity to produce. Appreciating is morphologically a kind of building of the appreciator; and what is built depends on the man, the appreciator is. In appreciating the object of appreciation need not be related to the life-urges of the poet who created the object. In that sense a poem is an independent thing of beauty. But the act of understanding is different. A poem cannot be understood without knowing its relation to the poet's life and social experience. By appreciating a poem one develops; by understanding one dissects. Understanding is the anatomy of poetic criticism.

MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRIT LEARNING

By Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

In a previous article we dealt with the lives and literary activities of three great Sanskrit poets who enjoyed liberal patronage of the Moslem rulers of India, *viz.*, Bhānukara, favourite of Sher Shah and Nizam Shah; Akbariya-kalidasa, court-poet of Akbar; and Jagannātha Panditarāja, patronized by Shah Jahan.* In this article, we intend to throw some light upon the lives and literary activities of several other Sanskrit poets patronised by Moslem Rulers and the various ways in which some Moslem Rulers propagated Sanskrit learning during their rule.

Amritadatta, Court-Poet of Shahabuddin

One of the verses of Amritadatta has been quoted by Sridharadasa, author of the Sad-ukti-karnamrita and court-poet of Laksmana Sena of Bengal. Therefore, our poet must have flourished before the twelfth century A.D.

In two of his verses preserved in the Subhasitāvalī of Vallabhadeva, it is stated that Shahabuddin was once threatened with the invasion of Kashmir by Mirshah and Shahabud-

* *The Modern Review* for August, 1942

din in his turn gave a most threatening reply too.

Quite a large number of his verses is preserved in the early Sanskrit anthologies such as the Subhasitavalī, Sukti-muktavali and Sadukti-karnamrita. Some of these verses are really enjoyable.

2. Pundarika Vitthala

One of Pundarika's works, *viz.*, the Rāgamālā, is dated 1576 A.D. (Saka 1498). Therefore, he must have flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. He mainly wrote on music. He belonged to the court of Burhan Khan of the Pharuki family which ruled between 1370-1600 A.D. at Anandavalli in Khandesh. Pundarika was also a great favourite of Akbar.

3. Harinarayana Misra

In one of his verses preserved in the Padyaveni, Harinarayana praises Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.). Therefore, it is evident that he flourished about three hundred years ago.

4. Vamsidhara Misra I.

It is clear from the Sopana, commentary of Jayarāma on his father's Padyamrita-tarangini, that Vamsidhara Misra was a great favourite of the queen of Shah Jahan. Thus, in one of his verses, Jagannātha Panditarāja, favourite poet of Shah Jahan, says that he is a Lion who does not find anywhere even an elephant, all that he sees around him are really deer who are easily assailable. Vamsidhara Misra, however, retorts him by saying that Jagannātha as the favourite of Mahadeva (Shah Jahan) is really a bull. It is he, not Jagannātha Panditarāja, who as a favourite of Durga (the queen), is really the Lion and. therefore, capable of vanquishing all others.

5. Caturbhuja

This poet and rhetorician composed his Rasa-kalpa-druma in Samvat 1745 or 1689 A.D. for the gratification of his patron Shayasta Khan, Aurangzeb's maternal uncle and General. It is very unfortunate that this valuable work is not as yet available in print.

6. Laksmipati

The lineage of the poet as given by himself in the Lipi-malika, which is not published as yet, is as follows :

Jayadeva
|
Visvarupa
|
Srinivasa — Viresvara — Vidyapati — Laksmipati

The date of the composition of the work is 1643 of the Saka era, *i.e.*, 1721 A.D.

Laksmipati composed the work with the object of bringing to the notice of his ruler-patron how a mischief-monger brings about the destruction of great people as well as of the poor; particularly, with the object of securing his own position against all the odds that might befall him.

Mahammad Shah ascended the throne in 1720. The historical incidents dealt with in the work mostly took place between 1707 when Alamgir died and 1721, the second year of the reign of Mahammad Shah. This work contains copious references to Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and, particularly, Aurangzeb.

Laksmīpati deals, in this campu Lipimalikā, with the events leading to the campaign against Mahammad Shah, son of Aurangzeb, launched upon by his minister Abdullah and the reinstatement of the latter to the post of minister of Delhi. Abdullah, Husain Ali Khan and Surphadi Saiyd Khān were three brothers of whom Abdullah was the minister of Delhi. Husain Ali Khan was also a very influential man. Mahammad Shah was much indebted to Abdullah for many reasons; still, as he became apprehensive of the tremendous power of Abdullah, he decided to assassinate Hasan which he actually did. As a consequence, Abdullah led a vast army against him but was subsequently defeated. Mahammad's army against him was subsequently defeated. Mahammad's army did not kill Abdullah because he was a Saiyd. Mahammad himself reinstated him to his post of minister as a token of his previous gratitude to Abdullah. It is clear from the work that Laksmīpati was a good Sanskrit scholar, showing here as he does his thorough acquaintance with various branches of Sanskrit literature, particularly, Nyaya, Jyautisa and Tantra. He also profusely quotes many maxims, verses from the Bhagavad-gita, the Bhāgavata and so on. He shows his proficiency in the Koran as well.

That Laksmīpati was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Persian is evidenced by his use of a large number of Arabic and Persian words in his composition. Although the value of this sort of admixture of different languages may be questioned, it must be said to his credit

that the sense and the metre are not in any way jeopardised.

Laksmīpati was also thoroughly conversant with the political conditions of the whole of North India of his time as copious references to many places and personalities show. He was not only a poet but also a good historian. It is, however, regrettable that he sometimes lets his imagination get the upper hand with the result that the facts stated are at times exaggerated.

Propagation of Sanskrit Learning During Muslim Rule

In Medieval ages, the Mahammedan rulers devoted much attention to the spread of Sanskritic knowledge and culture. In this respect, the attention of the Moslem rulers of Bengal was first drawn to the two great epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Nasir Shah of Bengal, (1282-1325 A.D.) to whom our great Vidyāpati dedicated one of his Padas, ordered the first Bengali rendering of the Mahābhārata. It is not exactly known whether Krittivāsa undertook the execution of the Bengali version of the Rāmāyana at the instance of a Moslem ruler or of Kamsanārāyana. Even though the latter might have ordered the same, the initiative was certainly obtained from Nasir Shah. The Bhāgavata-purāna was translated into Bengali by Mālādhara Basu at the instance of emperor Husain Shah. Kavīndra Paramesvara translated up to the Strī-parvan of the Mahābhārata by order of Parāgal Khān, general of Husain Shah. The encouragement Parāgal gave the poet is unique. Every evening he and his courtiers congregated in his place at Paragalpur in Feni for listening to Kavindra's translation. His son Chuti Khan also encouraged Srikara Nandin for carrying out a similar work. When he became the Governor of Chittagong, he ordered Srikara to translate the Asvamedha-parvan of the Mahābhārata which he did.

Not only the rulers of Bengal but also the Imperial rulers of Delhi encouraged the propogation of Sanskritic learning in various ways. Babar was a firm believer in Hindu Astronomy which, consequently, became a very popular subject for studies throughout his kingdom. He makes significant remarks about this science in connection with the observatory at Samarqand the calculations of which were followed by all Indian Mahomedans. Nothing much about Humayun's enterprise for the spread of Sanskrit learning or his encouragement to Sanskrit scholars is known. But his great son Akbar compensated enough for this lack, if any, on his father's part. In 1582 A.D., he ordered Naqib Khan to translate the Mahābhārata. He evinced much personal interest in this work. He personally explained to Naqib night after night the procedure to be followed for its successful execution. He ordered Abdul Qadir, author of the Tarikh-i-Badauni, to assist Naqib in this work. Two parvans were translated within a few months. Then Mulla Sheri and Sultan Haji Thaneswari collaborated. Shaikh Faizi was engaged in versifying the rough translation, but he progressed only up to the second book. Haji who was engaged in revising Faizi's work was dismissed after he had finished only a fraction of the work. This work was not a literal translation but really a summary of this great epic. This condensed version was named Razm-Namah or Book of War. Subsequently, it was highly decorated with pictures. For the MS. of this work Akbar spent £40,000. The preface to the work was written by Abdul Fazl and copies of the work were distributed among the nobles. By order of the emperor, Abdul Qadir began the translation of the Rāmāyana in 1585 A.D. and completed the same in 1589 A.D. At his instance, again, a converted Mahomedan of the South and Abdul Qadir began the translation of the Atharva-veda. On account of their failure in doing the work properly, it was entrusted to Shaikh Faizi. Subsequently, however, the duty devolved upon Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi. Faizi translated into Persian the Lilavati and Mukammal Khan Gujarati the astronomical work Tājak. Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahbadi translated the History of Kashmir in Sanskrit into Persian. This history translated is, probably, to be distinguished from the Rāja-tarangini as Maulana Imamuddin is the reputed translator of this work. A Persian version of the Harivamsa was made by Nasrullah Mustafa and of the Pancatantra under the title Kalilab-Damnab by Maulana Husiani Waiz. An easier adaptation of the latter work was also made under the title Ayar-Danish. The model of Layala and Majnu was followed in the Persian version of the famous story of Nala and Damayanti under the title of Nal-Daman. The Emperor ordered Abdul Qadir to translate the Dvatrimsat-Puttalikā-simhāsana with the help of a learned Brahmana, under the title Khirad-Afza-Namah. The Gangadhara and the Mahesa-Mahananda were translated under the general supervision of Abul Fazl. Dara Shikoh was a very great Sanskrit scholar. He patronised a very large

number of Brahmana-panditas hailing from all over India, particularly, Benares and with their help, he translated into Persian several Upanisads under the name Sirr-ul-Akbar or the Great Secret. He states in the preface to the work that he became a disciple, while at Kashmir, of a great Sufi called Mulla Shah and studied a lot about Sufi-ism. His labour was in vain; Sufi-ism could not give him the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This, however, he obtained from a study of the Vedas and the Upanisads. On account of his very deep interest in Sanskrit and great respect for Hindu culture, he always engraved "prabhu" or Lord on his diamond-rings and other valuable articles. His Sirr-ul-Akbar was completed in 1657 A.D. He also translated the Yoga-Vāsistha though two earlier Persian translations of this already existed, one being executed under the patronising care of his great-grand-father Akbar. In order to demonstrate a real harmony between Sufi-ism and Hindu pantheism he composed in 1654 A.D. a very valuable work called Majma-ul-Bahrain on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology. In his grand work Mukalamah-i-Baba Lal Das, he deals with, in course of a dialogue between himself and Baba Lal Dasa, the ideals of Hindu asceticism.

Dara Shikoh, probably, got much encouragement in his Sanskritic studies from his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan who was so well-versed in Sanskrit that he used to compose verses in it. Six of them are quoted in Caturbhuja's Rasa-kalpa-druma which is not as yet published and a MS. of which is in the possession of Ulwar Maharaja's MSS. Library.

This was indeed a great age when the Mahomedan aristocrats, Princes, etc., not only cared whole-heartedly for Sanskritic studies but themselves contributed to Sanskrit literature. Daraf Khān's Gangā-stotra is indeed a very solid contribution to Sanskrit poetry and Hindu religious literature.

The Mahomedan rulers helped the spread of Sanskritic learning in another way as well. That is no less important than their personal initiative in having important Sanskrit works translated into vernaculars or Arabic and Persian. The Hindu nobles and chiefs followed the noble example set by them. Thus, the noble initiative of the Mahomedan rulers gained in momentum in course of time and a great enthusiasm for Sanskritic learning prevailed throughout the country. It is during the Moslem rule in Bengal that she came to the fore-front of Sanskritic learning and two new important branches of Sanskritic studies, *viz.*, the Navya-Smriti and the Navya Nyaya, came into existence.

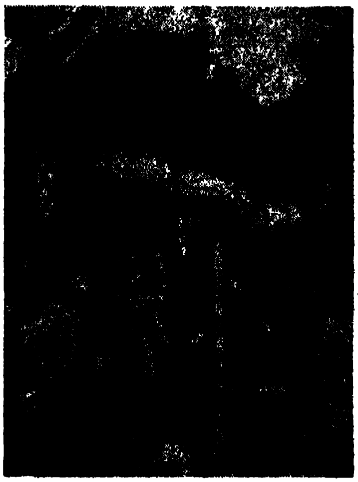
Thus we see, many Moslem rulers of India, chieftains as well as emperors, contributed to the spread of Sanskritic learning in the following main ways: (1) by liberally patronising many scholars in various branches of Sanskrit literature such as poetry, astronomy, philosophy, etc.; (2) by themselves composing Sanskrit verses; (3) by themselves composing works, in Arabic and Persian, on Sanskritic learning and culture; (4) by translating themselves various Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Vernacular; (5) making great Sanskrit scholars translate well-known Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Bengali. From the evidences adduced above, we can at once trace the fusion of Hindu and Moslem culture from the eleventh century A.D.

MODERN WARFARE

BY SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

ONE of the newest and most wonderful features of the present war is the scale of armaments and the degree of mechanisation of the Armies, unprecedented in military history.

Each battalion has over 250 mechanised vehicles, including armoured cars with high road speed carriers, trucks, and motor cycles. Driving at the normal speed and density, the



A big gun getting ready for action

battalion vehicles make up a column 13 miles long which would take over 50 minutes to pass a military base. Armament includes auto-tank artillery, 55 rifles and grenades, batteries of mortars, and hosts of light machine-guns, and long-range heavy guns.

Naturally the best men are required to master these new engines of war. Before being accepted for field service, candidates must get some training in psychology which tests quickness of decision and mental alertnes. Young men of good education are most widely represented in the present Armies. Quick gathering of information about the enemy and good management are vital to the conduct of field operations.

If possible, an Army probes the enemy lines by cunning and stealth. But if it has to fight for its facts, then it turns on such a blast of fire that no enemy troops can withstand it. Therefore, men must have brawn as well as brain. Training is hard and in some cases the toughening up demands a fine intelligence and mental activity. Subjects for training include handling of weapons, anti-gas, marching, and gymnastics. Instructors go to great pains in stirring the imagination of the soldiers that is never stirred in peace time. They always seek mutuality which grows by the sense of responses, and finds support in accepted sacrifices. Trainees include all classes of men—engineers, gunners, riflemen, clerks, drivers, fitters, cooks, labourers, etc. They wear badges and buttons that distinguish their regiments. The officers and the N. C. O's keep a close watch on the recruit squads and pick the right men for the right jobs.

The chief characteristic of the mechanised Army is the production of signallers, mechanics, motor-drivers, and motor cyclists. The signallers are the most important fellows in a war, for wireless is the life-blood of reconnaissance.



Throwing a "bracelet" grenade

News obtained by the busy motor cyclists is of no avail unless quickly transmitted to Military Headquarters. In three months the signallers master three different types of set which send information from the smallest subunit—the section—to a military base of H. Q. The wiring diagrams are known by heart. Messages are transmitted on the Morse buzzer at rates of 12 to 15 words per minute. The motor-cyclists—

each regiment has over 60—are also used for intercommunication. In three months, the mechanics learn a trade which could not be mastered under a year in peace time.

Each regiment produces crews for the armoured cars and carriers. The men must not only know how to drive and maintain vehicles, they must learn sufficient tactics to train themselves for operations in battlefields. The correct procedure for transmitting messages to a receiver many miles away from a battlefield must be mastered. They must be well trained in reading one-inch and quarter-inch maps. A working knowledge of field engineering, demolition, and of shells clearing is essential. They should be able to hit both men and 'planes from the revolving turret of an armoured car. They are also taught driving, maintaining, and fighting by night. They must be quick to recognise enemy aircraft and tanks.



A big gun getting ready for action

Finally, there is the Infantry, whose moves affect the Army collectively, for it has a common concern and from whose gallantry no army may legitimately seek exemption. The interests and problems of an army are interplayed by the tanks and the infantry. When the armoured cars and carriers are held up during an operation, these infantrymen clear away all opposition. They are usually the toughest troops in an army, and like the navy men, are trained to swim rivers and scale walls in full kit. They are hardened by drill, P. T., and marches. They are capable of marching short distances at top speed. They patrol, search villages, and quickly occupy road blocks. They know how to read maps. They also get some training in field artillery, and first aid, and are able to dig first stages of a trench system in half the normal time. Their weapons at various points of attack destroy the enemy and the snipers. Sometimes, when the attack is sudden, the infantrymen have to fire their service rifles from their hips. Their mistakes in 'blitz ranges' may increase the number of 'casualties.' "Bayonet Charge" is one of the most popular features of the infantry. Beagles are kept and prove of great assistance in developing an eye for the enemy camp.

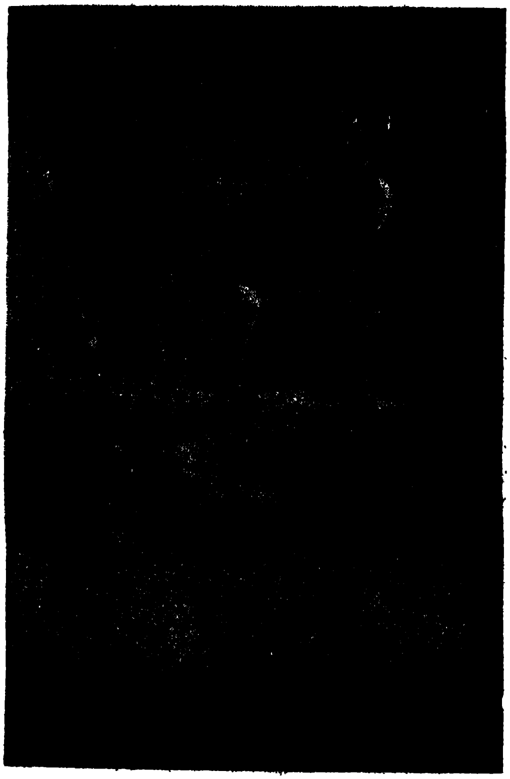
There is little time to wait for a Repair Section during an "attack"—and the mechanised soldiers are taught ingenious methods of keeping their vehicles on the move. In the last war, in Africa, where I was an officer, a carrier driver, taking an important part in the onward march, discovered that his fan belt was broken. Almost as second nature he pulled off his braces and made a temporary belt. He then climbed back into his vehicles holding up his trousers, and brought his carrier safely back to harbour. His Commandant presented him with a brand new pair of braces in recognition of the deed.



The interior of a Shrapnel shell

The Army Officers learn to master wireless. They also get ordinary infantry training. Then they learn the intricacies of the tanks and field-guns. Groups of tanks or machine-guns are lined up, each of which has some technical fault. The Cadets must right the wrong in a limited time. This system increases the versatility of the officers. When ordered for field service, they know all the jobs of all the men under their command.

During an expedition the Army Commanders receive orders from the General. They must quickly grasp the points vital to their own regiments, and transmit a quick summary to their orderly officers, who in turn send instructions by wireless or by telephone to sections. In this way the army officers can get the whole



Soviet parachutists coming down

army on the move in five minutes after receiving orders from the G. O. C.

There is a heavy field firing on the hills, where ball ammunition is fired from mortars and machine-guns. The officers order their soldiers to make a dash forward with fixed bayonets. They jump trenches and wire obstacles and scale high brick walls in their charge for the enemy. The feats of the soldiers are in common with the officers and all share the consequences of a battle without repining. Some officers through their heedlessness, weakness, timidity, or haste fail to bring about a clear issue and thus manifest a breach in the special training of the army. Such men are a disgrace to an army, and are often degraded, dismissed, or imprisoned for their blunders. The spirit of the army is to take risks and to share the consequences of a battle with a desperate allianace with all its units; and I must make it clear that in this sturdy spirit, the desire to merge one's individual identity with the army, remains a necessary element in all victories in a war.

The dangers of the present war have convinced both officers and men that mechanical transports are a necessity. The armoured cars are formidable instruments of war. The new type of heavy armoured cars which are officially known as tanks has proved of considerable utility in the present war. This weapon is called "tank" because the department which is concerned in building it calls itself the "Tank Department" in order to draw a veil of secrecy over its proceedings. The details of these "tanks" are closely guarded but ordinary information about them can be had from articles and illustrations. Men have exhausted



A German Mortar

their vocabulary in efforts to find descriptive names and epithets for them. They are monsters, mammoths, leviathans, hybrids between Behemoth and the Chimaera, toad-salamanders, dragons, mastodons, pachyderms. They are the Terror that walk by noon-day, as incredible as a nightmare, or one of Jules Verne's most fantastic imaginations—huge shapeless bulks like vast antediluvian brutes which Nature

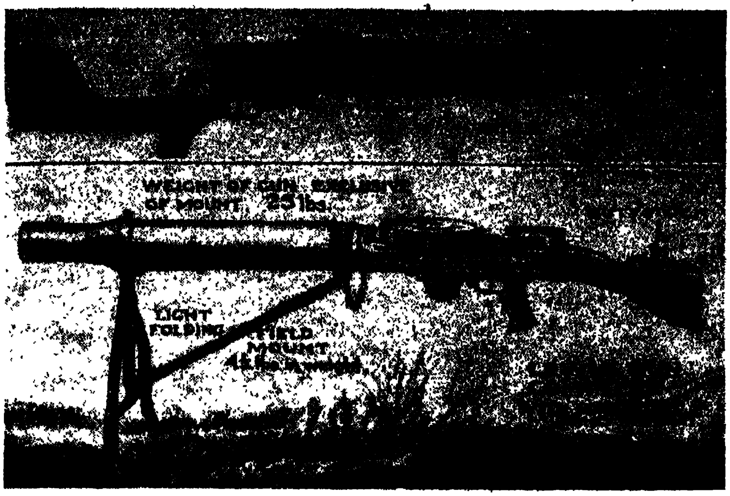
has made and forgotten. Bigger than an ordinary motor car, but smaller than a labourer's cottage, they resemble in general contour a toad rather elongated towards its hinder end. They waddle and they amble; and limbless and wheelless, they go with a movement as smooth as that of a snake, but majestic and deliberate as a giant tortoise—a mixture of joy and horror. Their armament is ordinarily of machine-gun type, their guns being able to fire in all directions, and against their armour-clad sides—painted in different colours to render them invisible,—bullets merely strike sparks. In jungles and forests they trample their way through the undergrowth, and climb over or break down barricades, being contemptuous of machine-gun and rifle fire; neither a stone-wall nor a huge tree is much of an obstacle; and lesser obstacles are merely pleasing incidents in the journey, which they climb over, as a snake climbs over a hill. They crawl laboriously but ceaselessly over trench, barbed wire, and shell crater, and sometimes they will seat themselves complacently astride of an enemy trench and sweep it in both directions, and all the ground beyond, with their machine-guns.



Indian Troops with an Armoured Car

Many interesting informations about life in the trenches were gathered by me in the last war, when I rendered field service in Africa. Although a relatively small proportion of information about trench-warfare and trench-weapons is known to the public, the experiences of men who were placed like me will furnish a fact which is interesting, but too exhausting and nerve-racking for the ordinary mind, for it is a record of appalling and disagreeable things,—want of sleep, perpetual cold or heat, filth and wet are the outstanding features of all accounts of trench life. The frequent night attacks and the necessity for vigilance throughout the dark hours keep the men constantly on the alert, and one wonders, indeed, how we could have withstood the strain and retained our health as most of us did. As a rule, at night half the officers and men guard at a time, while the other half take rest, and by day only sentries here and there along the line are on duty, and the remainder can sleep as much as they choose, or as the activities of the enemy will permit. An hour before daylight all stand to their arms. Night alarms and attacks and day-light bombardments are, however, so frequent that rest is perpetually broken, and

men have to look for proper repose to the time, when they are withdrawn from the front line. Often when the soldiers settle down for the night, they are called to arms by an outburst of fire from the enemy, or by bombs from the enemy 'planes, which, when they burst, throw a bright line of light in the trenches, often presaging an attack. Artillery fire goes on almost perpetually, and bombs and mine explosions are of constant recurrence; rifle and machine-guns crackle intermittently and snipers are always busy. Attacks and counter-attacks, involving the capture and recapture of trenches, are frequent. There is a heavy loss of life in trench warfare, but the provision for providing men with bomb-proof shelters and look-out posts, with refinements added to them, makes life in trenches less unbearable.



Hotchkiss and Lewis Machine-guns

The Army Doctors have a potential value in the firing lines. Napoleon declared that "one doctor is worth 15 ordinary men." In the last war, as armies increased in size and as weapons became more deadly, a new situation arose. The number of men who were injured increased, and the ratio between the killed and the wounded underwent a change. It was discovered that the proportion of men rendered *hors de combat* by bullets and shells was about 20 per cent of the total casualties. The remaining 80 per cent were driven from the fighting lines by disease. Moreover, of the wounded many were rendered permanently incapable because their wounds became infected. In the present war, however, the Army Officers saw that if disease could be prevented and all wounds could receive immediate and thorough surgical care, the number of men constantly available for the firing line would be immensely increased. As a result the introduction of antiseptic method and of modern surgery in the field was needful to endow the medical units with real military significance. To-day all the forces of the world are equipped with men of science, bacteriologists, and expert analysts, whose duty it is to examine well all men, report upon drainage system, select the sites for camps and discover infected persons and isolate them. As a result of these precautions, all armies have reduced their casualties in the most remarkable manner, and the final results show that instead of 80 per cent of the number of men being rendered *hors de combat*—as in the last war,—through disease, only 20 per cent are now so affected, while amongst the wounded, a much smaller number suffered from blood poisoning and other similar conditions than what was usual previously.



The power of the Field Artillery shells

From a medical point of view a retreat, no matter how orderly, is calamitous. Each retreat leaves a large number of soldiers and officers who are wounded, in the hands of the enemy.

The medical men attending the diseased and the sick are exposed to very great danger. They perform their work under fire during many successive days and nights. Almost superhuman exertions are required to get men removed through the retreating ranks to the ambulance train. The roads are congested with refugees and transport wagons with the fragments of regiments, and with men who have lost their regiments; the railways are also disorganized and crowded with trains of every description. It must, however, be admitted that in this terrible emergency, the doctors prove themselves worthy of the trust reposed on them. Their heroism in the battle-fields is the brightest spot in the annals of war. They may have to pass across a narrow ravine separating two trenches. The ravine is swept by the enemy's fire and those in the trenches lie close. The doctors do not hesitate a moment, but make the hazardous journey. Not only so, but on many occasions, they recross from trench to trench as soon as it is signalled to them that their services are required.



Japs bringing a big gun into position

It is during the period of retreat that the first impression of the effects of modern shell fire is obtained. That impression has astonished the modern world. It has been found that the tremendous blast of air which follows the bursting of a shell produces severe injury to the lungs of men, which in many cases kill them outright. This shell concussion produces such extraordinary effects that after an engagement dead soldiers are found standing in the trenches, or sitting in the most natural attitudes. Amongst the lesser effects of shell concussion observed are sudden blindness without injury to the eye, deafness, and nervous prostration. In some instances men seem to become dazed and to pass into the subconscious state which the spiritualists and the psychologists so elaborately describe as trance. The field hospital accommodation. field medical and nursing services have added much to the little luxuries and comforts of the wounded and the invalid. It is no exaggeration to say that in a battle-field, where lives and limbs are lost, medical and nursing services are the greatest work of mercy, and play a worthy part in the complete change of the situation.

UP THE HOLY GIRNAR

Kathiawar's Hill Abounds in Colourful Legends

By HARISH S. BOOCH

CLAIMING a past that is linked with the epic Golden Age and bearing indelible marks of the ever-changing phenomena of varied historical and cultural influences, Girnar has been a source of inspiration to poets, historians, bards and warriors alike.

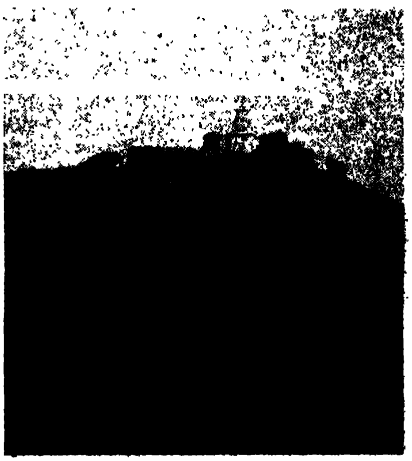
A cross-country drive along the exquisite greenery of Gir area unfolds a thrilling, ennobling spectacle. Silhouetted against the dark blue sky in the far-distant background, you see the sacred Girnar.

Lying majestically on the eastern outskirts of that picturesque Kathiawar city Junagadh, the holy hill of Girnar is equally popular among holiday-makers as well as devout pilgrims. Many are the legends that are attached to the various scenic spots surrounding this hill, which

rises to a height of over 3,600 feet above sea-level.

Said to be the abode of rishis, yogis and mystics for offering penance in ancient days, Girnar was called Revatachal in the golden era of Lord Krishna, according to popular belief. "From Revatachal to Dwarka" was how they used to sum up the boundaries of Lord Krishna's kingdom, it is said.

On the way from Junagadh to the foot of Girnar, the traveller passes a huge rock on which are chiselled the edicts of the great Ashoka, a king whose name is still adored in India for his principles of non-violence and humanitarianism. These edicts which date back to 250 B.C. call upon the travellers to practise



Temple of Shree Ambaji on one of the summits of Girnar. Note the narrow strip of steps

tolerance and non-violence towards fellow beings. A little further away is Damodar Kund; the sacred waters of which have a religious significance for the pious pilgrims.

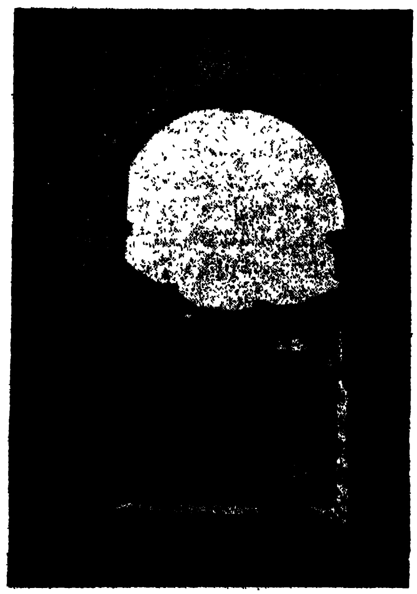
Girnar is surrounded by the famous Gir forest, noted for its lions and cattle. In fact Gir is described as the only place in India where lions are to be found in their natural state. A flight of stone steps ascends Girnar. From foot to summit there are some 9,000 steps altogether and the ascent takes about two hours. A wooden structure called "doli" carried by two or four people on their shoulders may be utilised for going up by those unable or unwilling to climb.

Among the many interesting places on the summits are the temples of Shree Ambaji, Gorakhnath, Dattatraya and Mahakali. There are some Jain temples also up there and the interior of these is remarkable for the murals and carvings of superb artistry. Besides these, there is a number of notable spots claiming historical or mythological importance such as



Jain temples on Girnar viewed from a higher angle

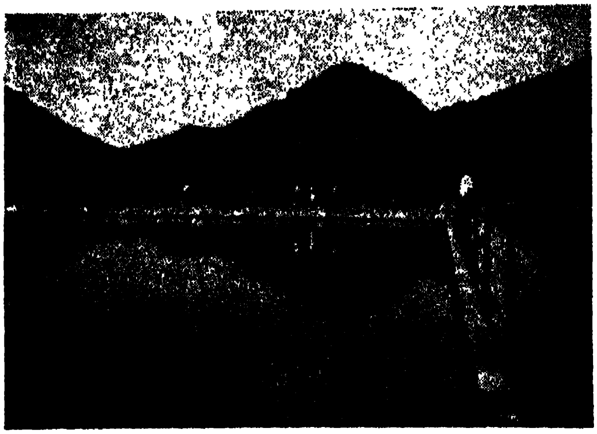
forts, caves, shrines, jungles, streams—with a legend attached to each. Some of the legends are connected with the epic times of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Ashvatthama, the im-



A part of Girnar seen from the gate of an inn carved out of a solid rock

mortal hero of the Mahabharata, is believed to have his abode here even now and, the legend says, he still frequents and haunts Girnar. Then there are places named after celebrated figures from the Ramayana. For instance, on

the other side of the foot of Girnar are two thick forests called Bharat-van and Sita-van and here in the midst of the dense shrubbery of the woods is a delightful picnic spot called Hanuman Dhara, a spring oozing out from the mouth of a stone-image of the famous monkey-god.



A lake on the famous fort of Upper Kote at Junagadh

It is dangerous to remain in the extremely pleasant environments of these woods after dusk and the visitors are strictly warned to leave by daytime. For, not infrequently, many a stocky Gir lion might appear here to drink water from the icy streams of Bharat-van in the dark hours of night. Some people who live in the nearby temples tell the visitors how they sometimes see the king of beasts, a few yards away, quenching his thirst from the temple tank and then peacefully disappearing in the murky oblivion of the woods.

Except in monsoon, there is generally a steady influx of pilgrims and visitors to Girnar at almost all times of the year and to accommodate them there are inns carved out of solid rocks in addition to several well-built *dharamshalas*. There is a constant Indian complaint against many foreign tourists that without actually having seen much of the country in their hurricane tours, they describe India as a land of sadhus, fakirs, snakes, lions and maharajas! While hoping not to be accused of belonging to this tribe, one may mention that all of these—of course with the exception of the last named—are to be found in plenty on and near Girnar.

The proverbial sadhu is there to greet you at every conceivable place. Always on the look-out for devotionally-minded pilgrims, the sadhu fraternity of Girnar fight shy of sight-seers, hikers and picnic-spot-hunters. If you try to click your camera to snap them they create a big row even threatening confiscation of your camera. Perhaps they feel that photography is a "vice" invented by modern civilisation and thus they like to talk and live "in camera"—at the same time hating the camera itself!

Outmatching the view of Bombay from Malabar Hill for the sheer grandeur of the panorama, is the wonderful bird's-eye view one gets from Girnar of the outlying villages, towns, rivers, fields and greenery. After dusk, it is almost an idyllic sight to watch the lights and illuminations of the towns and villages below, one by one, now glimmering, now brightening—the whole scene appearing like a dreamland.



Damodar Kund which one passes on the way to the foot of Girnar

It is no wonder, therefore, that Girnar has inspired many poets, historians and bards, each one of whom sees in it something more than a mere hill or a place of pilgrimage. To them Girnar stands as a symbol of the robust, undying spirit of the people inhabiting in and around Gir area. And having gone there once, you cannot but agree with them.



Tunis. A view of the city



The port of Dakar. Senegal



A view of the Arat procession



Caparisoned State elephants carrying images of deities



Originally meant for the Forest College, this structure, situated in the Chandbagh suburb of Dehra Dun, now serves as the main building of a so-called "public school"
Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

INDIA'S FOREST ECONOMY DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

'OR forty months war's broad, brilliant beam as played upon India's forest economy. It has enetrated into the deepest, remotest recesses of er jungles. It has lit up her sources of strength. t has been ruthless in revealing weaknesses.

All this for a reason. Wood can—and does –exist without war : but no sanguinary conflict an be carried on without it for any length of ime.

The demands made by this war upon India's orest resources have been of a two-fold nature :

(1) Wood that may be termed "nailable" as been needed. The word in quotation marks s pregnant with meaning. It was minted by a Briton who has been longer in the Forest Service han any of his fellows—Sir Harold Glover, the Chief Conservator of the Punjab Forests. Vast uantities of wood that a carpenter can quickly nd easily nail are required for a thousand and ne purposes directly and indirectly connected vith war.

(2) Equally insistent is the demand for what may be called "quality" woods. Articles nade wholly or partly of wood, used in warfare, nust be able to withstand stresses and strains f the severest kind.

Compared with the "nailable" type of timber, the quantities of "quality" woods required are small. Wide as well as exact knowledge of silviculture is, however, needed for obtaining the right kind for a particular purpose. In some cases selection must not be confined to a given species, but each piece must be subjected to the minutest, most searching, scientific examination before it is passed on to the carpenter or fed into the machine.

II

A concrete instance will give one who is not a specialist in this subject an idea of the severity of the strain to which certain articles made altogether or partly of wood for war purposes have to bear. When, the other day, I was being conducted over the Indian Forest Research Institute, situated some five miles from the house in Dehra Dun in which I am writing this article, my attention was arrested by a huge wheel. It looked like a Ferris wheel such as may be seen in amusement parks. When the wheel is rotated with ever-increasing speed, excitement-seekers occupying seats suspended from its outer rim find themselves violently shaken about and only by gripping the arms, handles or rings, as the case may be, can keep from falling out.

Instead of these swinging seats, the wheel at the wood-testing workshop of the Institute had a few wooden cases lying about in it. When, for my benefit, power was turned on and the wheel began to whirl round and round, these cases, loose as they were, knocked against each other and also against the sides of the wheel. It was plain, even to a lay person, that each box was being pounded in a different place every second and that the hits came from a different angle and varied in intensity.

Mr. V. D. Limaye, in charge of the Section, told me that I had been witnessing something in the nature of the strains and stresses to which wooden articles made for certain war purposes are subjected. By this and other tests equally or even more severe, Indian woods had been selected to take the place of those imported from one country or another before the outbreak of hostilities, some for use for war purposes, others in industry.

III

Now as to the extraction of wood—of a number of woods—from our forests for a particular purpose or purposes vital to the defence of our country—vital to our material well-being:

Did India possess timbers that would make her self-sufficing, at least in respect of defence? That question does not seem to have been pondered in the pre-war period by persons who controlled our destinies. If it was asked, no systematic, certainly no successful, effort was made to solve it satisfactorily.

The conditions that now prevail may not have been anticipated in their entirety. What military strategist could have dreamt that a time would come when the Japanese would be in occupation of Burma, the Andamans, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and other islands and islets in the Pacific? What naval observer could have foreseen that the Nipponese would be tearing across and burrowing under the surface of the bays, seas and oceans that lave the shores of Ind? What expert in the use of the air arm could have prophesied that a day would dawn when the wasps in the service of Britain's former ally in the Extreme East would be infesting our skies—that from the blue vault of heaven bombs would be rained down upon our shipping in some of our lagoons and rivers, not to speak of the bounding main margining our Motherland?

Writers on warfare in Britain and elsewhere had, however, been aware of the overweening German ambition for the domination of the East. Time and again the scares (as we thought then) were headlined in newspapers in London and the provinces with which I was associated before, during and after the "World War No. I."

Persons who controlled our forests might have exerted themselves to make India self-sufficing in respect of timber as far as she could be, in at least the zone of defence, just in case this nightmare became something of reality. A day might come, they might have anticipated, when the ambition of military despots in Europe and possibly elsewhere might constrict or seal up the peace-time avenues of imports and throw India back upon her own internal forest resources.

Men who dominated the forest services could, without asking anybody's leave, exploit wood in the bole. They could grow any wood that was "growable." Great, indeed, were the possibilities. Our forests are flung over an immense area widely varying in climatic conditions.

No provision seems to have been made for finding or growing woods that might, at any moment, be needed for aeroplane construction or the making of ammunition boxes and many other undeniable requisites of war and war industries. That being the case, it would be stupid upon the part of any thinking person to assume that any great effort would have been put forth towards making our manufacturing, building and allied industries independent of articles in which wood entered to a greater or smaller extent that were being imported, many of them in large quantities, either fully or partly made, or in the form of raw materials. Despite our vast forest wealth and vaster forest potential, we were helplessly—almost hopelessly—dependent upon the outside world (within which, for years, has been comprehended Burma) for timbers for meeting many of our military, naval and aerial requirements as well as numerous civil needs.

IV

Research thrives only if it fructifies man's life. What scope was there for fructification?

Suppose the foresters in the Government of India's pay, or those in the employ of provincial administrations, had scoured India's woods and found timber that would be useful for aeroplane construction? What practical good could that success have accomplished in the pre-war period? Not only was there no such industry in the country, but persons who projected it were dubbed as visionaries instead of being encouraged or even subsidized.

In the field of industry conducted solely on an economic basis, what encouragement did foresters receive? The research carried on by

the pioneers at the Institute at Chandbagh, a suburb of Dehra Dun, and later at its present site, two miles or so further west, was crowned—in some cases abundantly crowned—with results calculated to be of the greatest practical value. To what use did industry actually put many of them?

There was the Paper Pulp Section, for instance. A scientist from the United Provinces (M. P. Bhargava), aided by one from the Punjab (Chattar Singh) did a great deal of work in converting Indian woods, including bamboos into paper of one quality or another, for one purpose or another. To supplement the laboratory tests, the Government was persuaded by the President of the Institute to find the money to set up a plant for the production of paper on a semi-commercial scale. Paper was produced. It was paper that compared favourably with the imported article of like grade and like price. Was there a single moneyed individual or a person with the capacity to organize finance, who troubled to set up a mill or mills in which commercial operations on a large scale could be conducted with wood in the Himalayas and other localities suggested by the Institute? I am yet to hear of such a venture.

Much the same can be said of the plywood industry. A plant for its manufacture was set up at the Institute years ago. Considering the amount of wood of this description that was being imported year by year till the outbreak of hostilities, many factories for the manufacture of plywood should have gone up in all parts of India. They, however, did not, in the pre-war period.

I could multiply these instances were there space. Nor would such multiplication serve any purpose that those I have given will not.

What heart could the scientists in the various branches and sections of the Institute put into their researches? All credit to them that they persisted, despite the depressing conditions all about them.

V

War's fierce flame has burnt away much of the piece-time complacency, at least for the moment. The forty months during which the conflict has raged is, as measured in the wood-world, only the twinkling of an eye. No new timber could be produced in so short a period except under the spell of magic. There has, however, been a hunt—in some cases almost a mad hunt—through silvicultural areas. This hunt, made by persons possessed of scientific equipment and no small mental and physical vigour, has yielded remarkably rich results.

Mention was made a short time ago of some of these by the Member of the Government of India who has India's forests in his portfolio—the Hon'ble the Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, a new recruit to the Governor-General's Executive Council. Speaking at the Conference of the Board of Forestry that he convened recently at the Forest nerve-centre at Dehra Dun, he outlined the progress made. That Institute had "proved that India has suitable timber for use in aircraft, which was considered out of the question a year ago." Its Wood Technology Section had "tested ammunition boxes, crates for sola topis, propellers, spars for plywood, glue joints, parachute containers and a number of other special articles completing nearly half a million tests." It had devised "hard-wood dowels for roof-trusses and bridges, saving a considerable amount of metal and money."

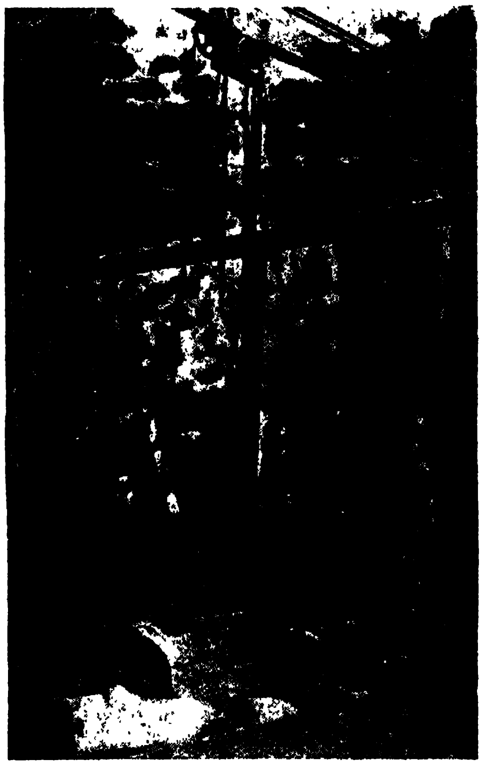


"The first forest school in the Empire"
Established in 1878, it is now used for training forest rangers
Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

The Institute had been producing oils from *chir* pine and developing processes which have enabled a firm "to produce disinfectants for our troops." It had worked out processes for extracting "ephadrine from ephedra, acetone from derris and medicinal tar from pines."

The way found by the Institute "to defeat armies of white ants" had been "adopted by the Supply Department and seasoning in kilns"

had "proved its value and gained in popularity." A cold settling adhesive and new glues from indigenous products had been evolved to replace casein and other types of cements needed for naval and other uses. A large variety of plywood containers had "been constructed at the Institute as substitutes for metal containers, ranging from one-pound tins and canisters to sturdy 50-gallon drums for road tar." Approved by the Army, they were "being produced by several firms for keeping oils, greases, dry-goods and medical stores."



Testing a method of seasoning wood at the Institute
Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

The Paper Pulp Section of the Institute was "making a bulk supply of paper for various military uses and map paper for the Survey of India, in addition to investigations connected with natural and synthetic dyes, water-proof paper and specifications for cardboard containers for Ordnance and Medical Stores."

Much of this accomplishment could easily—should—have been made without the spur of war. I am glad, however, that it has been made and gladder that the Institute is going ahead with its good work. The last time I was taken over it I was greatly interested in the experiments that the seasoning specialist—Aziz-ur-Rahman, an M.Sc. of the Lucknow University, was making to enable pencil factories in India to secure plentiful supplies of suitable wood.

VI

The Board of Forestry at which this speech was made had brought to Dehra Dun, Mr. Burman, the Minister-in-charge of the Forests in Bengal, and Mr. Ilahi Baksh—his "opposite number"—from the western corner of the country—Sindh. There were forest officials from the major provinces and from little Coorg.

This conclave afforded me a good opportunity to discover how far India has become self-sufficing in respect of the Forest Service personnel. At the apex was Stanley Herbert Howard, B.A., occupying the dual office of President of the Institute and Inspector-General of Forests in India. Two branches of the Institute were captained by Indians—the Botanical by Dr. K. D. Bagchee and the Chemistry by Dr. S. Krishna. No Indian has ever risen, so far as I can learn, to be the head of the Entomological, Silvicultural or Utilization Branch. Several Sections of the last-named Branch are, however, under Indians—Wood Technology (Dr. K. A. Chowdhury); Wood Preservation (Dr. Narayanamurti); Wood Seasoning (Aziz-ur-Rahman); Wood Testing (V. D. Limaye); and Paper Pulp (Chattar Singh).

Of the two institutions at Dehra Dun maintained for training in forestry, only the junior one had an Indian director. This was the Indian Forest Ranger College, headed, since a few years back, by C. R. Ranganathan.

In the provinces not a single Indian occupies the position of Chief Conservator of Forests. In only one of them—Bihar, which saves on the Chief Conservator—was there an Indian head of forestry—Lakhpat Rai Sabharwal, who, till lately, was the Personal Assistant to the President of the Institute. The present Personal Assistant (Gurdial S. Singh) was trained at Oxford and has served mostly in the Bombay Presidency.

VII

What of the future?

My feeling is that the men at the top have little time or energy left, when they have finished their day-to-day work, to devote to the consideration of ways and means for speeding up progress. Those whom they control or direct are, I fear, wholly absorbed in duties connected with the extraction of timber and silvicultural

operations and cannot give to development the attention it deserves.

This is the time when thought should be directed towards safeguarding the future. Plans should be worked out for a more searching scrutiny of our forest wealth, the more intensive utilization of our forest resources and the investigation of possibilities for development. Schemes should also be evolved for making forestry the hand-maiden of industry, so that our people may be enriched by the utilization of the forest products and especially the "minor products" (to borrow a term from the forester's lingo).

I am particularly disquieted as to the training to be given to would-be foresters. There is no nexus between the two institutions that exist at Dehra Dun. From the Ranger College—college in name only, so far as I can see—no one can graduate into the one in which men are trained for direct appointment to positions in the "superior" service.

Why should the portal to these prize-posts in the Forest Service be so narrow? Why should the way be made so forbidding?

Only the fortunate few whose fathers can pave the path with gold can get up to it, or who can secure subventions from one province or another.

An acquaintance of mine whose high authority in these matters I respect, worked out for me, the other day, the cost incurred upon a "trainee" (a term that is fast becoming popular). The figure was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 12,000 for the two years' course and contingent expenses.

I have known young men to get through the forestry course at Oxford for less than that amount, passage both ways and practical training on the Continent included. If I remember aright, a Rhodes Scholar receives only £700 for his two years' tenure.

The training of Indians in forestry was begun in 1878. Conservation work had already been started.

What a commentary upon the forest policy and administration that to the fag end of 1942, when I am penning these words, not a single Indian was, in the estimation of the powers that be, fitted to conduct the college for training his young countrymen for entry into the "superior" forest service!

CONSCRIPTING THE BIBLE

By Prof. SATISH D. KALELKAR, M.A., (Oxon)
Benares Hindu University

Wondering why Gandhiji's 'Appeal to Every Briton' failed to produce the reaction that his faith in the innate goodness of human heart expected and in order to understand the working of the mind of the man who is today at the helm of affairs in Britain, I recently went through Mr. Winston Churchill's *World Crisis 1911-14* and a popular and authentic *Biography* of his by Mr. Rene Kraus who has been "engaged in European politics as a journalist and diplomat for almost twenty years and who has known Mr. Churchill and other British statesmen personally for many years."

All through the book one gathers the impression that the biographer, like his hero, considers the Indian political problem too insignificant for serious discussion; he is concerned with India only as a training centre and polo-ground for young Churchill, and expresses the same disrespectful sentiments for everything Indian, as do the majority of American newspapers which have allowed themselves to be poisoned by the formidable but false British propaganda. To give but one instance, Mr. Kraus refers to the late Shapurji Saklatwala the first Communist M.P., of Britain in the manner of a 'white American' and calls him "the coffee-coloured comrade" to whose "endless tirade nobody listened"!

I had always admired Mr. Churchill not so much because, as a warrior, writer, prophet and statesman he had captured the igamination of England while still in his twenties and of the world in his middle age, as for his frank admission of enthusiasm for empire-building. Mr. Churchill is frank; one can say with considerable degree of confidence that he is pro this and anti that. One feels great difficulty in under-

standing a Halifax, but one knows one's Churchill and places him accordingly. As long ago as in 1919 when Mr. Churchill was the Head of the War Office, he never made bones about supporting anti-Bolshevik action in Russia. His frankness was perhaps based on his intuitive knowledge that only a few years before, Lenin "had passed by the House in Westminster and pointing to the 'stronghold of democracy' had said to his companion: 'There is our real mortal enemy.'" (I wonder how many of our Communist friends in India know this!) In 1919 Mr. Churchill was very much alarmed by the possibility of a communistic general strike, and the support he offered to the anti-Bolshevik activity in Russia was based on his conviction that Britain was in immediate danger. He therefore took the precaution of circulating among the commanding officers a secret document enquiring about the readiness of the troops to maintain communications in the event of a communistic general strike. The Labour paper *Daily Herald* which has since aligned itself with the policy of "Socialism at home and Imperialism in Colonics," somehow obtained a copy of that secret circular and revealed it to the public with a hue and cry. But Mr. Churchill remained unperturbed as ever; his only answer was "Admitted"!!. It is a person of this type that one understands easily and it was for this reason that leaving Mr. Amery alone, I tried to understand the mind of the present British Prime Minister who is extolled as the "great adversary of barbarism fighting the fight of humanity."

It will not be irrelevant diversion if we go back to 1901 in order to understand the psychology of the person to whom among others, Gandhiji had made the 'Appeal to Quit India,' and who counts most in British politics today. Speaking before the Cambridge University Carlton Club in 1901, *inter alia* Mr. Churchill had said:

> "We do not grow enough food to keep ourselves alive. We have an enormous industrial population crowded together in great cities far removed from the natural agricultural life of man, and dependent for their daily bread entirely on the condition of trade. The food we eat, the clothes we wear, *indeed our very existence depends on our power to hold our own in colonial and foreign markets.* If we are undersold, or outmatched or arbitrarily excluded, we perish." (Italics mine).

The speech is significant; it tells us what is at the back of their mind when the British statesmen talk about "fighting for democracy" and describe Mr. Churchill as "the great adversary of barbarism fighting the fight of humanity.". Tested by Mr. Churchill's own views, all the jargon about Britain fighting for human freedom boils down to fighting for retaining the "power to hold our own in colonial and foreign markets." That is why Gandhiji insisted that if India is the stake in this war, we should be told so.

There is yet another interesting incident which shows Mr. Churchill's frank selfishness and a false sense of patriotism. At the end of the Boer War when Mr. Churchill was being lionised as a great hero, he availed himself of the favourable moment and went across the Atlantic on a lecturing tour. At his New York debut he was most cordially introduced by the great humorist Mark Twain; but the audience which was full of Irish nationalists staged an anti-British demonstration. In Chicago, the Irish made the lecture almost impossible. When they burst out in demonstrations for the Boers, Mr. Churchill tried to take the wind out of their sails by announcing "If I were a Boer, I would certainly have fought against England." Here perhaps his conscience got the better of him! Mark Twain who was no Irishman and had no axe to grind, explained the American standpoint to him. The Boer War, he said in substance, was an imperialist campaign. Pat came Mr. Churchill's proud answer: "My country, right or wrong." !!

After the performance of Sir Stafford Cripps, Indians need no further proof to be convinced that it is typical of the British statesman that once he becomes one of the called and chosen in the Government he mixes a little water with his radical wine. Mr. Herbert Morrison's suppression of the *Daily Worker* for a year and a half is an instance in point. Mr. Churchill is no exception to this. Some thirty years ago when he was harassed in the Parliament about the "Chinese slave labour in South Africa," his notorious reply was:

> "The contract under which coolies are employed may not be a desirable contract and not a healthy contract, but it cannot, in view of His Majesty's Government, be classified as slavery in the extreme acceptance of the word without some risk of terminological inexactitude." !!

If Mr. Churchill were forced to comment on the present political status of India which the Congress describes as slavery, *mutatis mutandis* he would give an identical reply as his favourite Mr. Amery who is tied to his boss by the 'old school tie' has already been doing.

But the greatest of all characteristics of the

ruling class of Britain is their capacity for self-deception which foreigners would be excused to describe as arrant hypocrisy. Is it really so very difficult for the Britisher to imagine that when their statesmen talk glibly about their Christian Mission in Asia, the Asiatics get as exasperated as do the Europeans when they hear Japan talk of her "Mission of Peace in China"? A Chinese friend of mine at Oxford once told me that if ever he became the dictator of China, the first thing he would do would be to kick the Christian missionaries out, who put Empire before Christ. "The Bible, apart from its universal truths, is full of nonsense and it is certainly antiquated," he said. "Still, I can understand dogmatic Christians trying to plan life according to the teachings of the Bible. But what infuriates me is the British capacity for freely employing the word of their Lord to justify their most unchristian doings. It is said. Devil may quote scriptures, I have no doubt he does."

Mr. Churchill's patriotism does not stop at "my country, right or wrong"; it seeks justification from the Bible for the shameless exploitation of other countries. We have evidence for this from Mr. Churchill's *World Crisis 1911-14*. After the well-known Agadir Crisis which very nearly plunged the world into the Great War that came three years later, Mr. Churchill was spending a few days with Mr. Asquith the Prime Minister who was deeply impressed by the fiery zeal of his young colleague. This is how Mr. Churchill describes the eve of his becoming the First Lord of the Admiralty.

"The day after I had arrived there, on our way home from the links, he (Asquith) asked me quite abruptly whether I would like to go to the Admiralty. He had put the same question to me when he first became Prime Minister.

"I said 'Indeed I would.'

"That night when I went to bed, I saw a large Bible lying on a table in my bedroom. My mind was dominated by the news I had received of the complete change in my station and of the task entrusted to me I thought of the peril of Britain, peace-loving, unthinking, little prepared, of her power and virtue, and *her mission of good sense and fairplay*. (Italics mine).

"I opened the Book (the Bible) at random, and in the 9th. Chapter of Deuteronomy I read: 'Hear O Israel, thou art to pass over Jordan this day, to go in to possess nations greater and mightier than thyself, cities greater and fenced up to heaven. . . . .

"'Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, For my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land: but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord doth drive them out from before thee.

"'Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart dost thou go to possess their land; but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee, and that he may perform the word which the Lord sware unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.'"

Mr. Churchill ends this narrative by remarking: "It seemed a message full of assurance." His Christian conscience was satisfied that the imperialist war that Britain was planning to wage, was in reality a Christian Mission!! The 'Chosen People' of Britain were only humble instruments in the hands of God punishing wicked nations!

No wonder Gandhiji's 'Appeal to Quit India' had no effect on the British statesmen who believe that they are the 'Chosen People' of God.

Truth, they say, is the first casualty in a violent war. We may add: the Bible is the first to be conscripted.

POST-WAR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: CERTAIN QUESTIONS

BY BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

It is no exaggeration to say that one of the most important causes of the present war is to be found in the failure of the victors of the last war to handle the post-war problems with sagacity and statesmanship and to rebuild the post-war world on sounder lines. The world will perhaps realise now at the cost of another devastating war that it is, after all, impossible to have lasting peace without redressing legitimate grievances; that it is also futile to extort war indemnity from the defeated enemy; that it is dangerous even for victors to try to profit economically out of such a war at the cost of the vanquished, for such an attempt would ultimately recoil on its author. The lesson seems to have been at least partially learnt and various Governments including the Government of India have already

created ministers for post-war reconstruction or have appointed post-war reconstruction committees. The public is generally not taken into confidence in such matters and we do not, as a rule, get any inkling of what goes on in these secret conclaves. But there are indications that in spite of this terrible lesson the mistakes of the last war may, to a certain extent, be repeated again. We may therefore tentatively put the following questions :

I. Post-war economic reconstruction would depend for its success on a satisfactory solution of the political problem. It is difficult to find out in which direction the causal relation goes, but it is at least certain that economic and political reconstruction must go together. It is yet to be seen whether this all-important question can be satisfactorily answered by the victors, when the war ends.

II. Post-war economic reconstruction would obviously be facilitated or hampered by the way in which economic relations develop now between the allies. What are the main features of the existing relations ? What would be the nature of the legacy to be borne by the post-war world ?

One of the most important features of the economic relations that existed during the last war was that the world was sharply divided into two groups, one consisting of creditors, another of debtors. The creditors tried to realise their dues, first, to the fullest possible extent, and second, in cash money (*i.e.*, gold) as far as possible. As a natural reaction to this, present transactions are made, first, often with a hope that everything perhaps need not be repaid, the creditors thus paying for a moral cause, and, secondly, the transactions are often made in goods and not in money. The second feature is more important of the two. As the *Economist*[1] writes :

> "In the long run, the most important element in the generous and broad-minded attitude of President Roosevelt and his colleagues towards the debts of this war is not the inference that—because these debts represent only one side of the account in a common world effort for freedom which should be liquidated finally according to the criterion of "equal sacrifice"—they may not have to be paid in full as they stand. The really signficant point is the basic principle of Lend-Lease itself, namely, that goods must be paid for by goods."

Judged from this viewpoint, the world seems to be yet moving towards disaster. Granted now the benefit of the principle that goods must be paid for by goods, we find different relations in different cases,—a fact which may lead to difficulty.

(*a*) The relation of the British Empire and other belligerents *vis-a-vis* the United States of America is at least partially based on the principle of Lend-Lease. Any discussion on this topic must be tentative in character, as the full extent of the Lend-Lease help is not yet known, nor the way in which repayment would be taken yet determined. But if the basic principle of Lend-Lease is nothing but goods paying for goods, we might say that the British Empire has, to a certain extent at least, built up economic relations with the United States on this principle. It, however, goes without saying that all the units of the British Empire do not stand on the same footing.

(*b*) This is, however, not the case within the British Empire itself. Great Britain has, during the war, heavily drawn on the deep reservoir of her empire resources, so much so that many countries are now rapidly changing from the position of a debtor to that of a creditor. As the last war saw the turning of the scale with regard to the United States, this war has seen the definite emergence of Canada as a creditor country. The financial position between England and Canada would be clear from the following table :[2]

(MILLION DOLLARS)

Net cash deficiency to March 31, 1942 ..	1,872
U. K. sale of gold to Canada ..	250
Official repatriation ..	714
Private repatriation ..	126
Conversion of sterling balance to loan ..	700
Conversion of sterling balance to gift ..	1,000
	2,790

Thus Canada provided Great Britain with a balance of 920 million dollars, which in the words of the Canadian finance minister should be sufficient to take care of Britain's dollar deficit until some time early in 1943. Australia, South Africa and India have not yet reached this position, but the accumulation of huge sterling balances in the hands of these countries is sufficient proof that they are delivering goods to Britain on credit. We are not here concerned about the merits or demerits of the scheme; the important point is that the principle adopted here bears no resemblance to the new principle of goods paying for goods but has close

1. *Economist*, July 29, 1942, p. 109.

2. *Economist*, April 25, 1942, p. 571.

THE ARAT
Travancore's Procession Par Excellence

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

The Arat is the most solemn, imposing and spectacular ceremony which marks the consummation of the Ulsavam in the Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple at Trivandrum. The Ulsavam (festival) in the temple lasts for ten days and on the tenth day starts the magnificent Arat Procession. Every year two Ulsavams, one in March-April and the other in October-November, are celebrated with great pomp and splendour. The festival commences with the Kodiyettu (hoisting of the God's Flag) and closes with the Arat, the procession of the gods escorted by His Highness the Maharaja with the entire paraphernalia of the Temple and the State. Tradition and legend aver that the Arat ceremony was instituted by Sree-Parasurama, one of the Avatars (incarnations) of god Maha-Vishnu, to be celebrated in all the temples of Kerala. Arat literally means bathing. The ceremony consists in taking the images of the gods in procession to the sea-beach and immersing them in the waters which perform "their priest-like task of pure ablution," and making oblations to the deities in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

The Arat procession which takes its substance from the age-old and traditional ideas of Vedic India illustrates the universal truth of the ultimate triumph of good over evil. The old story is that god Maha-Vishnu, the Protector of the Universe, went out to destroy the demon of evil. The Vetta (hunt) procession which takes place on the night previous to the Arat, signifies the march of Lord Vishnu to kill the demon. The procession returns to the temple at night. By killing an evil demon god Vishnu has been polluted, and his image must, therefore, remain outside the sanctuary until it is purified. The Arat is the purification ceremony. The purified images are borne back into the sanctuary after the Arat, bath in the sea. This is the *raison d'etre* of the Arat.

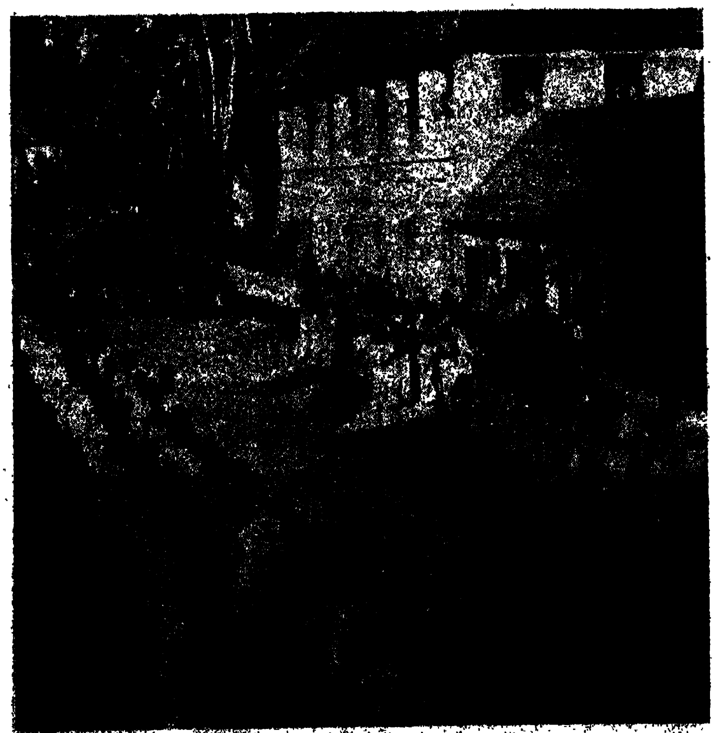
The most splendid array to be seen in South India, the Arat, is a link with the past. The Arat at Trivandrum is a gala day for people who flock to the capital from far and near to see the gorgeous procession of the gods headed by the Maharaja. The gods, Sree Padmanabha, Sree Krishna and Sree Narasimha, (different aspects of Maha-Vishnu) elaborately decorated and seated in different *vahanams* (conveyances) made of gold and silver, are carried in procession to the sea-beach to be bathed in the ocean.



The procession starts from the temple

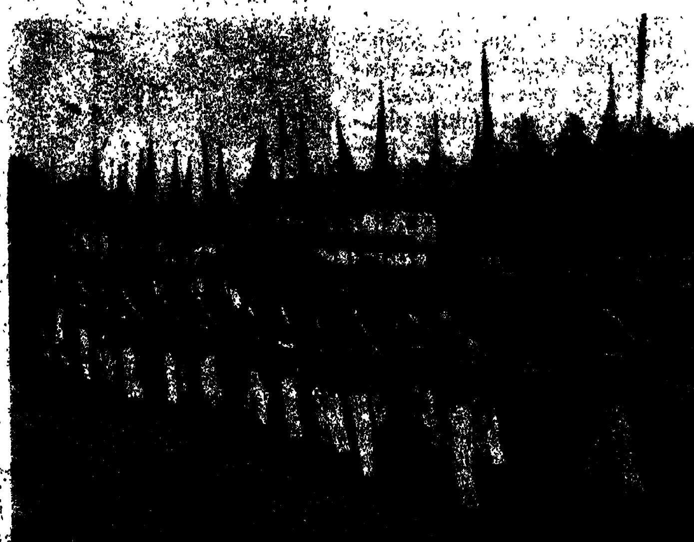
The *vahanams* which are masterpieces of art and craftsmanship reveal a marvellous intricacy of design and decoration, and exquisite finish. The gods are lavishly decorated with multi-coloured jewels, silk clothes with gold lace and flowers. After the usual *pradakshinams* (circumambulations) inside the temple, the *vahanams* are set in motion on the shoulders of the willing bearers, Malayali Brahmins belonging to the highest class who officiate as priests in the temple.

The colourful procession starts at 4 p.m. from the Western Gate of the Sree Padmanabhaswami Temple. A salute of twenty-one guns fired by the State Artillery announces the start of the most splendid procession which



A view of the Arat procession

Trivandrum sees. His Highness the Maharaja walks ahead of the procession of the gods as [illegible] vassal of Sree Pad[illegible], the tutelar deity of the Ruling House of Travancore. The Maharajas of Travancore have assumed the title of "Sree Padmanabha Dasa" (Servant of Sree Padmanabha) ever since January, 1750 A.D., when Maharaja Martanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, dedicated all his possessions to the deity in the Anantasayanam Temple, styled himself "Sree Padmanabha Dasa" and took over the management of the State as the Vicegerent of the Lord. Among the many titles of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore the place of honour has been given to the title "Sree Padmanabha Dasa."



Palace guards in quaint and picturesque uniform

The roads and houses on either side of the streets through which the gay procession winds its way are tastefully decorated. The variety and colour of the costumes worn by people forming the immense crowd and their cheerful appearance and demeanour, coupled with the glow of the clear evening sky, provide a sumptuous background for the procession. The colourful procession is led by an elegantly caparisoned elephant carrying the State Flag. Glittering with gold and silver trappings, come next the horses of the royal stable led by their syces in picturesque costumes. The god's flags, umbrellas and other emblems of divinity are carried by the servants attached to the temple. The magnificently arrayed State cavalry in shining uniform march in single file to the right and left of the led horses. The long spears and smart equipment of these stalwart soldiers mounted on splendid chargers gleam in the sunshine. Placed on the head of a palace servant a wooden box covered with leopard skin is carried with the procession. This box is an emblem of royalty. The State Forces with

banners flying and band playing come behind in a line with the flag elephant. The bayonets of the infantry shine resplendently in the glow of the evening sun. The Nair officials, according to their rank and order of precedence, in temple costume, bare-bodied and bare-footed, with drawn sword and dangling shield march in front of His Highness protecting the Maharaja and the Deity. The costume of the Nair with a representation of the golden foot of Sree Padmanabha," and with a drawn sword comes next, followed by His Highness the Elaya Raja (heir-apparent) and the other male members of the royal family, his personal attendants and bodyguards. The infantry march in single file on either side of the Maharaja and the gods. Gold garlands inlaid with precious stones adorn the Maharaja's chest. The costume worn by the



Palace guards in picturesque costume

officials resembles the dress their ancestors who were warlords wore in the days of old when there was internal strife in the land and the sovereign had to be guarded against the attacks of scheming traitors. The Hindu officials wear red turbans with gold lace and scarlet body-bands. They tie two white clothes around their waists, one over the other, the first an ordinary cloth and the second a cloth of exquisite texture with gold lace. Their picturesque costume lends old-world charm to this spectacular procession.

Clad in traditional temple costume, His Highness the Maharaja, bare-footed and bare-bodied, wearing a green velvet cap " embroidered palace guards looks most picturesque and is in sharp contrast with the most modern uniform of the State Forces. The guards attached to the palace continue to wear the same pattern of old and quaint uniform worn by their predecessors. Their turbans, old-fashioned shields, and long spears remind one of ancient times. The palace guards are called Bankkodikars, Valakashakkars, and Velkars. The picturesque pennons in various colours and shapes carried by the Banakkodikars lend a special charm to the procession. The Brahmin officers, bare-headed and bare-footed, walk behind the Maharaja. Golden and silver images of the gods

Bombay, to see that the work till now was conducted on right lines and that it was a research pregnant with high possibilities, gave me a special grant of three thousand rupees. The intensive work continued for about 11 months. During this period, in all, three hundred different models of the lamp, which represent the historical growth of the development of the idea, were prepared of which the present three models, (1) the wall-lamp, (2) the stand, (3) the Hurricane lantern represent the final laboratory models. These models were tested scientifically in laboratory on behalf of the Government of Bombay, and in a practical way by the Raja of Aundh. The Raja Sahib kept these lamps burning nonstop for ten continuous days and then declared his approval by giving this lamp a prize of one thousand rupees, which he had announced in the year 1933 for the successful inventor of the lamp burning the Karanj oil giving light as bright as kerosene. A special lecture with demonstrations of the above lamp was arranged at a session of the Science Congress held in Benares in 1941 with Sir Ardeshir Dalal, the then President in chair, who along with other scientists highly approved the invention. During the same year Mr. R. P. Masani, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, paid a visit to my laboratory and expressed his full appreciation for my work. In December 1941, a special research grant of Rs. 500/- was awarded by the University of Bombay to continue my researches on these lamps.



D. R. Joglekar

Out of this grant the simplest of the seed-oil lamps, based on the principle of floating burner—a device invented in days as old as 1924—was perfected. This A. R. P. or bed lamp carried by a girl of three is shown in the picture. To perfect the lamp in every respect 20 different forms were made, 30 varieties of burners tried, experiments on wicks and wick-raising arrangements were conducted and the present lamp is the final result of all of them. This lamp emits light just sufficient to read, is proof against wind and rain, is easily portable, can burn any seed-oil, is so economic that if used for 5 hours every night, the monthly expense will be only 2 lbs. of oil or 8 annas even at the present rate, and lastly the cost of it so cheap that if manufactured in lakhs it can be sold at 12 annas each. This is the best lamp for the poor Indian agriculturists and will yearly save a drain of 10 to 12 crores of rupees. It is a lamp which can be safely used as an A. R. P. lamp.

As a further step I have started to manufacture these lamps (A. R. P. lamps) on a very modest scale and am selling them at Rs. 2/- each, obviously a high price due to scarcity of raw material—still there is a very good demand for the same. The real difficulty is capital. If at least five lakhs of rupees are made available I can flood the market with my lamps within a period of six to nine months. At present I have been successful in devising a lamp which can burn both seed-oils and kerosene.



The A. R. P. or bed-lamp

• Railway transport facilities have been very uncertain in these days and so instead of starting a very big factory at some place like Bombay or Calcutta I have drawn up a scheme to start about 100 Gramodyoga centres. The capital for such a centre will be Rs. 25000/- and the daily production will be about 100 lamps. There will be 20 workers—who have received 2 months' training—and a few hand-driven machines. About 20 such centres will be started in every presidency. By this system wastes and other general defects of mass manufacture can be eliminated; there will be no ground for the spirit of provincialism, transport will be easy even if tomorrow the railway traffic is dislocated, and lastly the local oils will be utilised which in their turn will yield oil-cakes, very badly needed as cheap manure for the land and as nourishing fodder in cattle.

This is the present position of my work. It is already late unless the capitalists or philanthropists come forth with their willing help, for the real moment of danger may be expected 3 months hence. At the nick of time it will be impossible for me to organise the production and the money of the rich will be of no avail.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

THE Soviet giant is unbeaten and undaunted yet; the Axis forces in Libya are not routed, though they do not seem to be ready for a final show-down; in Tunisia the position is obscure, though it is clear now that the Axis has managed to get together a considerable force in that area; the Japanese are putting up a stubborn resistance in New Guinea. The situation in India is complex. We have so little information regarding China that it may be said that there is little or no news about China. In general it may be said that the year 1942 is passing out, leaving the World in general in a condition of tense anxiety with many unsolved riddles and problems facing the War-lords of the two hemispheres.

In Russia, the winter offensive of the Soviets is continuing although it is plain now that the Russian armies are fighting under many handicaps and that the Germans are better prepared this time to meet the onslaughts of the Soviets. It is plain now that the Soviet High Command had picked out the weakest points in the far-flung battle line in Russia and the counter-offensive was launched without giving the Germans a breathing space after the conclusion of their campaigning season. The Nazi War-directorate had foreseen the coming of this counter-offensive to a certain extent, and further the Soviets probably had a very difficult problem to solve regarding the supply and transport arrangements. But in spite of all difficulties the Soviets' forces have succeeded in carrying out the first part of their plans, as a result of which there has been an almost complete disruption in the supply and transport arrangements of the Axis in the Don bend. The Axis forces on the Volga and further down towards Rostov are now fighting under difficulties. It is clear that the terrible hardships of the Russian winter impose a very heavy handicap on the Axis forces—and to a lesser extent on the Russians. This factor being added to the breaking up of the German lines of communication towards Stalingrad has created a series of serious complexities for the Nazi High Command, which hold out considerable possibilities for the Soviets' chances of carrying out a successful—though limited—winter campaign on the Steppes of the Don and the Volga and in the foothills of the Caucasus. But it must not be forgotten that only a very partial success has been attained as yet and the Soviet winter offensive has to travel very much further before any major and lasting success can be claimed. Elsewhere on Russian front, fighting is of a ding-dong nature as yet, for which nothing much can be claimed for by either party. The fact that stands boldly and distinctly out of all this is, however, that the Soviets' forces are a long way from being knocked out and as yet they represent by far the major factor in the total fighting opposition offered against the Axis.

In Libya, Rommel's forces have managed to keep fairly intact, though up till the time of writing they have not offered any real opposition to the British and Allied forces that are pursuing them. It is evident that Rommel considers that given sufficient time he can get together sufficient strength in armour and in the air to give battle to the Eighth army, or else the halt at el Agheila was to no point. The further

west he goes the nearer become his supply bases and more difficult the communication lines of the Allies. He seems therefore to be "trading space for time." The alternative is the evacuation of most of Tripolitana in order to form a long and continuous front in opposition to the joint forces under General Eisenhower and General Alexander. In Tunisia, the Axis has managed to bring the Allied advance to a halt for the time being. For some time, the Allied forces were on the defensive, and though the position is obscure as yet, it seems that the Allies will have to bring in considerable reinforcements before the drive can be resumed by them.

In New Guinea, the Allied forces are meeting with a very stubborn resistance from the Japanese. Progress is exceedingly slow although there can be no question as to who has the upperhand. While the maintenance of communications is a difficult proposition for the Allied troops in New Guinea, it has been rendered almost impossible for the Japanese through the alertness and the striking power of the American and Australian Air forces. In the Solomons, the position is somewhat different. There the American offensive is probably held up until a decision is attained regarding the naval mastery of the waters surrounding the islands. In both these areas, despite Allied superiority in aerial equipment, the Japanese have as yet maintained a very rigid and determined resistance. Those people who dream of rolling back the Japanese tide of aggression as fast as it came should open their eyes and look at the portents as they are clearly presented.

The position at the Indo-Burmese frontiers is difficult to analyse as yet due to many apparently self-contradictory factors appearing in the very meagre news given. There has been a very slow advance into Arakan, but no Japanese obstruction has been encountered. On the other hand, in the No-man's land areas on the Assam border patrols encountered considerable opposition. Air raids on objectives in occupied Burma have been kept up, although the tempo has not been increased. Japanese air-raids into India are, on the other hand, increasing both in tempo and in area of attack.

From all the news available, there does not seem to be any question of a Japanese invasion of India being imminent on any part of the front. On the other hand, we do not find any grounds for the rosy belief that before long the Japanese would be pushed out of Burma and the Burma road would begin to function. It is easy to show how the Japanese are no longer in a position to resume the offensive against India and indeed it would be easy to prove that they have no chances against the gathering might of the Allies in the East. But examined in the light of realities such optimistic assertions seem to be far-fetched as yet, to say the least. In reality Japan's position in Burma, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies keeps on *improving with the passage of every day.* This in short means that the Allied task becomes more difficult and more expensive in the terms of "blood, sweat, tears," etc.—to say nothing of time and money—with the passing of time. The Japanese are adepts at improvisation and their war-machinery, civil and military, was in gear long before the Allies even thought of making a start. It would be foolish therefore to imagine that they are not straining every nerve to consolidate their positions on the territories overrun before they make any fresh moves forward. The Japanese Navy has received hard knocks without doubt, but it is still in a position to guard effectively and efficiently all the inner sea-lanes of communication. And until those channels are distinctly and effectively broken into, all talk about "throwing the Japs out of Burma and Malaya" must be considered as premature at least.

An American spokesman said the other day that the only thing to be satisfied about in the present situation was that the Axis was on the defensive in certain sections. This is cerainly an improvement on the position of the Allies during the past three years, and that about sums up all that there is to be said on the matter.

We in India have received very scanty news about China during the past months. She has a heart-breaking task in the matter of supplies, and unfortunately the people in India, in spite of all the willingness in the world, are not in a position to give any concrete evidence of their sympathy.

Much has been written regarding the air-raids on Calcutta. The morale of the people has received a shaking but has stood the strain fairly well despite complete absence of any official endeavour to reinforce it. It has indicated clearly that bureaucracy is still as poor a substitute for democratic leadership of the genuine kind as it was in Malaya, Burma and the Dutch East Indies. The actual effect of the air-raids has been insignificant so far when considered in terms of military damage. But that is neither here nor there since the war is still on.

MODERN SCHOOLS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
University of Lucknow

History is one of the oldest branches of learning known to mankind, and naturally therefore there have been great changes from time to time both in the conception of history and in the method and outlook of the historians. This transformation of historiography has been particularly rapid in the modern age, and its progress will be apparent from the fact that even in the 18th century history was considered to be no better than imperfect annals of the past. Sir Robert Walpole's famous remark, "Read me anything but history, for that must be false," betrays the layman's prejudice against history as a philosophy of life. Similarly, Macaulay's ambition to make his History replace the latest novel on the tables of young ladies indicated the view that history was only "true romance." From such simple notions historians have progressed in modern times to new concepts under the influence of various modes of thought initiated by the Radicals and the Social Democrats of the last two centuries.

History is now highly complex, and the historian is perplexed by an ever-increasing conflict between the claims of knowledge and of sentiment. The scientist can observe facts in a spirit of cold detachment. That is not the case with the modern historian, for, being required to deal with human phenomena, he cannot easily maintain the cold, passionless detachment of the student of science, and so he consciously or unconsciously examines his material from some particular point of view. This is the explanation of the rise of numerous schools of history in modern times—such as the German School, the Oxford School, the Political School, the Futurist School, or the Fatalistic School.

The question as to what form history must take has been a subject of endless debate. In the midst of this medley of opinions one that has received the greatest publicity is the statement of Professor Bury that "History is a Science, neither more nor less." The question, "Is history a science ?" is still disputed, although the method of historical inquiry has tended to be more and more scientific since the last century. The great German historian, Ranke, is one of the idols of the modern school, and his English pupil, Lord Acton, sums up the two features of the modern school while describing his master thus :

> "He was the real originator of the heroic study of records, and he taught us *to be critical, to be colourless, to be new.*"

Ranke himself described his ideal in the following words :

> "I resolved to avoid all invention and imagination in my work and to stick to facts."

The rise of the modern school seen through the writings of Adam Smith, Buckle, Green, Hallam, Niebuhr, Mommsen, Stubbs, Froude, Ranke or Acton gave a new impetus to the growth of the science of history. The new school sought to be accurate and impartial and judge the evidence with the scientist's openness of mind. The original records were studied with unusual care and detachment, so much so that in the last 20 years of the 19th century the writing of history almost ceased, and historians turned merely to what Dr. Gooch calls "the winning of raw material" and to a comparative study of all the available records.

Thus, the new school gave history the dignity of a science, but the method was not always scientific. To hold that a historian must tell the truth is to avoid the real issue, for he cannot tell the truth without first realising it, and he cannot realise it unless he approaches the historical data in the proper scientific spirit and subjects them to the proper scientific treatment.

In the abuse of the scientific method the modern German historians have shown a peculiar proficiency. From the time of Mommsen many of them have deliberately subordinated the scientific study of history to the art of political propaganda. They have aimed at instructing their countrymen in certain policies which history shows to have been conducive to the establishment of national greatness. They cleverly presented their interpretation of history to show that the Germans are a superior race, and thereby encouraged the ambition of Germany to make a bid for world-domination. Such a travesty of the scientific method shows the pitfalls and temptations in the way of a historian.

The advent of the inductive method in history in recent years has given rise to a variety of theories with regard to the scope and processes of historical inquiry. The idea that history is merely a branch of literature was ridiculed by Seeley long ago. That history could compete with the novel is no longer seriously believed,

notwithstanding the works of Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Meredith, H. G. Wells or Maurice Hewlett. The inductive method implies that history cannot be scientifically studied in isolation from other branches of humanistic study, allied to history. Again, formerly the historian started from some remote point in the past and thence worked forwards. The modern historian finds that starting point in his own times. History is thus for the first time looking backwards.

One modern school of thought considers the study of the past as of no value. History, it is urged, is neither a science, nor a branch of learning—but only a method of pedagogy. Those who hold this view believe that it is of no value to the life of the people of our own day whether this or that event occurred at all. To such people history is just a useless heap of dates and facts. They think that the present has to face its difficulties in its own way and though it may find some interesting parallel in the history of the past, it must solve its problems on the basis of the facts of the present alone. According to this extremist view, the value of history lies only in the training it offers to the mind through the study of evidences and criticism of facts and opinions.

To the Futurists history appears to be something positively mischievous. It is not only a dead thing to them, but is a kind of infection, for it is supposed to spread the contagion of the past to those who are living in the present. They hold that history merely corrupts modern values and vitiates the meaning and harmony of human life. This is as dangerous a view as that of Frédéric Harrison or Auguste Comte who held that history must necessarily be inspiring and instructive.

Of the numerous schools one, which, in recent years, has acquired a much greater prominence than all others is the one originally founded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and developed by their modern disciples. This is known as the materialist theory of history or historical materialism, though the designation is not quite accurate, and Engels himself preferred to call it the economic theory of history.

According to this theory, economic phenomena and economic production are held to be fundamental, and everything else such as culture, religion, politics, society, etc., are considered to be secondary phenomena, determined by the mode of production and the social conditions arising therefrom. Though the number of historians who have adopted this theory is comparatively small, the labour parties in all the countries have made it a part of their creed, and in Russia it is now officially recognised.

It is easy to account for the popularity of the Marxist conception of history. It appeals by its apparent simplicity and ingenuity, and to the layman the views of Marxist historians appear clear and plausible. Actually, however, the materialist conception is as superficial as Hegel's idea of history as an uninterrupted evolution. Its sole value lies in its emphasis on the hitherto neglected economic facts of history, for economic facts are of great importance in the life of a nation, and until recently these facts used to be ignored. It is the exclusive dogmatism with which historical materialism is held by its modern advocates that makes it wrong. For example, Mr. John Strachey claims:

"The materialist conception of history reveals hitherto unperceived inter-connections between historical events."

Maurice Parmelee likewise asserts:

"The Marxists endeavour to dig down to the roots of the economic processes which are the principal if not the sole causal factors in history and social evolution."

Such exaggerations of a partial truth make the materialist theory untenable.

In fact, the Marxist historians do not care for facts. They have no regard for induction, and their method is purely deductive. They do not care to study the causal connection of facts, which is assumed beforehand, and pay scant attention even to the chronological order of events. The conditions of production are taken for the fundamental cause, and the rest is deduced from it. If the facts do not fit in with the theory, so much the worse for the facts! Although Benedetto Croce treats it with some gentleness, the Marxist conception of history is on the whole misleading, and about this it may be said without exaggeration that although it contains some new and true ideas, those that are true are not quite new, and those which are new are not wholly true.

The "race" theory of history propounded by Gobineau, and the "race psychology" theory popularised by Humboldt, Steinthal and Renan constitute another prominent historical conception of our times. According to these schools, the destinies of nations as well as those of individuals are determined by racial psychology and by the mixture of races. This means that a race becomes a master because of its superior genius, and another lags behind because of its

inferiority. This idea has been enthusiastically supported by many German historians whose avowed aim is to represent the German people as the master race of the world. Although the race conception has been supported by appeals to biology, it is on the face of it based on insufficient data and wrong assumptions.

Like the race conception, the anthropogeographical theory is also a partial explanation offered by some modern historians to explain the facts of human history. For example, it is argued by writers like Toynbee, Childe. Mackinder and Kropotkin that the growth of civilsations and variations of national history are due to differences of climate, soil, food and such other facts of habitat and environment. While this theory offers a valuable mass of correlations, its influence has not been very striking because of the lack of unanimity among its own advocates.

Despite the number and variety of the modern concepts of history, what is becoming increasingly clear to-day is the fact that history is not unitary, but rather pluralistic. It is also seeking to escape from the dominance of the annalistic and didactic forms of narrative, and is acquiring a width of outlook born of a growing realisation of the interdependence of all the social sciences. In the mutual co-operation between the various branches of learning like history, anthropology, geography. literature. sociology or economics one notices a new orientation in the method and outlook of the modern historian.

If an historian of a hundred years ago were suddenly to come back to-day, he would find it difficult to see where the boundaries of history end, and those of other sciences begin. Whether this is a desirable change in the conception of history is yet difficult to answer. But, as history can be written from the point of view of science and from that of sentiment, there will be two kinds of history to satisfy these two requirements. Whether the one will ever replace the other is difficult to foresee at the present day.

RAMMOHUN ROY AND THE NEW WORLD*

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG

General Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

Rammohun Roy saw the light of day during the outbreak of the American War of Independence (1772-1783). While he was growing from boyhood to youth Europe was convulsed with the explosions of the French Revolution and of the Revolutionary wars culminating in the emergence of Napoleon as a world figure (1789-99). By the end of the 18th century he owned a small house in Calcutta which was growing into the most important centre of Western culture in India, with the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784) and of the Fort William College (1800). He came into personal touch with eminent British Orientalists like Colebrook and Wilson mentioning their works as well as those of Sir William Jones. He served the East India Company (1800-1815) and won the admiration and friendship of his official superior Mr. John Digby whom he met in 1805 who was responsible for publishing some of the English works of Rammohun in England as early as 1816. Joining issues with the missionaries of Trinitarian Christianiy, Rammohun laid securely the foundations of Comparative Religion and of the first Unitarian Community Service and Church known as the Atmiya Sabha, the Brahma Sabha and the Brahma Samaj (1830). He was the first ambassador of Oriental Unitarianism to the West where we find his books and pamphlets reprinted both in England and in America, giving a new orientation to the development of Unitarianism amongst the progressive British and American thinkers. The fame of Rammohun preceded him in England and France for he was elected an Honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Paris (1824) long before his arrival in Europe. He was requested by the Royal Asiatic Society of London to propose a toast (1831) to its founder Th. Colebrook then very ill. Within a few months after his arrival in London he was accorded a special reception at the British Unitarian Association. In an account of that reception published in June 1831 we find Dr. Bowering (afterwards Sir John) welcoming the Raja in the most glorious terms saying :

"They have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates. a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence."

* *Rammohun Roy and America* by Adrienne Moore. Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Calcutta, 1942. Price Rs. 2-8.

After Dr. Bowering, the ex-President of the Harvard University. Prof. Kircland observed:

"The Raja was an object of lively interest in America and he was expected there with the greatest anxiety."

That this was not a mere formal compliment to the Raja has now been conclusively demonstrated by the painstaking and devoted researches of Miss Adrienne Moore. She was privileged to carry on her researches at the Columbia University under the direction of Prof. Dr. Arthur Christy who is an authority on Oriental influence on American literature. He pointed out to Miss Moore that in a letter to Emerson, still in his college (1822), his aunt Mary Moody enquired about the materials which she had sent to him about Rammohun Roy. Through Emerson who read regularly the *Christian Register* from 1822-1830, Indian Unitarianism of Rammohun and Indian speculative thought came to be topics of public discussion focussing for a time "the spotlight of publicity on Oriental thought" and thus ultimately led to the growth of New England Transcendentalism and the flowering of New England literature.

This thesis of Miss Adrienne Moore justified after a century the statement of Dr. Kircland of Harvard, for we find her completing her study at the Columbia University, in February 1935 or just two years after the Rammohun Centenary (1933). She entered into correspondence with the Editor of *The Modern Review* who encouraged her by publishing a part of her thesis in *The Modern Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1936. The Editor passed her complete manuscript to Rev. Satish Chandra Chakravarty, now President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, who as the Secretary of the Rammohun Centenary Committee, finally saw her book through the press. In Part I of the book the author introduces us into the heart of the subject and gives us a sober and at the same time an inspiring estimate of the life and works of Rammohun. Part II forming the bulk of the book is a detailed Bibliography of the works written by and about Rammohun. In the list of American libraries consulted by her we find thirteen states represented from Maine and Massachusetts to New York and Virginia. The earliest Bengali-Sanskrit work of the Raja traced so far, the *Vedanta Grantha* was published from Calcutta in 1815 when Rammohun gave up the Company's Service and within a year we find his first English work published in London, entitled "Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedanta" (1816). The German edition of the same book was published from Jena in 1817. The earliest American edition of the Raja's writings referred to the correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity in India, Cambridge Mass. 1824 and the *Precepts of Jesus* passed through several editions. Thus his name became so famous that in an address to the members of the American Congress on the Abolition of Slavery (Washington, 1830-33 ?) we find an American champion of abolition signing a document with the pseudonym "Rammohun Roy":

"In closing this address allow me to *assume* the name of one of the most enlightened and benevolent of the human race now living, though not a white man —Rammohun Roy."

So there was no exaggeration in the statement of Dr. Kircland that the Raja was an object of lively interest in America. In the third part of the book the author discusses the question of the access of the American public to literature concerning Rammohun Roy. As early as 1821 we find Rammohun corresponding with David Reed, Editor of the *Christian Register*. His famous letter to H. Ware of Cambridge concerning the Prospect of Christianity in India was published by the Harvard University Press in 1824. Rammohun hoped to visit America in the spring of 1834 but he died before that. Miss Moore has shown in her chapter on "Private Sources of Information" how Rammohun was corresponding with eminent religious and thought leaders of America like Dr. W. E. Channing, Dr. William Ward and Dr. J. Tuckerman among others who endorse whole-heartedly her brilliant conclusion from which we quote the following paragraph:

"Until the advent of Roy, the Orient had seemed far removed and impersonal to American thought. But with the coming of this great leader there took place a certain fusion of East and West, a realization that, inspite of distance and difference, the Indian as personified in Rammohun Roy was close kin to his American brother."

The author has produced a firstclass work on Indo-American Bibliography and has earned the gratitude of all Indians who appreciate the services rendered by Rammohun the Father of Modern India to the cause of the rapprochement between the East and the West.

Rammohun was a great admirer of the democratic traditions of the American constitution. But North America apart we find him also as the first Oriental to express publicly his sympathy for the Independence Movement among the South American Republics seeking to emancipate themselves from the shackles of

Spanish Colonialism. He gave a public dinner to commemorate the victory of the Latin Americans over the Spanish army and I suggested a new line of research on my return from the Philippines (1938) in my note published in *The Modern Review* (1939) on the significance of the presentation of a copy of the *Constitution of Cadiz* to Rammohun Roy by the Philippine Co., (now in the Rommohun Library, Calcutta). The archives of the Latin American States may yet yield some valuable documents of Indo-American relations.

ECONOMICS OF PRICE CONTROL

By P. C. JAIN, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ.) London,
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Price control was introduced in India in the early stages of the war. The system is as yet very crude although it is a result of deliberations by six Price Control Conferences. It is, therefore, worth-while to analyse the existing system so far as it affects food-grains with a view to suggest further refinements. It is necessary to devise means to make price control more effective.

Evolved by Experience

By the end of 1941, two years' experience of price fixing by provincial governments and district authorities revealed many difficulties. It was realised that unco-ordinated prices for different localities are likely to be out of touch with supply and demand conditions and, therefore, impossible to enforce. Moreover, it was felt to be insufficient to safeguard the interests of the consumer alone. The cultivator also had to be protected. It therefore became necessary to fix prices in the producing centres and at harvest time as well. It was also realised that fixing the price of only some commodities like wheat and rice will not suffice, hence provision had to be made for fixing the price of substitutes and local food-grains. Finally, the transport difficulty and the dangers of hoarding were anticipated, though not quite clearly, and effort was made to solve them.

A recent Price Control Conference recommended that the Government of India should fix the prices of certain essential food-grains in the producing centres. The Central Government actually fixed the wholesale price of wheat in Lyllpur and Hapur. On the basis of this wholesale price, the provincial governments were asked to fix prices in their own markets after taking due account of transport and other charges. Five Regional Boards were set up one each for the U. P., the Punjab, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. The Boards were made responsible for recommending the price to be fixed for local food-grains and to look after transport facilities. In many provinces a Price Control Department was set up and an effort was made to adjust supply and demand on a provincial basis, the surplus provinces exporting to the deficit provinces on the recommendation of the Central Government. In the case of wheat, the most important foodstuff, a Wheat Commissioner was to issue permits for this purpose. Inside the province, the export was permitted from surplus areas to deficit areas by means of permits issued by the provincial price control department. It was expected that the wholesale and retail dealers would be licensed so that the controlling authority may know how the food-grains are being distributed. Hoarding was to be checked. In addition to the licensing of wholesale and retail distributors this was supposed to be done by prohibiting the shop-keepers to sell food-grains worth more than a small sum to any one consumer at a time. This system, however, worked inefficiently and with jerks.

Lack of Administrative Machinery

One of the chief causes of the ineffectiveness of price control has been the irregularity of supplies to the retail dealers. A price is fixed on the assumption that a certain supply will be available for sale, and if this supply is not forthcoming the controlled price becomes impossible to enforce. In India the control has given rise to some amount of uncertainty in the mind of both the consumers and the sellers. The consumer in his anxiety about the future begins to hoard food-grains. The seller, dissatisfied with the fixed price, holds back the supplies in the hope of selling them at a higher price in the black market. The cultivator, who is both a seller and a consumer, is not anxious to part with his produce at the harvest time except when he is in need of money. All this reduces the available supply. The result is that the controlled price gets out of touch with

reality and becomes impossible to enforce. Price control has often been shattered in India not so much because the seller tries to charge a higher price in the regular market but because he does not sell either on account of his having no stocks or his deliberately withholding them back. Finally, in the war emergency there is a great strain on our transport system and supplies are liable to get short in particular areas because of delay in consignments. Supply temporarily becomes less than the demand and all the buyers cannot obtain the commodity at the fixed price. As a result, black markets come into existence where the sellers charge a higher price. This further reduces supply and a vicious circle is formed.

The more recent Price Control Conferences were not unaware of these possibilities, but their recommendations have not been fully enforced partly because of lack of adequate administrative machinery. The provincial governments have very much relied on fear of punishment and fine to discourage the shop-keepers from disobeying price control orders. The consumer is encouraged to report the matter to the police if he does not obtain supplies at the fixed price. Prosecutions and punishment, however, have not produced very satisfactory results because the shop-keepers who make good profits by selling in the black-market can afford to pay a fine or even go to jail. The fear of punishment does not help matters when there is an actual shortage of supplies. Nothing effective has so far been done to regularise supplies. A shop-keeper is guilty if he indulges in profiteering but he cannot be held responsible if he is unable to sell at the fixed price because he does not get supplies from the wholesaler or the producer. We have to devise methods to ensure sufficient and regular supplies to the retail dealers.

One alternative suggestion is that government retail shops and municipal grain stores should be opened to sell the controlled food-stuffs. This suggestion has also been put into practice in some places. The underlying idea is that through these shops the Government can enforce the fixed prices and control the flow of supplies to the market. This method, however, is not likely to prove successful for two reasons. A few shops will not suffice and if consumers are to get their supplies without undue difficulty a large number of such shops will have to be opened in each locality. This is bound to increase the administrative cost very much. These shops by their very nature cannot be self-supporting because, after payment of transport and other dues, the controlled price is not likely to leave any balance. There is even a possibility of an actual loss. In view of this huge expenditure of money, and a subsequent burden on the tax-payer, the cost may not be worth the gain. Secondly, even if the cost consideration is set aside, the Government and municipal shops will replace the petty shop-keeper. He generally belongs to the lower middle class and it will mean great hardship if this poor man is elbowed out because of State activity. There is no justification for creating this hardship.

Another suggestion, to which the last Price Control Conference also gave its support, is that the existing channels of trade should be maintained but the wholesale and retail dealers should be licensed. This, it is explained, will enable the government to control the activity of these middlemen. The licensing system works satisfactorily so far as the wholesale dealers are concerned but it breaks down in the case of retail shopkeepers. This for many reasons. The system of licensing involves the issuing of vouchers and maintenance of exact accounts for all sales transactions. But a vast majority of petty retail dealers are incompetent to do so because they are thoroughly illiterate. They cannot engage paid accountants because that costs too much money, which their turnover does not justify. Some retail shop-keepers keep accounts but their system is so thoroughly obsolete that it is almost impossible to check these accounts and arrive at any sensible conclusions. Secondly, licensing assumes that if the conditions of sale are violated the licence will be cancelled and issued to someone else. But all retail shop-keepers are alike and cancelling someone's licence and issuing it to someone else does not improve the net situation. This greatly reduces the effectiveness of licensing. Finally, the administration of this system cannot be left in the hands of the police and civil officers because this is a specialised work and these officers are already overworked. If licensing has to be made successful a separate staff of price control officers will have to be appointed. This makes the licensing system costly and this is a point on the debit side.

Grow More Food

In the last analysis the effectiveness of price control measures will depend on the success of the 'grow more food' campaign. Price control is made ineffective because of a shortage of supplies. If more food is grown there will be a larger quantity available for sale and thus

one serious cause of trouble will be removed. If regular supplies are available, the consumer will not have much cause for anxiety about the future and hoarding will be discouraged. Moreover, if the consumer can obtain supplies in the regular market at the controlled prices he will not be prepared to pay a higher price in the black market, so that the shop-keepers will have no inducement to hold back the stocks and refuse to sell. The availability of larger quantities of food-grains, apart from minor administrative difficulties, will solve the problem of price control at one stroke. Secondly, we have to realise that prices tend to rise not only because of profiteering and deliberate holding back of stocks but also because during a war the greater expenditure by the State increases the money in circulation. If the production of food-grains and other commodities does not increase as fast as the money in circulation prices are bound to rise, though of course not proportionately. The 'grow more food' drive is likely to some extent to correct this discrepancy. More food will be grown partly at the cost of other commodities and partly by taking new land under cultivation. The net increase in the quantity of commodities now available will to some extent counterbalance the increase of money in circulation. Price will, as a consequence, rise less than before. This will help the price control policy.

The 'grow more food' idea is not as impracticable as it might appear on the face of it. In India we at present produce large quantities of unwanted commercial crops such as sugarcane and cotton. These crops have suffered from overproduction, and it will at once solve two problems if food crops can to some extent replace them. Moreover, there is the possibility of taking some fallow land under cultivation though at a higher cost. It is also possible to increase the productivity of land by a more intensive cultivation. The 'grow more food' campaign is thoroughly practicable but it will require a great drive to make it successful. The problem will not be solved by mere lip service and by converting bungalow compounds into grain fields. All this, at best, has a propaganda value.

The effects of a 'grow more food' programme will be felt only in the long run. In the immediate and transitional period it is necessary to improve and refine the price control machinery. The provincial governments have to enforce licensing more rigidly than has so far been done. Not only the wholesale but the retail dealers have also to be licensed and a supervision maintained over them. This will involve the appointment of additional price control staff. Hoarding, except by the Government departments and for the sole purpose of meeting demand from deficit areas, should be made a criminal offence Punishment alone will not be enough but this combined with adequate propaganda assuring the consuming public about the regularity of future supplies and warning them against the dangers of hoarding should prove successful. The disposition of railway space for the transport of food-grains will have to be made smooth and impartial. It is intolerable that wagon space secured through bribery may disturb price control. The Price Control Department has to settle this question with the Railway Board. Moreover, in most cases the cause of local shortage is that traders wait till the last moment because of the price uncertainties, and at last when they decide to import the necessary railway space may not be available. It is, therefore, necessary to build stocks in the probable deficit areas whenever railway space permits it. The stock building may be done on a systematic plan and with government money. The chief object of these measures is to assure regular supplies to the retail shop-keepers. Much of this is already being done but only halfheartedly and in an unplanned manner. A more systematic and vigorous effort is likely to make price control more effective.

THE CONFERENCE OF AMBASSADORS (PARIS 1920-1931)*

By LILA RAY

WHATEVER sort of world the war leaves us reconstruction or new construction will be impossible without some form of uniting organisation analogous to the now defunct League of Nations. In availing ourselves of the good accomplished by the League and at the same time avoiding the blunders which nullified its work this book can be of help.

When Woodrow Wilson as the crowning contribution of America to the war, exacted the League Covenant from the European States he

* *The Conference of Ambassadors (Paris, 1920-1931)* by Gerhard P. Pink, Geneva Studies, Vol. XII, Nos. 4-5, Feb., 1942.

made one of the few great historical gestures for which mankind is humbly grateful. Yet he failed to obtain a conciliatory peace. The treaties were recognised to be contrary to the spirit of the League. Yet without conceding something to the demands of the victorious powers Wilson would not have got his League; by doing so he mortgaged its future.

Success or failure hinged on the conduct of diplomacy. Wilson had himself gone to Europe for fear that otherwise the negotiations would be conducted by the old secretive methods he was pledged to eradicate. In the very first of his Fourteen Points he declares that there should be "open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view." In the Five Particulars he is more specific, writing,

> "All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms."†

They were excluded from the Covenant by Articles 15 and 18. The second made obligatory the registration and publication of all treaties and international agreements. The first has to do with procedure in the consideration of disputes. It is based on the principles of full publicity and strict impartiality. That the Great Powers at least were not prepared to work on these principles is evidenced by the outburst of Arthur Balfour, the second British plenipotentiary at the Paris Conference of 1919 and who appended his signature to the treaty of Versailles, in the House of Commons.

> "How is the task of the peace-maker to be pursued," he asked, "if you are to shout your grievances from the housetops whenever they occur? The only result is that you embitter public feeling, that the differences between the two states suddenly attain a magnitude they ought never to be allowed to approach, that the newspapers of the two countries agitate themselves, that the parliaments of the two countries have their passions set on fire, and great crises arise, which may end, *have* ended sometimes, in international catastrophes."

The work the League succeeded in doing disproved this theory. The plain truth seems to be that the Great Powers at least were unwilling to surrender private interests which, for reasons best known to themselves, they wished to conceal. The Council had ten members and later fourteen, the smaller powers could not only prevent unanimous decisions but could numerically outvote the principal Allied Powers on any question of procedure. They could force a public session of the Council or appeal from its decisions to the Assembly. Public reports giving the merits of disputes and the recommendations of the Council were obligatory.

> "The authors of the Covenant believed that publicity would of itself insure impartiality; that it was not conceivable that a council, acting as the representative of the whole body of the League and in circumstances of the utmost publicity, should conduct its inquiries into a dispute in any way not consistent with the strictest fairness to all the parties concerned,"

writes Sir James A. Salter.* That this belief was not without foundation is proven by the fact that, though the Great Powers dominated the Council almost completely and the rights of the small powers were more theoretical than actual, they felt uneasy and embarrassed enough to seek loopholes in extraneous though attached institutions.

Loopholes appear to have been found in the committees, commissions, etc., which the Council was empowered to create as it found necessary.

I do not mean to suggest that any of these was deliberately appointed for the express purpose of sabotaging the League but that at least one of them, the mysterious Conference of Ambassadors, came to be used for that purpose seems, on the evidence provided by Mr. Pink, to be fairly clear. Composed of the spokesmen of four great powers, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, it did not consider itself bound by the League rules of procedure and worked with the utmost secrecy from the start. Originally entrusted with matters of deail in the execution of the Peace Treaties it grew rapidly, even monstrously, into a rival of its parent, going far beyond its competence which in the resolutions concerning its creation had been left conveniently vague. It became, in the words of Paul Mantoux, "the executive of a European directorate of Great Powers,......sometimes in competition with the League Council and sometimes going as far as to take decisions in its place." In the famous Janina-Corfu affair, after a struggle for the right to settle the dispute, the Conference triumphed over the League.

How was this possible?—the reader will ask. Mr. Pink gives the following answer:

> "Not without reason has it been said that scarcely a dispute could arise in Europe which the Conference could not bring within its jurisdiction. The reverse side of this remark is however the fact that almost every dispute in Europe could be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the League."

† Wilson, Woodrow. *Ency. Brit.*

* League of Nations. *Ency. Brit.*

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER : *By Dr. E. Asirvatham. Published by Indian Christian Book Club, Kilpauk, Madras. Pp. 387+xvi. Price Rs. 3.*

The author of this book is Reader in Politics and Public Administration in the University of Madras and has already a reputation for balanced judgment and liberal approach to contemporary problems. In this volume he seeks to traverse a wide field covering all aspects of contemporary life, with special application to India. Here for the first time is an attempt by an Indian comparable in range and study—though not in originality—to similar essays by a Wells or a Aldous Huxley. But the scholar—specially of the cloistered variety—is bound to suffer from the drag of conflicting opinions of the *great* in offering solutions, and one is left with the feeling after reading most of Dr. Asirvatham's chapters that he is just essaying the opening speech on a subject in a study-circle or a symposium discussion. Possibly, he intends to provoke thought in others : but can such provocation come from suggestions which appear much on the side of compromises, and sometimes even cheap and commonplace ?

The main defect of the work lies in the absence of any radical approach to the problems of the world around us. Phrases like 'Economic Justice,' 'Social Harmony,' 'Political Justice,' remain mere phrases if they cannot be taken out of their nineteenth century contexts and related to the conflicting 'isms' of the day. But, possibly, we are doing an injustice to the author. As a good Christian and a sober scholar, Dr. Asirvatham is not out for any cataclysmic change. The ideal social order, he points out, 'involves a *continual* process,' and the Christian 'is called upon to work out the implications of his belief in the Kingdom of God in terms of the conditions around him.' He also makes it clear in his Preface that he has discussed "the outlines of a new social order under the terms Bread, Brotherhood, Freedom, and Justice, which may not carry the same connotation to every reader. *They may mean much or may mean little.* . . . The idealism to which he subscribes is rooted in realism." With *ends* thus circumscribed, the *means* suggested may not be satisfactory to many.

Dr. Asirvatham, however, has produced a most informative volume. He has succeeded in pointing out the black-spots of modern civilization and also in presenting the problems of modern capitalism, imperialism, 'wolf-pack' nationalism, racialism, dictatorships, on the one hand, and of the home and family, leisure and recreation, on the other, with an illuminating array of details and citations. If for nothing else, as a readable encyclopaedia of modern problems, this volume should be widely used by our publicists and students and it should be in every library.

The discussion by the author of the intricate social and political problems of India deserves a reference even in a short review. In examining the economic situation and proposed reforms in it, Dr. Asirvatham admirably analyses the tenets of Gandhian economics, and boldly asserts that the only lasting solution of Indian poverty is 'some form of collective ownership,' and emphasises the establishment of a free India as a *sine qua non* for the same. He has sensible things to say about the caste system, and also the new class-divisions; and he furnishes a list of safeguards of a comprehensive character to allay the susceptibilities of minorities in India. Though still believing in the possibilities of 'improvement of Imperialism,' Dr. Asirvatham has given telling replies to imperialist arguments to continue the hold on India; and the ethics of non-violence and pacifism receive a very fair treatment in his hand. But alas ! the *shoulds* suggested by the learned author require a re-orientation of the mental, economic, social and political structure of a very radical nature ushered in *t gether*, which the realist in him searches in vain within the framework of capitalist ethics albeit modified! If he had thought, more as a man of action, he would have discovered that attempts at establishing *new* 'orders,' have resulted, through manipulation by vested interests, in the entrenchment of *ordered parochial societies* of the Nazi variety, and experience has thus led liberal socialists like Laski ultimately to take to the Marxian track.

Benoyendranath Banerjea

GENERALS AND GENERALSHIP. A Penguin Special : *By General Sir Archibald Wavell. London, 1941. Pp. 64.*

Most of the materials incorporated in this most fascinating booklet has been derived from a series of lectures delivered by General Wavell to the Royal United Services Institution as far back as 1936. In their present form, these lectures were delivered at Cambridge in the first two months of 1939. The publication of these valuable lectures in the shape of the Penguin Special will be highly welcomed by the reading public in India.

This is not a thesis on military strategy nor is it an erudite analysis of military history. This is random reflections, as General Wavell chooses to define it himself. This is a flesh-and-blood study of military science and deals mainly with the relationships between man and man, on which must be founded both the success of an army and the victory of a whole nation at war. "Napoleon did not gain the position he did so much by a study of rules and strategy as by a profound

knowledge of human nature in war," says General Wavell, and in support of his statement recalls some very delightful anecdotes about that great General. Again, he quotes Ardent du Picq who wrote: "Man is the first weapon of battle; let us then study the soldier in battle, for it is he who brings reality to it."

A special merit of these lectures is that there is nothing doctrinnaire or academic about them. General Wavell does not dogmatize, or show off his scholarship, but speaks from experience. Even his own approach to the study of military history is unconventional. He says: "When you study military history do not read outlines on strategy or principles of War. Read biographies, memoirs, historical novels such as the *Road to Glory, Schoenbrunn*. Get at the flesh and blood of it, not the skeleton." General Wavell's discourses abound in sparkling wit and have the quality of the highly entertaining narrative.

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

THE CULTURAL PROBLEM: *By A. J. Appasamy, Sir Abdul Qadir, R. P. Masani, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sir Jogendra Singh. Pp. 64. Price annas eight.*

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND: *By K. T. Shah, P. J. Thomas, J. C. Kumarappa, Sir Datar Singh, Sir Jehangir Coyajee. Pp. 64. Price annas eight.*

INDIAN STATES: *By K. M. Panikkar. Pp. 32. Price annas four.*

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA: *By A. Appadorai. Pp. 32. Price annas four.*

CEYLON: *By H. A. J. Hulugalle. Pp. 32. Price annas four.*

SOCIAL PROBLEMS: *By S. Natarajan. Pp. 32. Price annas four.*

THE FOOD SUPPLY: *By Radhakamal Mukerjee. Pp. 32. Price annas four.*

It is some time now that the Indian Branch of the Oxford University Press has been issuing Pamphlets on Indian Affairs on the pattern of those on World Affairs rendered so popular by its parent organisation in England. The idea is obviously to present a comprehensive background to the various political, economic and social problems which the common reader wants to understand without making a special study of them. To this class of readers, particularly students and foreigners, these pamphlets would have wide appeal. The authors who have contributed to this series are, most of them, men distinguished in the academic sphere or public life or both, but having regard to the limits of space at their disposal they have not attempted to work out any original thesis, having contented themselves with a brief but clear presentation of familiar ideas and facts. If the treatment is scrappy, it is not necessarily uninteresting.

The conflict and fusion of cultures in India is dealt with in the first pamphlet by eminent scholars and publicists. The economic background forms the subject-matter of the third; the second one on the "Position of Women" by Vijayalakshmi Pandit has not come out yet. Authors have approached the problems from their respective angles of vision, and it is, therefore, idle to expect any conclusion: yet the viewpoints have been ably set forth. So far as information is concerned, Panikkar's "Indian States" and Mukerjee's "The Food Supply" are the two most outstanding brochures. Panikkar's view may not be shared by many who have advanced social ideas, and Mukerjee's pessimism might seem unjustified to some theorists of demography, but the basic facts contained in their articles can hardly be disputed. Hulugalle's "Ceylon" almost approaches the pattern of an encyclopædia article, with this difference that the author strikes a refreshingly personal note while dealing with Ceylon's ties with India. The essay on "Democracy in India" could certainly have been entrusted to an abler pen. Frankly, it is a disappointment, both in its objectivity as well as approach. Natarajan Jr., has, however, offered a stimulating pamphlet on a highly complicated and controversial field of research. It is a pity that the author had to refer, within the narrow compass of 32 pages, to so many topics as marriage, divorce, birth-control, prostitution, professional mendicancy, joint family and caste system, yet his advocacy of the need for social legislation on a national basis would receive anxious consideration at the hands of reformers and legislators of tomorrow.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

PERVERSITIES: *By G. L. M. Published by G. L. Mehta, 100, Clive Street, Calcutta. 1942. Price Rs. 2.*

"G. L. M." are initials not unknown to the general reader, and there is, justly, no attempt to conceal the identity of the writer. Shrijut Mehta's intimate acquaintance with the financial world is responsible for many of his "perversities," but there is better stuff than usual in his "Honours for the Wealthy," "New Year Resolutions," "Last Words" and last, but not least, "An Up-to-date Dictionary for India." In "Last Words" one, however, expected to find more men of the front rank.

The serious and political outlook of the writer is reflected in the character of the different items of the perversities, and the reader will enjoy his occasional dipping into the humorous fare served to him by a competent hand.

P. R. SEN

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU—THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS: *By Mr. Y. G. Krishnamurti. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Pp. xxxvii+174. Price Rs. 4-4.*

This is a study of the man and the philosophy f Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the outstanding personalities of modern India. The book consists of twelve chapters and "Invitation" by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and two "prefaces" by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mrs. Rameshuri Nehru have been added. Pandit Nehru's ideas are well-known in educated circles through his own writings and publications but busy readers will profit by a perusal of this book which puts the personality and the ideas of the patriot in a nutshell. The printing of the book is excellent and it contains some of the earliest and latest photographs of Pandit Nehru.

A. B. DUTTA

TWO PLAYS OF BHASA: *By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law.*

BHASA (INDIAN MEN OF LETTERS SERIES): *By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law.*

Madras Law Journal Office. Mylapore, Madras. 1941, 1942.

The first of these two books which follow each other in quick succession, contains the English translation in prose and verse of two of the best known dramas attributed to the old Sanskrit dramatist Bhasa, *e.g.*, the *Svapnavasavadatta* and the *Pratijnajaugandharayana*. The object of the second book is to give a critical but popular account of Bhasa and all his works. The not

very small critical review of the poet found in the first book is incorporated and elaborated in the second. The latter is divided into four parts, each sub-divided into several chapters. The first part deals with the antiquity and the popularity of the great poet in early times, and discusses the chronology of the thirteen dramas attributed to him and discovered several years back. The second part gives long summaries, principally in the poet's own words—translated freely—of all the dramas arranged in accordance with a chronology determined by Mr. Ayyar. The third part refers to the greatness of Bhasa as reflected in the vast range of his plays, the infinite variety of characters portrayed, the different sentiments delineated, the vivid descriptions of natural phenomena, profound psychological insight, striking figures of speech, vignettes from life and other great qualities noticed in his works. Attention is drawn in this part also to what are supposed to be the defects of Bhasa, *e.g.*, 'his clinging to established ideals,' his acceptance of the Vedic gods, besides some technical flaws like the occasional disregard for the unity of time. Part IV represents Bhasa the man, his ideas and ideals and draws a comparison between Bhasa and Kalidasa.

The general reader will naturally be more interested in Part II of the work especially as Mr. Ayyar has a special knack for narrating stories in a fascinating manner, as shown by some of his other works two of which have already been reviewed in these pages (March, 1932, September, 1941). The other parts which focuss the attention of the readers on the various problems connected with Bhasa though written in a lucid style appears to be rather too elaborate for the layman and not quite up to the requirements of the scholar. Some of his statements like those regarding Bhasa's love of India (p. 276), his advocacy of national freedom (p. 287) and his message for modern India (p. 294) may have a popular appeal but will scarcely satisfy a scholar who may not unreasonably suspect them to be based on far-fetched interpretations. While clinging to established ideals is referred to as a defect, the presentation of weak arguments based on the *Sastras*, which is supposed to be an indication of his love of India, is counted as one of the great qualities of the poet (p. 276). The rather uncharitable reference to the Sakti-worshippers in emphasising the Vaisnavite tendency of Bhasa is hardly appropriate in a book of this type.

We hope Mr. Ayyar will not mind taking into consideration the above points when bringing out subsequent volumes of the interesting series initiated by him.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

RANADE THE PROPHET OF LIBERATED INDIA: *By D. G. Karve, M.A. The Aryabhusan Press, 915/1, Shivajinagar, Poona 4. Pp. xliv+215. Price Rs. 4.*

The centenary of the birth of Mahadev Govind Ranade came off on the 18th January, 1942. To celebrate this memorable occasion, Mr. D. G. Karve of the Fergusson College has brought out this volume. The introductory portion of the book rightly contains the story of the life and activities of this "Prophet of Liberated India." Ranade's studies were many-sided and activities various. History, economics, politics, statecraft, literature, sociology equally interested him. While in the service of the Government, Ranade spared no pains to put into practice the knowledge acquired by dint of continued research and study. The public life in Bombay, and for the matter of that, of Western India, was not only influenced but oftentimes guided by Ranade, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Indian National Congress, the All-India Social Conference, the Industrial Conference and Exhibition were some of the forums where his genius and foresight came into full play. In the body of the book Mr. Karve has discussed Ranade's views, utterances, writings and actions in such chapters as his 'Philosophy of Life,' 'Social Reform,' 'Indian political economy,' 'Industrialise or perish,' 'Indian politics,' 'Administrative Reform,' National Education' and several others. Students of Indian politics and socio-economics will find ample food for thought in this study of Prof. Karve.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE BHAGAVAD-GITA AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP: *By Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A. (London), I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Assam. Published by Luzac & Co., London.*

In this book the learned author has very carefully surveyed the wide field of Indological researches on the Gita and discussed the views of eminent scholars both ancient and modern who have approached and studied this Bible of the Hindus. The author has very ably interpretted the root origin of the Gita in the light of modern thought. According to him, the philosophical background of the Gita is taken from the Upanishads, which is a very sound view. The epic compilers of the Mahabharata have repeatedly mentioned the Gita as an Upanishad sung by the Lord ('Bhagavad-Gitasu Upanishadsu') at the end of each chapter of the Bhagavad-Gita.

The author of the Gita presented to the world a poetic synthesis of the Upanishadic thoughts. In fact, the Gita is the first attempt at systematization of the truths of the Upanishads. The poet-philosopher of the Gita continues the evolution of the thought of the Upanishads and enriches the philosophy and religion of the Vedic tradition with his deeper insight as well as with experiences of other cultures of his times. Although there might be some resemblance and similarity between the Gita and the Narayaniya Dharma, still it might be maintained that the Gita is an authoritative text-book of spiritual monotheism based on a harmony of the Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga modes of ethical and philosophical discipline before the Narayaniya sections of the epic Mahabharata were composed by an advocate of the Bhagavata religion. The learned author is right in holding that the Gita was originally a non-sectarian Upanishad. The teachings of the Gita are universal and eternal truths which transcend all limitations of space and time. Dr. S. Subramania Iyer in his 'Introduction to Sri Bhagavad-Geeta Bhashya' by Sri Hamsa Yogi says—'Geeta was a compilation made when the Mahabharata was written with the aid of the materials which came to the author's hands through his own disciple Sanjaya, who apparently was commissioned by his Master to gather *all* the materials ready for the compilation . . . . though he does so without interfering with the epical setting given to it in the work.' It is satisfactory to note that this fits in exactly with the view expressed by the learned author in the book under review, *viz.*, 'that the Gita was a later interpolation in the body of the epic by a Bhagvata editor, who may have, to some extent, revised the episode so inserted in order to fit it into the epic surroundings as well as to promote his sectarian propaganda.'

We anxiously await the publication of the author's other companion volumes and heartily recommend this book for the deep perusal and reverential study of all Gita scholars.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE GARDEN IN THE PLAINS : *By Agnes W. Harler. Oxford University Press. 1941. Price Rs. 6.*

The author is modest and states in her preface, "The book is intended for beginners, especially for those women in India who are anxious to make a hobby of their gardens." It is a light easy book neither severely technical nor chattily unhelpful. Accurate and scientifically acceptable facts have been placed in a very lucid manner, *e.g.*, details on plant propagation, soil and manuring, pruning, preventive measures of pests and diseases, etc. Many scientific names of plants together with notes on each of them are given; and for a lay-reader they are instructive. In Part Five, common vegetables and common fruit trees are dealt with. In the later parts, certain recipes on fruits are given. A gardener's calendar at the end is very useful. There are a few errors and mistaken ideas here and there. *Morus niger* (p. 378) should be *M. Nigra.* '*M. alba* has a white insipid fruit (p. 378).' This is not the case always. 'The soil is perhaps the most important prime factor (p. 51).' Why perhaps? On the whole, it is a book worth reading and worth following and should be in every book-case of the plant-lover. The get-up of the book is excellent.

ALL ABOUT FRUITS : *By S. Dayal, B.Sc. (Hons.), M.Sc. Published by the Industry Publishers Ltd., Shambazar, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book under review is a good exposition of the subject giving "a general outlook from the fundamental study of the soil right upto the commercial possibilities of the waste products." It has been written in strict conformity with the Indian conditions in an admirable way and it contains many valuable informations. The author, I congratulate, has succeeded well in his endeavours. But some of his figures at p. 1 are not latest, though they are available. There are a few printing errors, which should be corrected in the next edition. The get-up of the book is tolerable.

ROBINDRA MOHON DATTA

TEMPLE OF INSPIRATION : *By Sri Motilal Roy. Authorised translation from the original Bengali by D. S. Mahalanobis with a Foreword by Mr. Arun Chandra Dutt. Published by Prabartak Publishing House, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 130. Price Rs. 2 only.*

Though not by way of a reasoned discourse, the thirty sermons contained in this nice little book are the first morning thoughts of Sj. Motilal Roy "recorded in a deep receptive mood of spiritual contemplation and communion; they contain gleams and flashes of an inner dawn, the invigorating freshness and charm of a new sunshine." The wisdom of the sermons touches at many vital points of our lives being the echo of the Upanishads. A very good book for those who want to live a spiritual life.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

VILLAGE EDUCATION : *By E. V. S. Maniam. Published by Patt & Co., Cawnpore. Price annas eight.*

Fulfilment of the enquiries by the respective Commissions and Committees in India has in most cases been thrown to reasons of inconvenience or at least to comparisons wherein India has proved herself to be the worst medium for materialization of progressive ideas. Mr. Maniam attempts here to add some amount of practicalness to the increasing volume of enquiries. He has drawn up a syllabus for real and useful rural education with hundred and one features. He takes another step in advance, and enunciates a few imperatives in connection with propagation of literacy.

Suggestions by Mr. Maniam look quite practicable as far as they are on the other side of organization and actual work. His schemes and programmes are the results of protracted thinking and continued research. We fervently hope to see his ideas successfully materialized.

To clarify obscurity in his conception he takes recourse to comparisons with the conditions existing in America and Denmark. In America, Rockefeller charity and Ford's high wages have supported education on a scientific basis. In Denmark, the whole structure of educational expansion is built on the royal support and popular goodwill. But India's poverty, her political inferiority, her comparative apathy for public charity will create the most uncongenial environment for foreign ideals to be planted on Indian soil.

FRENCH REVOLUTION—ITS ECONOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL BASIS : *By Saumendranath Tagore. Published for Ganabani Publishing House, 220, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price annas eight.*

In his dedication of the book to Else Perl, a victim of Nazi Germany and in the foreword the author reflects a new outlook on the French Revolution characteristic of his own political opinions.

Looking on this Revolution in a purely objective way as against the bourgeois historians who have treated this social upheaval subjectively or romantically, Mr. Tagore has had to admit of individual forces in Louis XIV, the clergymen, the trade guilds, or the philosophers. If "the industrial revolution furnished an economic foundation upon which the political and social principles of the French Revolution might erect the institution of a democratic society," why England did not have another socio-political eruption at the period of her new industrial order? However, Mr. Tagore may try to ease himself with a socialist's air, he cannot keep the French Revolution free from bourgeois influences. Mr. Tagore seems to observe a fastidious strictness over use of terms.

Will Mr. Tagore enquire of M. Andre Maurois the reasons why the French Republic has fallen victim to Nazi Germany? Proud democracy and garrulous socialism have miserably failed to enforce speedy and enormous production of war materials, have instilled quarrelsome rivalry among the Prime Ministers, have provided the unworthy people with chances to direct the country's constitution, and have created many more evils.

Above all, we have to say that this addition to the fairly long bibliography on the subject of the French Revolution has not been without a special purpose.

THE SECRET OF SUCCESS : *Compiler J. N. Parasar, M.A., LL.B. Publisher, The Satya Office, Kirana Bazar, Farrukhabad, U. P. Price annas eight.*

Some watch-words from persons of successful career are collected to inspire the readers with confidence, resolution, happiness and success in their life. We receive the book as it is, and shall not even suggest any improvement in the selection of quotations. But spelling mistakes have so horribly run riot (despite the best possible endeavours of the compiler) that we draw Mr. Parasar's attention at least to his spelling the names of the distinguished persons to whom he has already done wrong by quoting their inimitable writings only peace-meal.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

VEDANTA PARIBHASHA: *Translated and annotated by Swami Madhavananda. Advaita Ashrama, 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3 only.*

This translation of Vedanta Paribhasha is quite in keeping with Swamiji's high reputation as a translator of difficult works on Vedanta and Nyaya philosophy. The text of the book has been carefully edited; the translation is faithful as usual, and the notes are elucidative. Learners of Vedanta philosophy are sure to find this edition very helpful.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA—ARANYAKAPARVAN I: *Critically edited by Dr. Vishnu S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1941.*

The Vanaparvan is a gigantic forest of ancient Indian myths and legends and we cannot possibly think of a better and a surer guide, through that epic forest, than the veteran General Editor of the *Mahabharata* published by the Bhandarkar Institute. Dr. Sukthankar points out in this first half of the Aranyakaparvan, that here, for the first time, a northern version is considerably longer than the southern;—while the Calcutta Edition has 12848 slokas, the Southern Recensions have only 11,056 slokas and 82 prose sections, as edited by Prof. P. P. S. Shastri. In fact, 14 entire Adhyayas, that are totally lacking in the Southern edition, have been added to the Northern Vulgate Recension. Average readers of the *Mahabharata* would probably now start quarreling with the learned Editor for having rejected the now well-known and piquant episode of "Arjuna and Urvashi," the latter cursing the Pandava hero for having rejected her. But the editor with laudable scientific detachment points out that "*the highly erotic description of the voluptuous Urvashi* . . . . is totally incompatible with the epic setting, which lacks all *feminine* interest and eschews all erotic topics as such." Moreover, the spurious episode is significantly missing in the early and very reliable Kashmiri version, preserved in the unique birch-bark Sarada Codex of the *Mahabharata* belonging to the Bhandarkar Institute.

Two other well-known legends relating to Vishnu—his killing of Naraka and uplifting the submerged earth as *Varaha* Avatara—have also been proved to be intrusions of later Puranic texts into the earlier epic strata relatively free from cult and sect obsessions. That the votaries of Vaishnava cult came much later to modify the Mahabharata text in favour of their patron deity Vishnu, is proved, among other things, by the omission of such Vishnuite episodes both in the Kashmiri version as well as in the Southern Recension. The stories of Nala and of Risyasringa emerge in their original form, thanks to the Editor's scientific reconstruction of the critical text.

The paper and typography of the present fascicule (No. 11) printed in these most trying days of world war, reflect great credit on the publishers. Running to over 500 pages this fascicule presents 1-154 Adhyayas of the Aranyakaparvan which would soon be completed with the publication of fascicule (No. 12) which we look forward to welcome. The heaviest part of the work of Dr. Sukthankar would then be over and he would deserve the warmest gratitude of all Indologists and lovers of Sanskrit literature.

KALIDAS NAG

BENGALI

JAGAT KON PATHE: SAHASIR JAYA-JATRA: *By Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal. S. K. Mitra & Bros., 12, Narikelbagan Lane, Calcutta. Third edition. Price Re. 1-4 and Re. 1 respectively.*

Of late the whole human world has been moving at a tremendous speed. We are simply amazed at the sweep of events. All attempts of the average man to know and understand the forces at work are baffled by the rapidity of changes, taking place in different corners of the earth. Nevertheless, a fair knowledge of the more important happenings in recent history is essential for every educated man and woman. The writer deserves thanks from the Bengali reading public for presenting before them in a nutshell the recent march of political events in the East and the West (in "Jagat Kon Pathe") and short but very attractive biographies of the most notable modern political leaders of the world (in "Sahasir Jayajatra"). His style is lucid and narration highly interesting.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

SANGSKRITIR RUPANTAR: *By Gopal Halder. Published by Puthi Ghar, 22, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The book consists of ten articles on subjects connected with the history and evolution or in the words of the author "transformation" of civilisation and culture. The author discusses the subjects from a materialistic standpoint and tries to establish that civilisation from the earliest times to the present day, as represented by the Soviet System, is an unbroken chain of human struggle for physical existence and material welfare. If he is materialistic, he is also communistic and tries to be rational in his way of thinking and always takes things to their logical conclusions. His is a study of the Indian History, Bengali Culture, Science in India and such other allied subjects in the light of Marxist Philosophy. He is at his best when he writes about 'The New Civilisation—The Soviet World.' He has drawn from many sources, both European and Indian not excepting Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, to prove his thesis.

A serious book of this nature has enriched the Bengali literature and the readers will enjoy and appreciate the author's points of view and the strength of his arguments even without agreeing with his conclusions.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

BHARTIYA DARSHANSHASTRA KA ITIHAS: *By Deoraj. Published by the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. Pp. 437. Price Re. 1-8.*

As has been rightly remarked in the *Foreword*, the book,—the first of its kind in Hindi,—under review, is "a systematic course of studies in some of the more important branches of Indian philosophical thought." It surveys the philosophical field from the time of the Rigveda to that of Ramanuja, historically, critically and expositorily. As it is intended to serve "as an introductory handbook for the use of the general reader," it is written in a style which has more of light than of heat. Therefore, it is admirably suited as a text-book not only for the students who take up philosophy as one of the subjects for their university examination, but also for all others who would wish (as they should) to acquaint themselves with the heights and depths of thought touched, in the past, by some of their greatest seers and thinkers. A study of the book will prove an incentive to independent thinking on those fundamental

values which are eternal and, as such, above the flux and flow of time-serving fashions and fancies of the intellect. Sri Deoraj's work is praiseworthy in every way.

SANT-SAHITYA : *By Bhuvneshwar Nath Mishra, "Madhav," M.A. Granthamala-Karyalaya, Bankipore. Pp. 264. Price Rs. 2.*

Literature attempts to unveil the face of truth, the golden disc of which, as the scriptures say, is covered. This being so, the songs of the mystics *are* literature, despite their occasional lapses from the strict rules of philology, prosody or grammar. *Sant-Sahitya* is a charming study of the central standpoint in their spiritual life of thirty mystics from Kabir to Swami Ram Tirath, expounded with sympathetic understanding and often presented in the very words of the mystics themselves. The author is so much *en rapport* with his subject that at times his sentiment touches the heights of ecstatic illumination, while his style acquires the colourfulness and cadence of poetry. At the present hour when there is an urgent need for a non-sectarian approach to Religion, *Sant-Sahitya* will serve as a forceful lever for raising the dormant enthusiasm of the young in our schools for spirituality. The get-up and printing are both of a high order.

SEVA-DHARMA AUR SEVA-MARG : *By Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal, M.A., M.L.A. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 300. Price Re. 1.*

Social service is a science as well as an art, just as religion is both precept and practice. Nowadays the ideal of service of one's fellow-human as well as non-human beings is becoming increasingly more and more attractive, but often, owing to lack of understanding of the fundamental principles and rules, the service rendered though well meant, is not efficient nor integral. *Seva-dharma aur Seva-marg* has removed this lack in a very practical way, the author having not only studied widely on the subject but also having had experience of several years, in the sphere of social service. The book is divided into twelve chapters and deals with the service of the sick, of the illiterate, of the city, of animals, of pilgrims, of students and other allied subjects. It is sure to be found very useful both as "a home servant" as well as "a public servant."

G. M.

TELUGU

YUVAKATHAVALI : *By several writers. Published by Yuvakaryalayam, Tenali. Pp. 96. Price annas four only.*

This book contains seven modern short stories. The stories are well-written and the themes show a marked deviation from the conventional type. Psychological factors in day-to-day events and the realistic outlook of life figure prominently throughout. The characteristic feature of the stories is that they are suggestive.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

SWARGONUN DOHAN : *Edited by the Baroda Rajya Pustakalaya Mandal, Baroda. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Press, Baroda. 1942. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 504. Price Re. 1-8.*

The late Mr. Amzatlal Padhiar had written a very large number of books, on various subjects in which the word *Swarga* (Paradise) always figured, such as "Life in Paradise," "Key to Paradise," etc. These books were in great demand when published, but are now out of print. In memory of the founder of the Pustaklaya Mandal of Baroda, the late Motibhai Arun, one of its members, Mr. Najuklal Chokli undertook to prepare a selection from Padhiar's works, and the compilation under notice is the result. He has divided the subject into 14 sections; like Dharm, Bhakti, Philanthropy, Happiness, Temples, etc. It is a very representative collection and serves to preserve Padhiar's and Arun's memory green.

KATAKSHA KAVYO : *By Devkrishna P. Joshi. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. 1942. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2.*

The poet has wielded the lash of sarcasm on society as it exists today in a very effective manner in the one hundred and one poems embodied in this rather costly book. He used to compose them while in service at Abedan in Iran. His father, who wrote in the now defunct *Hindi Punch* in a humorous vein for twenty-five years, has endowed him with the poetic faculty. Humour like the writer's is certainly required to relieve the otherwise serious background of Gujarati literature.

SWATI : *By Kulak (Maganlal Lalbhai Desai) of Vile Parle, Bombay. Printed at the State Peoples' Press, Bombay. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a second collection of poems, written by a rising young poet and the work fulfils the promise of a good outturn given in the first collection "Sandhya Gita." The verses betray both feeling and observation. Poems like those addressed to the Tapti river, the Juhu foreshore, and the hill of Parnera are good specimens of the work of the writer.

MANJUSHA : *By. Mohini Chandra. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1942. Thick Card Board. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2.*

One hundred and thirty-nine poems, short and long, in Sanskritised style, on about eight subjects, such as Sammarjan, Nisarg, Powresh, and such "high" subjects, published in various magazines, are collected in this highly priced compilation. The writer gives as reason for writing these poems, the fact that he failed to pass his Matriculation Examination in 1920 A.D. and disappointed as he was, he was driven to embark on the ship of versification and the result of the ride on that ship for twenty-one years is this book. The poems are explained in the notes and they betray the powers of observation and thinking and lucid expression of the author.

HINDNA DADA DADABHAI NAOROJI : *By R. M. Damania, B.A. Printed at the Anand Printing Works, Bombay. 1942. Cloth Cover with Photos. Pp. 492. Price Rs. 5.*

Mr. R. P. Masani's Life of Dadabhai Naoroji is the last word on the subject. The assiduity, labor and research, bestowed by him, both in India and England, at considerable expenditure of time and money, furnishes a guide to others who desire to undertake the work of writing a biography. Such valuable services should not be lost to those who know Gujarati only. With this view Mr. Damania has translated Mr. Masani's book into Gujarati. As the style followed by him is simple, and not loaded with Sanskrit words, it is sure to become popular.

K. M. J.

DANGEROUS COMPLACENCY

A Plea for A Real Democratic Front

By Prof. C. L. GHEEWALA, M.A.,
S. L. D. Arts College, Ahmedabad

> "Our Allies must realise that after France was struck out of the war, the absence of a second front against fascist Germany might mean disaster for all freedom-loving countries including the Allies themselves."—STALIN—on the 25th Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution.

IT is acknowledged by all those who have been closely and critically watching the fortunes of the second World War that Russia's millions fired by undaunted faith in their fatherland have been offering a heroic resistance, unique and unprecedented in the annals of the history of human freedom. During this titanic struggle, Russian army has been battered on the South Russian plains and from the point of view of the resources Russia has incurred a heavy blow by the loss of Rostov, rendering Caucasus oil inaccessible, involving loss of its arms and tractor plants. Besides, together with the Southern transportation system, Russia has also lost the manganese, iron, mercury and foodriches of the south-west. Yet the Russian spirit is unbroken. But, it is clear that with these terrific losses, the Russian people have entered the grimmest moment in their history.

It is against this background that Stalin and Willkie have made their stirring appeals for opening out a Second Front to the Allied Powers. Public opinion has become more alarmed at this dangerous drift in the policies pursued by the government of the Allied Powers. 62% of Britain's polled subjects have declared themselves in favour of a real Second Front *in Europe*. Great mass rallies are held all over Britain, urging immediate opening of the Second Front. Jack Tanner, the president of the 6,00,000 Amalgamated Engineering Union truly voices the tone of the growing clamour.

> "It is difficult to be patient. Whatever the struggle, whatever the political considerations holding back the attack in Europe, that holding back is against both the will and the interests of the British people and of our comrades in the occupied countries, as surely as it is against those of the fighters and workers of the Soviet Union."

In Russia, the *Moscow News* giving up its earlier reticence has started harping on the same note. Such opportunities of mauling and bleeding the beast of Berlin do not recur and "war abhors lost opportunities." As another correspondent has pointed out, if such an opportunity is lost, it "would cause a reaction fatal to Anglo-Soviet relations." The ostrich-like attitude of the British Government will not help in the matter; nor would the 'at first over-optimistically promised' and now 'scandalously over-estimated' trickle of U. S. War Supplies mean any effective help to Russia. As reported, every Briton and American in Russia is confronted with the embarrassing question, "when will there be a Second Front?"

As the able Correspondent on "Strategy" in *Time* points out, the Russians despite their heroic resistance are losing their hold over their European soil and are forced to retire even closer to Asia.

> "Beneath Nazi bludgeoning the Red Army was reeling back, back towards Stalingrad, back towards the Caspian, back towards Asia."

It would be impossible to justify the Allied strategy before the bar of history, if by any chance Russia fell on account of the strain of a forlorn struggle. Such a possibility makes the future look very sombre.

It is further pointed out that such a catastrophe would involve a great blow to the Allied Powers in terms of Man-power, Air-power, Oil and Industry. In respect of Man-power, the Allied Powers would not only lose the vast trained forces of Russia, but would release about 1,000,000 more workers for the German factories. In spite of the present favourable position of the Allied Powers with regard to the plane production, the possession of Russian Air-craft factories by Germany would dangerously bring her to a level of parity with the United Nations.

As for the Oil, it would mean tremendous rise in the total oil supply to 222 million barrels. And with regard to Industry, the position is likely to be as under:

	Allied position with Russia	Without Russia
World's Manganese (for Steel)	.. 86%	45%
Iron	.. 63%	48%
Bauxite (for Aluminium)	.. 37%	31%

Whatever the potentialities for the future, the immediate results would be simply ominous when we add to this the loss of raw materials, the factories and the captive workers.

II

Equally insistent is the demand of the Chinese people for an all-out aid from the Allied Powers. The heroic people of China have been pounded from air, land, and sea; their cities and villages have been bombarded bringing death and destruction. The Chinese men, women and children have valiantly resisted the brutal aggression of the Japanese forces for five long years. It was only when Japan struck at Britain and the United States that 'China was acclaimed as a Comrade-in-arms by the Allies.'

It is true that the United States has promised an ever-increasing supply of aeroplanes and munitions under the Lease & Lend arrangements. It is further true that a loan of £50,000,000 has already been given to China. But it is necessary to remember the grave menace that threatens China as a consequence of the loss of the Burma Road and many other important strategic positions. Under the circumstances, the completion of the new road from West China through Assam to India has become an imperative necessity for the speedy supply of help from India by land route.

It appears that "the war in Asia is not viewed in its proper perspective." The great sufferings and sacrifices through which China has offered a gallant resistance to the brutal hordes of Japanese army has evoked great admiration and sympathy for the Chinese people all over the democratic front. But, the Allied Powers seem yet to view the critical and grave situation, excepting for the warning of a man like Wendell Willkie, with a dangerous complacency. It is probably not realised as Mr. S. Pramanik has rightly warned in the July issue of *The Modern Review*, that

> "if Japan succeeds in hurling back the Chinese in narrower and narrower interiors to fall back on their decreasing resources and reducing their fighting power to safe proportions, it will be far more difficult for the United Nations to check the devastating march of the Japanese Army over Asia with tremendous resources and man-power at their command than it is today. Roosevelt and Churchill face that possibility for their failure to take timely action in the most-needed theatres of war today."

There is yet another danger lurking in the Chinese situation which can be obviated only by an effective supply of munitions and aeroplanes to China. The danger lies in the existence of a large number of appeasers in China, who promote reactionary elements at home and abet peace moves with Japan abroad. Opposition to any appeasement group can only be strengthened, first by supporting democratic forces by actual deeds and secondly by declaring that China's freedom is an essential part of the Allied Foreign Policy. It is gratifying to note that though belated, Britain and the United States have moved in the right direction by abolishing unequal treaties, the extra-territorial rights. The equality of status with other nations thus secured is bound to enthuse the Chinese people in their grim struggle for independence and democracy.

III

Again, the manner in which the Indian situation is handled by Churchill and Amery from Britain provides an unmistakable proof of want of statesmanship and imagination in appreciating the grave situation in the East and the consequent weakening of the democratic front. Amery endlessly goes on recounting the catalogue of benefits derived by India from the imperialistic rule of Britain in the same old jingo manner of 'the white man's burden.' It is a great tragedy that such a man who lacks both vision and statesmanship should preside over the destiny of India at a time when a man with freshness of outlook and capacity for initiative is called for. And to complete this tragedy Britain has at the helm of her affairs a confirmed diehard in Mr. Churchill, who in the supreme conceit of his racial arrogance holds that

> 'Except the Anglo-Saxons no race has the capacity to work democratic institutions. . . . I am not prepared to admit that an Oriental people (Indians) thousands of miles from Europe can work democratic institutions. That is the root of my opposition.' (Churchill's reply to Jayakar at R. T. C.).

Can the Indians then seriously subscribe to the view that this is a People's War as our communist comrades would have us believe? Are we not entitled to ask the question, for whose Freedom, for whose Equality? Are Indians to remain as mere serfs and helots, 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' in this great democratic upsurge? Have the Britons who talk glibly of fighting for democracy of the vanquished nations any conscience about them in suppressing a popular movement for the self-same ideals in India? Here lies the great rift in the democratic front. The Allied Powers have failed to dissolve the inner contradictions in their own front and thereby release the vast democratic forces against the ruthless Fascist aggression. It may not be out of place to quote here the grave warning and appeal issued by Pearl S. Buck in this connection.

"To fight with England for Europe's freedom while India is governed by tyranny is a monstrous contradiction, and yet no more monstrous than that while the United States prepares for a mighty defence of her democracy, twelve million Americans should be denied equality in a nation founded upon equal opportunity for all, and not more monstrous than that in China, a country fighting the aggressor, millions of peasants have little redress from oppressions of their own people who are profiteers, landlords, militarists and corrupt officials. . . . Democracy cannot win so long as these contradictions remain unchanged. We will lose from within." (Warning to Free Nations—*Asia*).

The warning may pass unheeded by the imperialists who still view the world with the old blinkers on. The crucial question is whether the democratic forces in England, as R. G. Woolbert points out, 'will be able in time to bring their government to see the wisdom, the stark necessity of setting India free.' Such an act is bound to electrify the democratic world, and release the vast resources of India in men and materials which may prove a decisive factor in keeping the balance in favour of the democracies of the world. It is necessary to realise that the Indian problem constitutes the true test of the bonafides of the Allied Powers. To quote Fritz Sternberg :

"If Britain desires to prove in very deed to the nations of Europe subjugated by the Nazis, to the millions right in Germany and Italy held in peonage by the Nazis and Fascists, that its aim is truly free, truly democratic, New Order in Europe and the World, then the decisive step is the liberation of India. . ."

There have been many deliberate attempts at gross misrepresentations of facts about Indian situation and a grotesque maligning of the aims of the Congress and Gandhiji in launching the present struggle demanding the immediate withdrawl of the British Rule from India. Gandhiji has been represented by the Imperialists as a Fifth columnist inviting the Japanese in India ! There can be no greater limit to which inspired propaganda can go. It has been abundantly made clear by the Congress in its famous resolution, that they are most

"anxious to avoid the tragic experiences of Malaya, Singapore, Burma and build up a resistance to aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign power."

It has been stated in clear and unmistakable terms that

"in making the proposal for the withdrawal of the British Rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the War or in anyway to encourage aggression on India or increase pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis Group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers."

If further testimony is needed, here is the willingness of India to fully co-operate with the Allied forces.

"The Congress is, therefore, agreeable to the stationing of the Armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China."

It is gratifying to note that immense mischief wrought by the British propaganda in the earlier stages in the United States is being undone by a fearless and bold presentation of the Indian situation by the eminent American journalist Louis Fischer who had the privilege of knowing the situation at first hand. In the *Nation* of 5th September 1942, Louis Fischer rightly draws attention to the danger involved in the complacency about the Indian question. He observes :

"The danger is that the Indian issue will be exploited by professional Anglo-phobes, Appeasers in prowar clothes and American friends of the Axis. This must be prevented. . . . India is in fact our business and the Administration is worried about India. . . . . We hold our hand out of consideration for British imperial sensibility. This is an unhealthy state of affairs which should cause concern to London. The British think of India in terms of maintenance and authority. They contend, of course, that to maintain authority in India by crushing the current Civil Disobedience movement is to consolidate the defence of India. I think the reverse is the case."

When the whole civilized world is threatened with the possible extinction of its very cherished values, when the major part of Europe is being brutally crushed under the Nazi heel, when the heroic people of Russia are resisting the Nazi forces to every man and the valiant Chinese are locked in a death-struggle with Japan, will it be statesmanship to hug 'considerations for Imperial susceptibilities'? It is no use viewing this war in the old fashion. It presents entirely a new complex and we should realise,

'that this Second World War is not merely a war between two groups of powers but that in the words of President Roosevelt, we are living in a world revolution in which the Second World War represents one of the decisive phases.'

It is clear to-day that Britain cannot successfully prosecute the War without American aid. A successful defeat of the totalitarian and Fascist forces would imply continuously growing collaboration of both and ever-increasing help to Britain by the U. S. Under the circumstances, if America is truly inspired by the democratic cause all over the world and if she wants to be truly loyal to her own Declaration of Independence, she can certainly demand of Britain,

"to make a living reality within its Empire of its claim to waging war against the Nazi slavery and for liberty and democracy." (Fritz Sternberg).

To conclude, a Second Front *in Europe*, despite the present success on the Egyptian Front, to relieve the terrific pressure on Russia, and substantial help in concrete terms of aeroplanes and munitions, and a genuine effort to check the Appeasers by positive encouragement of democratic forces in China, and the liberation of India constitute the essential conditions for the success of the great democratic front against the Fascist and the Japanese forces.

"India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom."

Let not bankruptcy of statesmanship and want of imagination irreparably harm the great cause. Let not the future historian write the epitaph; here lie the shreds of the mighty Empire, unwept, unmourned and unsung for. We may close with the impassioned appeal of Pearl S. Buck:

"Millions and millions of people at this hour of approaching crisis wait for leadership toward freedom. That leadership will not come in clear and infallible and necessary strength until it comes first out of moral truth. Millions ready to follow wait for a sign. What better sign could there be than that the enslaved within the democracy itself shall be freed? Nothing and none could prevent the victory then. But lacking that sign, who can foretell the future?"

November 11, 1942

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

NO INDIAN ACADEMY NOW!

At the risk of adding fuel to flames already too assiduously fanned, I must voice a most emphatic dissent from the present propaganda for an All-India Academy of Arts and Letters as a present objective and on the lines visualised by its promoters.

The latest example of such propaganda brought to my attention, and a fairly typical one, is an article entitled "The Need for an All-India Academy of Arts and Letters" by Prof. Binaybhushan Rakshit, which appeared in *The Modern Review* for December. That article offers suggestions which, if carried out, would certainly stultify the proposed institution and, more, make it a positive stumbling-block to the future establishment of an Academy which would be worthy of a free India and would carry the dignity and the prestige without which such a body is a farce and worse than meaningless.

Prof. Binaybhushan Rakshit may genuinely believe that "there is no means at present, of establishing any contact between, for instance, the Urdu writers of the Punjab and the Tamil and Telugu poets of the South." But I know that the existence of the P. E. N. All-India Centre is as well-known to Mr. D. Visvesvara Rau, to whom Professor Rakshit repeatedly refers, as the former's persistence and his methods in connection with his Academy project are well-known to us. The establishing of such contacts is one of the objectives of the P. E. N. in India. Others are the very points urged by Professor Rakshit for the proposed Academy, the making known of the literary output of different areas of the country in the other language areas and the winning of recognition for our leading writers in the larger world of letters.

We have been working for those objects for nine years, through our monthly journal, *The Indian P. E. N.*, through public lectures and through the series of P. E. N. Books on the Indian Literatures, of which *Assamese Literature* and *Bengali Literature* have already appeared. The late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was succeeded as our President in 1941 by Srimati Sarojini Naidu, and our Vice-Presidents, Sri Ramananda Chatterjee, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, are widely representative of the best in modern Indian literature. And our efforts have not been in vain. Nearly two hundred of the country's leading writers have joined our ranks, forming a real nucleus of a universal brotherhood of letters.

Professor Rakshit referred to an editorial in *The Indian P. E. N.* for March, 1936, which advocated literary awards for India. The desirability of an Indian Academy of Arts was mentioned there and we even suggested "the initiation of the necessary effort by a few of India's distinguished men." We still hold an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters on right lines as an ideal to be worked towards. Subsequent developments have convinced us, however, as later statements in *The Indian P. E. N.* make plain, that the day for launching the Indian Academy will not come until India has taken her place among free nations. And time has confirmed our judgment that distinguished and responsible backing is of the first importance for an Indian Academy worthy of the name. Its cause is ill served by propagandists who rest their own claims to distinction on their zeal for a cause which injudicious haste may irreparably injure.

And, finally, I dissent emphatically from the proposal that an All-India Academy of Arts and Letters squander its unifying force, dissipate its strength and cheapen its prestige through provincial and sectional organisations which, it is suggested, shall "give impetus and encouragement to the many struggling and unrecognised poets and artists of the different linguistic areas." By all means let them be given whatever help and encouragement can be extended, but do not let us undermine in advance the foundations of so august a body as an All-India Academy should be by proposing to hang upon it the functions of a super-literary agency or a mutual benefit society. Provincial and sectional bias must be kept out of the Academy at all costs—and it is proposed to bring them in by the front door.

If the Indian Academy is to deserve mention in the same breath with the Academies of France and Britain, it must be kept from the outset on such a plane that membership in it will be the highest cultural distinction to which scholars or creative artists may look, and merit and deserved fame the only criteria for membership.

SOPHIA WADIA

THOUGHTS ON PAKISTHAN

By "JAY—"

"PAKISTHAN" has been on the political air of India for some years. Various schemes of Pakisthans have been framed by the Muhammadans. Mr. Jinnah and men of his type of thinking have been asking the Indian National Congress and Hindu India that as the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India are two distinct nations why the right of self-determination should not be conceded to the Muhammadans? The Aligarh scheme of Pakisthan speaks thus:

> "That the future of the Muslims of India lies in complete freedom from the domination of the Hindus, the British, or for the matter of that, any other people; That the Muslim majority provinces cannot be permitted to be enslaved into a single All-India Federation, with an overwhelming Hindu Majority at the Centre."

And the scheme is to divide India into several wholly independent and sovereign states.

If the right of self-determination is to be conceded to the Muhammadans, the same right must be conceded in favour of the Hindus also. In all India the Muhammadans are in a minority of 22 per cent. or taking British India alone they are in a minority of 25 per cent. So India or British India as a unit for self-determination does not suit them. Their claim is that the British Provinces should be the units. The religious composition of the several provinces are as follows:

Figures according to the 1931 Census as the details of 1941 Census have not been published. Figures in 000's

Province	Population	Muhammadans	Their %
1. Bengal	501,14	274,98	54·87
2. Punjab	235,81	133,32	56·55
3. Sind	38,87	28,31	72·83
4. N.-W. F. P.	24,25	22,27	91·84
Total	800,07	458,88	57·35
5. Baluchistan	4,64	4,05	87·44
Grand Total	804,71	462,93	57·51

In the four provinces, where the 1935 Reforms are working, the Muhammadans will control the destinies of 345·19 lakhs of non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, or in the five 'Muslim majority' Provinces they will be in a position to dominate over 341·78 lakhs of Hindus.

As against the 342 lakhs of Hindus or non-Muhammadans who will remain as hostages—for has not the late Dr. Ansari, the chief helper of Mahatma Gandhi, and the most nationalist of all Muhammadans and an ex-President of the Indian National Congress said so in his Faridpore Speech, the Hindus or the non-Muhammadans will control the destinies 197·75 lakh Muhammadans in the remaining 7 Provinces where the Reforms are working, or including the minor administrations 201·42 lakhs of Muhammadans as will be clear from the following table:

Province	Population	Muhammadans	Their %
1. * Madras	467,40	33,06	7·07
2. Bombay (Proper)	179,92	15,83	8·79
3. U. P.	484,09	71,82	14·84
4. Bihar	323,71	41,41	12·79
5. * Orissa	53,06	1,24	2·33
6. * C. P.	155,08	6,83	4·40
7. Assam	86,22	27,56	31·96
Total	1749,48	197,75	11·30
Minor Administration	13,66	3,67	26·86
Grand Total	1763,14	201,42	11·42

It is well-known that the present British Indian Provinces are the results of historical accidents and administrative conveniences of an irresponsible, alien bureaucracy. The Simon Commission recognised the fact.

> "There is a considerable body of opinion in India which calls for some re-adjustment of boundaries and re-distribution of areas, and we entirely share the views of those who think that the present arrangement is not altogether satisfactory. The existing provincial boundaries in more than one case embrace areas and peoples of no natural affinity, and sometimes separate those who might under a different scheme be more naturally united." (See Simon Commission Report, Vol. II, p. 24).

One result of accepting the present British Indian Provinces as units for self-determination will be, as has been pointed out above, that 342 lakh Hindus will be placed under Muham-

* The figures for Madras, Orissa and C. P. will be slightly inaccurate, as certain areas now in Madras and C. P. have been joined to the Orissa Division to constitute the new Province of Orissa, the estimated populations of Madras, Orissa and C. P. after the re-grouping will be according to the 1931 Census 442,05 lakhs; 80·26 lakhs and 153·23 lakhs.

madan domination as against 201 lakh Muhammadans placed under Hindu domination. If the future of the Muhammadans of India lie in complete freedom from the domination of the Hindus, the future of the Hindus equally demands freedom from the domination of the Muhammadans.

The ideal solution would be to place the minimum number of the Muhammadans under Hindu domination, and a minimum number of Hindus under Muhammadan domination. And if that is not possible to place an equal number of Hindus and Muhammadans in others' domination. For this other units than Provinces have to be selected.

If we take the administrative Commissioner's Divisions as the units, the result will be that in Bengal instead of the entire Hindu or non-Muhammadan population numbering 226·16 lakhs being placed under Muhammadan domination only 95·43 lakhs will be placed under Muhammadan domination, while 59·94 lakh Muhammadans will be placed under Hindu domination as the following table shows :

Figures according to the 1931 Census in 000's

Division	Muhammadans	Hindus or Non-Muslims	% of Muslims
Burdwan	12,23	74,24	
Presidency	47,71	53,37	
Total	59,94	127,61	31·9%
	Muhammadan	Non-Muhammadan	
Rajshahi	68,49	38,19	
Dacca	98,33	40,31	
Chittagong	51,33	16,93	
Total	218,15	95,43	30·4%

Carrying the analysis a little further, and taking the districts as the units, *i.e.* grouping all the Hindu-majority districts and all the Muhammadan majority districts together without having any regard for the principle of geographical continuity, we get :

Area	Muhammadans	Non-Muhammadans	% of Muslims
Hindu majority districts	35·04 lakhs	121·95 lakhs	22·4
Muslim-majority districts	243·05 „	101·09 „	70·5

If we take the districts in Bengal as the units, 35·04 lakh Muhammadans will remain as hostages as against 101·09 Hindus or non-Muhammadans. Similarly, in the Punjab instead of the entire body of the Hindus and the Sikhs numbering 102·49 lakhs being placed under Muhammadan domination, if we divide the Punjab into Eastern Punjab, consisting of the Amballa and Jullundur Divisions; and Western Punjab consisting of the Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions 42·35 lakh Hindus and Sikhs will be placed under Muhammadan domination as against 26·69 lakh Muhammadans being placed under Hindu and Sikh domination in the Eastern Punjab.

As in Bengal if we take the districts as units and exclude the Sikh districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur from the Muhammadan Punjab 31·65 lakh Hindus and Sikhs will be placed under Muhamadan domination as against 36·37 lakh Muhammadans placed under Hindu and Sikh domination in the Eastern Punjab.

In Baluchistan, Sind and N.-W. F. Province the Muhammadans are in overwhelming majority in every district. So all of them go to Pakisthan.

Dividing British India Division-war in the fashion suggested above the number of Hindu hostages in Pakisthan will be reduced from 341·78 lakhs to 145·03 lakhs; and the number of Muhammadans placed in Hindu India will rise from 201·42 lakhs to 288·05 lakhs. In the Province-war division of British India a further 140·36 lakhs will be placed under hostile or unfriendly domination; in the Division-war division 134·02 lakhs will be similarly placed under hostile domination. In a sense the latter is the better plan of division, though the point should not be pressed too far.

GEOPOLITICS IN INDIA

By V. JAGANNADHAM, M.A., B.L., *Research Scholar, University of Madras*

THE Hon'ble Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, in his Aligarh University address, proposed division of India into five zones. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of Punjab, also has such a proposal for the solution of Indian political deadlock. The Muslim League demands constitution of separate autonomous states on the north-western and north-eastern frontiers of India. The South Indian Liberal Federation demands the formation of a Dravidasthan in South India as a separate state from North India. There can be no two opinions about the fact that these suggestions involving geographical vivisection of India will have grievous repercussions on her political status. The aim of this essay is to study the rôle of geopolitics which consists in a better appreciation of the adverse effects that the changes in the geographical frontiers would bring about on the political status of a nation.

The seeds of the separatist movement are sown deep in the foundations of Indian political reforms. Separate electorates is the precursor of this movement. The plant was assured of its growth when the Secretary of State Mr. Morley declared his determination to introduce separate electorates for Muslims in recognition of the services rendered by that "great community" and in view of its importance in the national life. The political history of India since then has been marked by a tendency to recognize the evils inherent in a system of separate electorates but still to recommend its continuation and extend its application into other fields as well. This tendency may be noted in the Montford reforms and the Simon Commission Report.

In every statement from the White Hall it is a practice to lay emphasis on the separate national characteristics of Muslims and it is a fashion to allege to the irreconcilable antagonism between the two major communities, namely, Hindus and Muslims in India. This incessant dinning of separatism and patronage of particularism has had the grievous effect of promoting parochial nationalism. The feeling has been nurtured that the minority communities in India are not the normal racial or communal groups but a congeries of separate national entities with a right to form sovereign states on the basis of self-determination. The demand for Pakistan and Dravidasthan or the division of India into five zones is a manifest expression of this feeling.

That the Indian State should be divided into several sovereign states is the substance of the policy adopted by the Muslim League in the following resolution passed at its Lahore session in 1940:

> "Geographically contiguous units are to be demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the north-western and the north-eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

By another resolution in the same session, the Working Committee was authorized to frame

> "A scheme of constitution providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all the powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

While the Muslim League demands division of India on communal lines, the South Indian Liberal Federation (popularly known as the Justice party) demands division of the same on racial grounds. The alleged differences in race between the Aryans of North India and the Dravidians of South India are adduced in support of their claim for such a division. In addition there is the problem of the seven hundred and odd Indian States whose princes are reluctant to forego their sovereign rights in order to become members of a federated Union.

The Hon. Sir Feroze Khan Noon, proposed the division of India into the following five zones:—(1) Assam and Bengal, (2) Central Provinces, United Provinces and Bihar, (3) Madras (Dravidian), (4) Bombay (Maharashtra), (5) Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind, North-West Frontier Province. He, however, felt the need for a central agency for certain interests such as defence, customs, foreign relations, currency, etc. But he favours the right of secession to any member state with a right to rejoin when the point of difference was removed. This contemplated union of states into a confederation is a revised edition of the Muslim League demand.

Sir Feroze's proposal is pregnant with mischievous tendencies in so far as it allows a recalcitrant member state of some strategic importance to force her will on the other members with the threat of secession. The experience gained in the brief span of the League of Nations' existenee points to the dangers that flow from the absence of an effective central executive in any union of states. From the ancient Greek city states to the modern League of Nations, confederations proved a failure. To create a confederation of small states in India is to blind ourselves to the experience of history and enthrone anarchy.

The separatist movement in India has passed the preliminary stage of emotional ebullitionism to the serious stage of being regarded as a basic postulate for considering the future constitution of India. The division of India on some basis or other is regarded as a necessary evil. The movement received the official stamp when the Cripps proposals recognised that any province in India could refuse to accede to the proposed Indian Union and become a dominion of its own with the same full status as the Indian Union. The Cripps offer provided that the princely states also need not adhere to the Union. Though the movement for Dravidasthan has not received the same support as that of Pakisthan, it is sure to gain momentum with the increasing official favour for the separatist movements. One is led to feel that the authors of the draft scheme sent by the British Cabinet through Sir Stafford Cripps either completely ignored the geographical considerations or purposely introduced the secession clause as a counter-weight to nationalism. If one draws a mental picture of India divided on those lines as demanded by the various parties not only there will not be a single nation but even as a geographical unit it will be far worse than any smallest state in the world. It is a vision of this horrid picture that should impel every well-wisher of India to press geopolitical considerations to the forefront so that the rising tide of separatism may be stemmed *ab initio.*

Geographically India is a single national Union and the British claim to give it political unity through the development of communications and transport. The geographical configuration of India is her tower of strength and her political unity will be the chief prop of her national prestige in the future world order. Vast and diverse as the Peninsula is, it yet has geographical features which mark it out as a single unit. In the book entitled *The Government of India* Ramsay MacDonald has written :

> "India from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay is naturally the area of single Government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has foreordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure its oneness; its variety its unity. Political and religious traditions have also welded it into one Indian consciousness. Even those masses who are not aware of this offer up prayers which proclaim it and go on pilgrimages which assume it."

Mr. Mervin observes in *India and the West* that

> "India, like England has won her way through centuries to a growing sense of unity based on substantial facts of geography, history and the actual conditions of life and thought."

It is this growing sense of unity built by centuries of common living, corporate sentiment and mutual sympathy that is imperilled by the proposed vivisection of India on the basis of the dubious expediency of the slippery doctrine of self-determination for minorities in a state.

The doctrine of self-determination was intended by its famous exponent, President Wilson, not to engender or encourage secession movement but to condemn aggression and assert the right of national groups to autonomy within the state to which they belonged. The doctrine is an effective instrument in the armoury of subject nationalities against imperialist aggressors. It is a distortion of that benevolent doctrine if a united nation is to be divided on the score of self-determination for linguistic, religious or racial minorities. The existence of these different groups does not vitiate the status of a state from being called a nation. There is ample evidence to show that differences in race, religion or language do not negative the existence of a truly national spirit. The importance of race as a determining factor is fast fading away with the increased volume of doubt as to the existence of a pure race. A nation may be composed of people belonging to different races. America is reputed to be a melting pot of races. So is England and for that matter, any country in the world. The Aryan invasion or Dravidian occupation of India is a matter of considerable doubt and the distinction between the two races is virtually obliterated by centuries of common life and intercourse.

Without religious toleration it would have been practically impossible for a nation state to develop, for every modern state is composed of members belonging to diverse religious faiths. The growth of mutual toleration is gradually taking the religious factor out of national and international politics. It is a travesty of facts

to speak that Hindus and Muslims draw swords at each other in the course of their daily vocations. The testimony of the latest non-official apologist for great Britain, Mr. Rusbrook Williams, admits of the basic unity between the two communities when he says :

> "In normal circumstances, particularly in the villages and small towns (in which, it may be noted, bulk of the people live) Hindus and Muslims are neighbourly enough; and although their habits and ways of life present extreme contrasts, ... they exercise a good deal of mutual tolerance."

It may be feared that with the growth of separatist movements intolerance may be encouraged to reign supreme and put the clock of social progress back to the times of medieval anarchy and mutual warfare. If a modern state is to be divided on the basis of self-determination for religious minorities, it is doubtful whether an institution resembling the state can survive.

The doctrine of self-determination is double-edged and it must be applied with great caution. An uncritical application of the doctrine on an unlimited scale is the bane of politics in the post-war history. The scramble for a revision of frontiers and the series of defeats sustained by the small states on the continent of Europe is an epitome of the dangers inherent in such uncritical application. Says Mr. Buell :

> "Literally interpreted the doctrine of self-determination would sanction the resistance of any minority to the will of the majority. Extended still further, it would authorize any individual to resist the law."

He pertinently asks :

> "Where should the line be drawn between a real nation and mere particularism ?"

In another place the same author says :

> "In the twentieth century, self-determination has become a disintegrating force, which uncontrolled will lead to very serious consequences for the peace of the world and for the welfare of the nations themselves."

The demand for a separate Pakistan state is sometimes tried to be justified on the basis of the recognised principle of reconstituting the provinces on a linguistic basis. There is however a fundamental distinction between re-formation of linguistic provinces and the division of India into separate sovereign states. The readjustment of provincial governments on a linguistic basis will neither lead to a multiplicity of sovereign states nor challenge the idea of a United India, whereas the creation of North-Eastern, North-Western and South Indian states with sovereign governments of their own implies a negation of this idea. The geography of the state remains undisturbed and the political states will be enhanced by the formation of linguistic provinces, while on the other hand the division of India into Muslim and Dravidian states sounds the death-knell of its geographical unity and political prestige.

A mono-nation state, which is implicit in a logical application of the principle of self-determination, is impossible of achievement without geopolitical surgery on an unprecedented scale. Hetroracial, multireligious and polyglot states have been a historic reality for ages and they continue to be so however skilfully it is attempted to avoid them. It may be pointed out that a multi-nation state adds to the richness and variety of national culture and this is abundantly true in the case of India.

The dangers of the separatist movement demanding more than one state in India are still more fatal to its military defence. The swan song of small separate sovereign states is being sung in the battle-fields of Europe and Asia today. If India is to be divided into such states no better luck awaits her. The traditional impossibility of occupying the vast areas of Russia and China by a foreign aggressor and the heroic resistance of their people to the naked brute force used by the German and Japanese war-mongers, point to the advantages of a vast united state in a world of ruthless aggression for world domination. From ages past the defencelessness of the North-West Frontier has been the weakest link in the chain of India's military strategy. If small sovereign states are to be created again after two centuries of strong fortifications by the British in the north-west and north-east zones, India will become the bone of contention among several nations and the field of unending battles for several centuries to come. With its natural frontiers of the Himalayas and the three oceans favouring a United India and with the support of a strong military defence of one sovereign Indian Nation in the north-west and the north-east land routes, the geopolitics of India destines her to become a strong world power. But in order to realise her destiny the growing tide of separatism must be stemmed at any cost and if we learn our geopolitics afresh we realise that to Balkanize India is to make her defence strategy precarious and to render her attainment of political equality with other nations a cry for the moon.

REAL NATURE OF THE MUHAMMADAN MAJORITY IN BENGAL IN 1941

By SHIB SHANKAR DATTA

There was a time when the decennial Census Reports of India used to be looked upon in the world of scholarship and science as monumental demographical surveys worth ten years' study. The last great such survey was in 1901. Since then politics and propaganda have been introduced in the Census Reports. In 1901 it was found that there are as many as 55 castes among the Muhammadans in Bengal. In 1905 Bengal was partitioned; and the province of E. B. and Assam created. At the time of the 1911 Census the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam prohibited all enquiries as to castes among the Muhammadans. The process continued in 1921; and in the Census Report of 1931 subtle propaganda in favour of the Muhammadans and against the Hindus was introduced. The game has continued in 1941.

It was shown in *The Modern Review* for February 1931 that although the Muhammadans are 53·55 per cent. of the total population, among the adults, *i.e.*, those who are above 20 they are 48·5 per cent. The fact was admitted on the floors of the British House of Commons [see coloumn 132 21 Geo. V—cmd. 10179]. But the Bengal Census Report of 1931 says at p. 114 :—

> "Muslims at all ages form the majority of the population."

That this is an absurd claim was shown in the Bengali monthly *Prabasi* for Pous 1347 B.S. The proportion of minors among the Muhammadans in 1931 was greater than that in 1921 by ·42 per cent. The proportion of the Muhammadans in the population increased from 53·55 to 54·44 per cent., *i.e.*, by 0·89 per cent. So the proportion of Muhammadan majors in 1931 could be 48·5+0·89—0·42=48·97 per cent. at best.

In the present Census of 1941, the actual number of Muhammadans over 21 (counted at the request and expense of the Bengal Government) is 149,26,455; and of all the non-Muhammadans 138,70,727. By actual count the Muhammadans of voting age, *i.e.*, over 21 have been found to be 52·9 per cent. The claim of the Hindus that the Muhammadan majority is a majority of minors is thus conclusively refuted !! Let us examine the facts a little more closely. According to the age-distribution given at p. 137. we find that 51·31 per cent. of the Muhammadans are of age 0—20. The corresponding percentage in 1931 was 51·92. Thus the percentage of the minors among the Muhammadans has *decreased* by 0·61 per cent. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the total population has *decreased* from 54·87 in 1931 to 54·73 in 1941. So the proportion of Muhammadan majors would be 48·97+0·61—0·14=49·44 per cent. This is for all ages above 20. So even now in 1941 the Muhammadans are in a minority so far as adults are concerned. The authorities are convicted of propaganda out of their own mouth.

DIVALI

By CYRIL MODAK

Into the ear of night November said,
"It is the festival of lamps ! Awake
To glimmering consciousness the darkness dead,
And bring each burning flame-like bud to break
To fulgent flower, a thousand torches wave,
And greet omnific Beauty on her way
To grant the favours men despairing crave
And craving to some godhead meekly pray !"

* * *

Ten million twinkling sparks adorn the night,
Ten million eyes of fire look through the gloom,
Ten million tongues of flame raise hymns of light,
Ten million lucent-petalled blossoms bloom
To welcome Laxmi, wealth-bestowing queen,
While hope-duped hearts await the tardy guest,
With open doors and shining walls and clean
And polished floors men wait, wait to be blest.

* * *

It is the festival of lamps, dear Heart !
And shall we go unblest ? Take in your tray
Of love the lamps of my desire, and start
One by one to set them where you will today;
The Queen of Beauty and of Fortune must
Pause, pause to find her twin at my lone
To vie with you the moon will bring, I trust,
Her stars the festival to celebrate !

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Re-Emerging Pattern

Three centuries ago this year saw, on January 8th, the death of one great scientist, Galileo Galilei, and the birth of another, Isaac Newton, on Christmas Day, 1642. *The Aryan Path* observes :

Galileo with his heliocentric theory, and Newton with his theory of gravitation, have exerted a profound influence on modern thought. All honour to both for their honesty, their open-mindedness, their courage and their industry ! It is not to detract from any of these to recognise that the discoveries for which posterity honours both were not original but were restatements of truths once well-known. For, as Newton himself wrote, "Restatement is a service only less valuable than inspiration itself."

Galileo's theory of the elemental vortices had been taught by Anaxagoras two thousand years before.

The law of vortical movement in primordial matter was in fact learned by the Greeks from the Egyptians. They had it from the Chaldeans, who in turn had been the pupils of the Brahmins of India. Aryabhata, the earliest astronomer of India, calculated the revolution of the earth as scientifically as Archimedes and the modern astronomers. The Greek astronomer Aristarchus of Samos in the third century B.C. taught that the earth revolves around the sun and "moveth circularly about her own centre." Pythagoras had brought the teaching three centuries before from Middle Asia where it had been taught for many ages.

Galileo availed himself of the Pythagorean manuscripts, with whose doctrines Newton also was familiar. Galileo, moreover, was anticipated nearer his own day in some of his theories, not only by Copernicus but also by William Gilbert of Colchester.

Newton found most valuable clues in the writings of that medieval mystic and "nursling of the genii," Jacob Boehme.

Newton's profound mind, reading between Boehme's lines, was able to fathom his spiritual thought and to translate it for the scientific thinker.

Sir Isaac, one of the most religious men of his day, could fortunately not foresee the uses to which his teachings would long be put by the upholders of a mechanistic universe. Newton held to the Pythagorean corpuscular theory, and what is his "exceedingly rare ethereal medium" but the Ether of the ancients? The direction in which his great mind was working is evident from his leaving open the question whether the agent causing gravity is material or immaterial. This, with a liberal interpretation of his personal *working* God, opens the door to the ancient conception of guiding and operative *intelligences* behind the natural forces. His theory of gravitation itself, faulty because incomplete, echoes however feebly the doctrine of magnetic attraction and repulsion.

The great Pattern of the manifested universe, and of the evolutionary scheme in the impersonal and universal Mind, was grasped by the first Scientists. It was handed down in trust to their successors and by them recorded.

The original Pattern, however, was never lost to the consciousness of the Self-realized Ones.

This continuity of knowledge and this interlinking of effort and of thought afford most powerful proof of human unity. So the harmonious Pattern, still only dimly sensed but gradually re-emerging ever farther into public ken, bears its own evidence, beyond gainsaying, that the world is one. Science has discovered many parts and correlations of that Pattern since Isaac Newton's day. But each is still only a rediscovery, a restoration of the lines perceived how many ages since !

The Machine and The Man

Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Indian P. E. N.* :

The modern age is the age of the machine. In its wheels it has crushed the sacred human personality; it has robbed his soul of its radiance and resonance. Nay, it has destroyed that variety in the world which is the very essence and expression of beauty.

The whirring of the machine is out of tune with the rhythm of the universe. It has tripped the Urvasi of the gods and caused a false step in her dance. It has come to our door like Durvasa to claim the hospitality of our heart,—instead of waiting in due time for a spontaneous welcome,—and, not receiving it, it has cursed us into exile from the Kingdom of Happiness.

The machine is a dictator, a demon—ever-hungry and aggressive, with a maw which is bottomless—like Hell—and a head filled with fumes of frightfulness. But, as in a song, over-emphasis of any kind breaks its harmony, so has the ceaseless hum of the machine broken the harmony of human relationships. The fragile jasmine is more rhythmic, because it is restrained in its growth and glory, than the giant, because of its greed, is in its hugeness and hideousness. Rabindranath Tagore, being a poet, a lover of rhythm to his finger-tips, was naturally on the side of the delicate but dynamic jasmine. That is why, when he visited the United States of America in the twenties of the present century he concluded one of his poems sent from there to Dinendranath Tagore, with the challenge as well as the clarion-call : "In the teeth of the machine-gun I shall sing of the jasmine."

The machine or the mechanical mode of living and feeling and thinking has dehumanised men.

They are so many *hands* in the school, in the office, in the Secretariat, or at best, occasionally, *heads*; but

they are never supposed to possess a heart, which is sensitive to the beauty of Nature and to the inspiration and ecstasy of love. The ideal of the moderns is to be like the busy bee which is engrossed "in storing honey" and not like the butterfly "which has the leisure to love the lotus."

Rabindranath was a lover and respecter of the human personality. Whatever regimented it, robbed it of its legitimate claim and birthright to grow in fullness and freedom—hurt his sensitive soul deeply. Nationalism in the West and the impersonal system of government in India, as also inhuman factory management, equally provoked him into protest touched with the very thunder of heaven.

The tragedy of the present-day civilization is that it has helplessly pitted man against the inexorable machine.

Most people are, therefore, not alive and alert on all the various fronts of the human personality.

But when now and again there does appear among them a person who is fully human, like Rabindranath or Gandhiji, they are reminded of their divine destiny and inspired to re-orientate themselves to it, slowly, yes, but surely.

Such are the thoughts inspired by Rabindranath's one-act play *Red Oleanders*.

Surveying the world-scene today, one cannot help feeling the poignancy as also the purposefulness of the Poet's message in *Red Oleanders*; Humanity seeks peace, but, for it, it must go to a Buddha or a Christ and not to the Council-Chamber or a conclave of the Nations.

The Power of Words

CHICAGO, 6th May, 1900.

MISS M.,

Here I am, looking out on the Lake and down on the tops of trees. For a few days I am staying here. I am alone, and have been sitting in a great window, reading *Paolo and Francesca* for an hour. How wonderful it is! I feel the mood that Swami speaks from when he tells us that we, the Universe, even God Himself, are all 'but the meaning of words.' Some day we shall reach Freedom and then *I know*, I trust, at last *I* shall find a great cry waiting for my voice, and every word, or every sentence, shall be a human life. No more threading of pictures on a string of story, but for every *glimpse* now, a *drama* then, moving swift and sure, with precision to its goal, and then even beyond that a word —some divine, most inward, ancient, and yet prophetic —speaking of an impulse that shall compel and include all dramas within itself. Still an idolater you see! Seeking for one word that may express to one's sense the Infinite Inexpressible!

I look up and see the restless rippling of this great blue water, as if it were but a few steps off below my window, broken by the bare branches of the tree-tops, just touched here and there with the shimmering spear-like tips of buds, and the white gulls fly north and south across the blue, as if between branch and branch of these gnarled trees.

And I was going to ask you, 'What is it *you* will want, on that great day of our Freedom?' Not a word, not a cry,—I know that. The right to love *all*, perhaps, or to suffer and heal all, or the gift of unerring vision. These I could imagine your asking, if I could indeed imagine your remembering to ask anything for yourself. It is selfish, perhaps, to dream such a dream. But there is something so mysterious in the power of words, to sway the soul, even as the water yonder and the trees are swayed.

Love. M. (SISTER NIVEDITA)

—*Prabuddha Bharata*

Nandalal Bose

"A Friend" writes in the *Visva-Bharati News*:

Sri Nandalal was born at Kharagpur, in the Darbhangha State, on 3rd December, 1883. His father was then the State Engineer. From his very early age he showed a strong bent towards art, as was clearly evident in his clay-modelling and chalk-carving experiments. When he was still not out of his teens he painted some pictures. All these, of course, were his activities outside his academic studies. He passed the Entrance Examination in due course and joined the college, but did not continue there for more than two years. The problem of earning bread for himself, perhaps, led him to the door of a commercial school, but the growing artist in him compelled him to betake himself to the Calcutta Government School of Art, where he completed the prescribed course of studies. It was there that Abanindranath Tagore discovered his genius. The result was that soon afterwards he took him under his special care. During his several years' apprenticeship under the master Sri Nandalal supplemented his art education by occasional visits to ancient art centres in the country as well as by sitting at the feet of such distinguished artists, both Indian and Japanese, as came, now and again, to Abanindranath's studio.

In 1914, he came to Santiniketan *asrama* for the first time, though he had met its illustrious poet-preceptor some years earlier.

His idea was just to look round. But as is the tradition of the place (which once was inhabited by dacoits),—"once arrived, for all times held as hostage," he had to make it his home-*cum*-studio. And so he did in 1919, when he was appointed Director of the Kala-Bhavana.

Of his work in Kala-Bhavana there is no need to speak here. For his own pictures and frescoes and those of scores of his students, who have passed through his hands, are an eloquent testimony to his excellence as a teacher and as an uncanny wielder of the painter's brush. His reputation, however, is not confined only to the walls of Kala-Bhavana. It has travelled far beyond them, throughout the country where his artistic decoration of Congress *pandal* and exhibitions of his pictures have familiarised the people at large with the wizardry of his brush, to Japan and China where he went with Gurudeva in 1924 (when the master-artists there wondered at his creations), to Europe and America where, in the best art-museums, representations of his art have been enjoyed and appreciated by a large number of people.

But as far as we, who are his fellow-residents in the *asrama*, are concerned it is as man that he has impressed and influenced us considerably.

In his presence we forget that he is a world-famous figure. but, instead, we take him and treat him as one of us, so complete is his identification with his fellow-beings.

Apropos of this an anecdote, made public lately by a writer in the annual number of *The Orient* (a weekly

of Calcutta), may be quoted. It is said that on one occasion a Santhal, referring to Sri Nandalal, talked in this strain, "We Santhals are all addicted to drink and that is no doubt, a defect in our character. But even among us there are some good men like Gurudeva and Nanda Babu."

This humanity of his, however, is but an aspect of his being inwardly *en rapport* with all life. He understands, for instance, the behaviour of plants and animals in a manner to which many a biologist or zoologist could not lay any pretensions.

At all the festivities and ceremonial functions in the *asrama* Sri Nandalal's artistic touch is evident in every detail, though invariably for the aesthetic colourfulness of the ritual he gives credit to his young colleagues. So great in his humility.

To his humanity and humility he has added, in an abundant measure, humour.

Such, then, is Sri Nandalal Bose the man: a dear friend, an honoured colleague and an ideal teacher. And the secret of his being all these is his translating into practice the prayer of all votaries of Truth and Beauty and Love: "Make me a zero, O Lord."

In French North Africa

The New Review observes:

In perfect synchrony with the westward swing from Egypt, the eastwards rush of American and British troops across Morocco and Algeria combined with the reported bold northwards move of a motorised column from Lake Chad was a masterpiece of grand strategy.

What shows best the value of this move is that it is as strict and perfect an application as possible of the saying 'Get together and keep the enemies asunder,' which is the vital principle of a war between coalitions.

We are at the end of the beginning, as Mr. Churchill said in contrast with the wild imaginings of journalists who at the first good news spoke of an easy and early finish. The enemy is still strong and resourceful. The Nazi command struck back with rapid and desperate measures; not only was their North African army to be extricated from a difficult position, but the initiative was to be wrested back from the Allies; the French Mediterranean coast was occupied, Corsica was taken over and crack troops with guns and tanks were rushed by air and sea to the plains of Tunisia. French troops delayed the counter-attack as best as they could; they were soon joined by American and British divisions coming over by the railways running from Algiers and Bone to Tebessa. Tunisia was cut off from Tripolitania and the Nazi-Fascist groups of regiments can now be dealt with separately; their fate is not doubtful.

Russia

The same *Review* says:

There is some mystery about Stalingrad's defence; the town stretches along the Volga for some thirty-five miles; at one time the Nazis occupied some twenty miles and yet they could not seize the districts remaining in the hands of the Soviet troops though their air force was decidedly superior and controlled the navigation on the Volga. The mystery is as to how the Soviet defenders were reinforced and supplied with food

and munitions Did they float a metallic bridge which was sunk one foot below the level of the turbid waters and escaped day detection ? Or did they dig a regular tunnel under the river ? The defence of Stalingrad in its last stages was not only a matter of bravery, but it was one of the hardest problems of logistics; whatever solution was found reveals an imagination and technique truly remarkable.

Science and Scientists During the War and After

The supreme role which science and scientists are playing in this total war and are destined to play in connection with the much talked-of post-war reconstruction has during recent months formed an important subject of discussion by eminent scientists on either side of the Atlantic. *Science and Culture* observes :

Demand has been made on all branches of science—physics chemistry, biology, mathematics and psychology in ever-increasing intensity In course of presenting the first Richtmyer Memorial Lecture before the American Association of Physics Teachers and the American Physical Society at Princeton, Prof A. H Compton, a distinguished physicist said, "I believe the statement that in this war a hundred physicists are worth a million soldiers" In fact, physicists have now come to be reckoned as a vital factor and a potential source of power in this total War, whose training should be undertaken with that precision and planning which mark the training of the personnel of air force or of the panzer divisions Perhaps what Prof Compton said about physics is equally true of other branches of science

The need for planned efforts in training and turning out the right type of scientists is increasingly becoming obvious.

Any progressive country, as the recent trends of facts unmistakably indicate, can henceforward hardly afford to follow the insufficient and wasteful policy of *laissez faire* in producing scientists and allow the scientists to indulge in monastic seclusion in their pursuit of pure research and new knowledge. This must not lead any one to think that, in so saying, we wish to minimise the supreme value of pure research During the last Great War when the need for technological research was most keenly felt in England Sir Joseph Thomson, doyen of the British Scientists urged at the deputation to the Lord President that

"Pure science is the seed of applied science, and to neglect pure science in a thing of this kind would be like spending a very large amount on manuring and ploughing the land and then to omit the sowing of any seed"

Commenting on this fitting analogy the report of the Advisory Council remarks.

"We accept the analogy, and we trust that the absence of extended reference to pure science in this report will not be taken as indicating our lack of appreciation of its importance"

It need hardly be said that this is precisely also our view. It will be far from the object of such planned efforts to encroach in any way upon the freedom of scientists engaged in pure research and in long-term research activities promising results of a far-reaching character. But there is an undisputed need of co-ordinating scientific work in a particular branch and revising thoroughly the old methods of teaching to secure the best utilisation of the country's wealth of scientists in the service of the State during the war and in the period of reconstruction likely to follow the war.

The Human Bomb

From the United States comes the report of a novelty in war technique—of Japanese origin, of course—for which decisive tests are shortly to be made. *The Northern India Observer* observes :

It is a new version of the aerial torpedo, the "human bomb" which men guide through the skies towards a moving target at the risk of death.

One of the most important items in this new conception of aerial bombardment is the production of a large number of special bombs, each weighing from 850 to 2,200 lb. I call them bombs but they are more than that. Their metal casing is shaped like a miniature aeroplane with room for one man inside He has to lie flat on his stomach and guide his machine by looking through a peep-hole In one hand, he holds a lever which moves the rudder, which in its turn affects the direction and angle of light of the rudimentary plane.

The bombing aeroplane approaches its target at a great height and releases this "bomb," which is guided with mathematical precision by the man inside it to within 300 ft of its objective At this point the operator escapes by simply raising a lever The "lid" of this "bomb" is forced off by the sudden rush of air which gets under it and the recumbent occupant is whirled into the air Whil the "bomb" rushes on through the last phase of its journey the operator floats to safety on his parachute. Should the action take place at sea, he is fitted with a life-belt which may be blown up and transformed into a little rubber canoe. In this he can remain for several hours in safety.

This method of bombing naturally requires men of courage and skill. The bomber is travelling at 220 m p h. at a height of 16 000 ft., so that the "bomb" reaches its objective within 32 seconds of leaving the aeroplane The velocity of descent depends upon a 'device' which varies according to the system of projection.

There are three ways of launching the bomb: horizontally with a rising movement, or simply gliding The first enables the operator to launch his bomb four miles away from his objective With the rising or climbing movement the bomb may be released two miles from its objective; it is used to bring about a particular angle of descent. It is claimed that the third or gliding movements when the bomb has been perfected, will enable the operator, to glide for miles before he definitely steers the bomb on to an objective.

It is said that this new bomb, with its extraordinary precision, should humanise aerial warfare by enabling bombers to avoid civil targets and confine themselves to military objectives.

Continuity of Chinese Culture

In the course of an article on the Culture of the Chinese people in the China number of *The Theosophist* Professor Ernest E. Speight observes :

China has been called "the scene of the oldest civilization and the world's largest cultural unit." As a cultural unit it has very large fringes, extending into Korea, Eastern Turkestan, Indo-China, Malaya and the Pacific, not to speak of Japan and Formosa.

In much earlier days, I am certain, Chinese as well as Indian culture reached the American continent. One critic has noted that the triangular interlacing of the bands upon certain ancient Chinese bronze is almost identical with motifs carved in stone upon the facades of Mexican temples, and last year I made the exciting discovery that on a golden object from the Tomb of the Chiefs at Monte Alban at Oazaca in Mexico, are two clearly recognizable Chinese ideograms.

Chinese culture exhibits a continuation of 5,000 years of successive phases, from the primitive evidenced by some of the earliest pottery known, to a commanding place in the international development of the world.

The last quarter of a century has been a period during which greater changes have been made in China than ever before. They have been made, rather than simply come about; changes in habits, institutions and relations with the outside world. And yet through it all the Chinese are retaining their ancient forms of strength—patience perseverance and pertinacity. All these are qualities increasingly needed by the world. For want of them many of the smaller nations have for the time being gone out of existence. The permanence of the Chinese character is surely a sign of strength to be trusted. The endeavour and determination which have persisted through all changes until these years of great trial are an omen of the deepest significance.

Chinese art, through all its manifestations from pottery and bronze of over four thousand years ago to architecture of the past millennium, reveals the Chinese character in such powerful rhythms and steadfastness that it stands apart from the rest of the world of art. In the suggestiveness of its force I can only compare with it certain Egyptian sculpture, some of the verse of Aeschylus and Christopher Marlowe, and the verse and prose of Milton. It is not so much a matter of size or volume, but one of the subtle effect of proportion upon the sub-conscious faculty.

In China, as in India, there is an enormous wealth of what may be called prehistoric culture.

It is always turning up in daily life, sometimes to give the illumination of common sense to a dark or tangled situation, sometimes, in the form of a superstition, to remind us of days beyond record, long before the safety and mental stability of what we call civilization. And often it surprises us by suggesting intercourse, in those early days, of the ancestors of peoples now inhabiting widely separated regions.

What I Cherish Most

The Rt. Hon. Dr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri writes in *The Indian Review*:

For nearly twenty years I taught boys, loving and loved in return. When, after twenty-eight years of political work, I returned to education, I might have confined myself to the administrative side, but took part in the actual instruction. This I did because I found happiness in it. Our law-givers of old were wise to ordain that it was the duty of a Brahmana to learn and then to teach, to learn in order to teach and to teach in order to learn. Modern conditions do not tolerate caste and its monopolies, and the high calling of the educator is open to all. Blessed are they that enter the profession and feel its joys. Not all are so blessed. The supreme test is, are you unhappy when you can no longer teach? Do you seek opportunities of teaching even when you need not teach? Having learned some things of use and picked up experience in different parts of the world, I feel I should be a despicable miser of knowledge if I passed away without imparting it all to those who could profit by it. Satirists of all ages have sharpened their pen and their tongue on the pedagogue who can never forget that he is a pedagogue, but must scold and labour the obvious even before his equals and superiors. Leave these to their fate.

Is not the man blame-worthy who, having gathered wisdom from society, fails to return it to society with such addition as may be possible to him?

In the long story of our culture, men and women have crowded at the feet of sages ripe in years and lore of books and never missed the spiritual sustenance that they sought. Often it was a set discourse which the questions evoked. But quite as often they had informal and scattered talk, but it was no less profitable. An old saw recommends you to resort to learned men at all times. What if they do not deliver prepared lectures? Even their random talk will be rich with learning and guidance.

Two corollaries of this duty must be mentioned in this place. One is the need of reading and adding to your knowledge. No man's conversation is worth anything if he is not in touch with the events round him and if he does not keep abreast of the movement of thought and opinion. Also let every teacher of the young remember always that they learn largely through imitation, that imitation is unconscious as well as conscious, and that it is, therefore, incumbent on him, for the sake of his pupils as much as for his own, to set a good example in all respects. Among us now, while public life is in the pangs of growth and we are learning the ways of democracy, a model citizen is worth a library of civics. This fact lays an obvious obligation on the schoolmaster and the professor to take an honourable part in the duties of citizenship.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Medium of Instruction

An interesting discussion followed over a paper on the Work of Indian Universities, read by Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganadhan (and published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*.) Besides other things, the question of medium of instruction was also discussed. Relevant extracts are given below:

Mr. K. Kuriyan, B.A., B.L., late of the International Labour Office (League of Nations), said: The lecturer made an admission which, in my opinion, is very disturbing. While the record of research work in India has been impressive he admitted that the average standard of University education is very low. Several speakers have alluded to one of the causes of that low standard, namely, numbers; but there are two or three other very important causes which are profoundly relevant to the main issue. One of these is the imperfect mastery of the average Indian student over his medium of instruction. That vitiates the quality of his thinking and affects the results of his education in later years. A second cause, directly related to that, is the very low standard of school education throughout the country. Many thousands of our schoolboys pass into our university colleges utterly ill-equipped to pursue any curriculum of studies worthy of the name of advanced education.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, M.A., D.Litt., D.C.L., LL.D. (First Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University and Ex-Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University), said:

I shall now deal cursorily with the medium of education. In all the universities of India, apart from one in Hyderabad, the teaching is done in English. The question of what is the proper medium of instruction in the universities is one which has been addressed to the Universities Conference year after year. The various university organisations complain that English is a very difficult language, and in itself is a lifelong study; and if the university student has to study his mother-tongue—Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, or whatever it may be—and English on the top of that, he has to spend a great deal of his time in mastering the vocabulary and grammar of the English language, and the result is that, while he is mastering the language, he is sacrificing his real thought.

What, therefore, are you going to do? Should not you economise time by making one of the vernaculars of India, or two or three of the vernaculars, the medium for university education? The Osmania University of Hyderabad has taken the bull by the horns by introducing Urdu (or Hindustani, as we may call it) as the medium of instruction. I was very fascinated by this, but when I paid a visit to the university and saw their courses of study and their text-books I rubbed my eyes and began to wonder in what language the books were really written; because the language which they had introduced for the purpose of writing the books was neither Urdu nor Hindi, but a sort of mongrel Hindustani-Latinised-Graecian, and in fact worse than Esperanto. The result was simply to add to the babel of tongues; and I asked my friend Sir Akbar Hydari whether he understood the text-books himself. He replied "Yes, but they have to be studied before you understand them." The question of what should be the medium of instruction is one which is puzzling the people of India, and, when the National Government is established in India, one of the burning questions of the next few years will be whether to discard English in favour of one of the local languages. Mahatma Gandhi is in favour of Hindi. This is a question which is likely to engage the attention of the new commonwealth.

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M., said: I should like to refer to the question of the medium of instruction. We have had to deal with that very difficult question in Hyderabad, and I am not sure that the solution at which we arrived is the right one. After all, English is a language of universal currency in the world—in Europe, America, Asia and Africa—and it would be a great thing if Indian students could learn to use it, not necessarily for their domestic affairs, but in the affairs of thought where a learned language is required. At the same time, it is most necessary that the vernaculars should be cultivated, not in the artificial manner which has been referred to, but in a natural way. I have found, during my educational experience in India, that when you address a village audience, or other audiences which do not understand English, they appreciate having the thoughts of English literature brought to them, provided you simplify them and present them in a form which they can accept. I think, therefore, that the main problem for us in Indian education and, indeed, in Indian politics, too, is to devote ourselves to the evolution of a language which shall be a medium of general communication throughout the whole of India, in the way that Latin used to be the learned language of Europe before the vernaculars of Europe acquired their present position. I am all for the study of English thought and English literature as far as possible, but that must necessarily be confined to a few; but I would urge that those few should so mould their thought as to be able to present in the vernacular what they have learned, and thus enrich their own language and the thoughts of their own people.

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganadhan, in reply said: I cannot go into the question of the medium of instruction, because it is an extremely difficult problem. I admit that in the Osmania University it is just an experiment, and I suppose that we have to develop a sort of international language, because knowledge is international. You cannot express the words "oxygen gas" by a literal translation into Hindi or Tamil; you have to use the English expression. Scientific terms are almost all international, usually Greek or Latin, and in that way we have a certain body of scientific terms which are entirely of a hybrid and international character. As long as there are multi-lingual races in India—and in Madras there are five major languages—we need some single medium of communication. English is the language of public administration; it brings us into contact with the outside world; it gives us the means of assessing academic standards, and it saves us from the diffi-

culty of these polyglot troubles. It is therefore inevitable, at any rate until some other common language is developed which is suitable for modern thought, that we should continue with English as the medium of instruction in university classes.

American English

In the article, "Do you speak American?" in *The Catholic World,* Joseph Bourke observes :

Indeed, in the words of the *Oxford English Dictionary,* the language "presents yet another undefined frontier when it is viewed with relation to time." It is no more permanent in its constitution than definite in its extent. And of the making of dictionaries there is no end.

One might nevertheless venture to say that English, as written in America (for that, I think, is nearer the correct description) is less conservative, for that reasonless precise and delicate, and more exuberant. *Le style, c'est l'homme*—and our brand of English has the directness, the bluntness, at times, the homely earthiness, the shrewdness of Uncle Sam. It has an indepenence of tradition, the imaginative scope, the exaggeration of Paul Bunyan, or the irreverence and hard-headed realism and wit of Mark Twain : all American types, two fictitious, one unusually real.

Today it rushes headlong into new fields. It calls a spade something more pictorial and apt. It rides an emotional surge. It gets indignant over the plight of the "Okies"; it sighs for "the lost lane-end into Heaven, a stone, a leaf, an unfound door"; it lambastes (to use its own word) political corruption and intrigue; it swings from the flying trapeze with Saroyan or gets maudlin over "God bless America." It is highly individualistic because it is eminently alive. It may be "vulgah" but it is living English.

Toyohiko Kagawa

In an article under the caption, 'A Saint in Sodom,' in the *Jewish Frontier,* Hayim Greenberg gives us a graphic sketch of the teachings and activities of Toyohiko Kagawa :

Two years ago, the Japanese police arrested Toyohiko Kagawa for "violating the military code." In April of this year we learned from the Tokyo English-language broadcast that in December of 1941, shortly before the attack at Pearl Harbor, Kagawa had been freed and that he had led several hundred of his followers in fasting and praying for peace between his country and America. But lately unconfirmed reports reached us that soon after the outbreak of the war against America he was sent to prison again for "lack of patriotism" and for "sympathies with the enemy."

It is rather surprising that he had never been arrested until two years ago.

Evidently even the Fascist camarilla which rules Japan today could not overcome a certain feeling of awe before the saintly personality of the tubercular old man who possesses an inexhaustible fund of moral energy, who is the friend and benefactor of the poor and oppressed in Japan, who cleared the slums in Japan's ports and who is to millions of his compatriots the conscience of Japan. Similarly Czar Nicholas for many years could not muster the courage to arrest Tolstoy—not as some poorly informed foreign biographers thought because Tolstoy belonged to the nobility of the country (the Czar did not hesitate to exile other counts and princes to Siberia), but because Tolstoy was too much the personification of Russian conscience and exerted too much influence on public opinion.

In the eyes of the hundred percenters of Japan, Kagawa is an apostate. He has long ago renounced both Buddhism and Shintoism. His aristocratic origin did not prevent him from denying the divine origin of the Mikado and of the nobles and to embrace an alien religion. For over thirty years, he has been a Protestant, although his theology is not strictly and consistently one of his adopted creed. That all men are created equal and are the children of God has long seemed to him an

obvious and self-evident truth for which he needed neither philosophical nor theological proofs nor the Scriptures of Judaism and Christianity. Since this fundamental tenent of religion is to be found in Buddhism, Lao-Tzeism and all other faiths of the East, one wonders why for the sake of this alone, Kagawa found it necessary to join a Christian church. Gandhi, who has a genuine respect for the Bible, both for the Old and the New Testaments, has always felt that there was nothing in Judaism and Christianity to add to what he cherishes in his native faith. It may be that Kagawa found in Christianity a particular emphasis on certain spheres of life or that some early influences made him see in the Christian religion the highet expression of his religious and humanitarian cravings.

Though a pious Christian, Kagawa has long ago turned his back on formal Christianity and has often condemned the lack of spirit and the hypocrisy of most church institutions. The supporters and directors of the missionary schools in Japan where he studied, who also sent him to study at Princeton University, expected him to become a leading Christian divine in Japan, perhaps a bishop. But Kagawa disappointed them. From America he brought to Japan an interest in social welfare work, in education, in slum-clearing and in co-operative enterprises rather than in the niceties of Christian theological dogmas.

Kagawa's Christianity is carried into practice by the establishment of trade unions and farmer co-operatives, by stevedore strikes free from any physical violence, by teaching the Japanese masses to eat healthy food and to sow soya beans as a change from rice, and by his ardent advocacy of internationalism and absolute pacifism. For many years the poor home in which he lived in Kobe was a welfare center in itself which served as a hospital, an orphanage, a hostel and a church.

When asked during his last visit in America what he taught the many tramps, former prostitutes, former criminals and beggars or the tuberculars who came into his house, he replied that he taught them the three R's—reading, writing and ... respect for human dignity and for themselves. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of poor people learned from Kagawa that their emaciated ravaged bodies covered by rags carried within them the spark of divinity worthy of respect.

"We have in Japan two types of Christians," a Japanese told me in England some time ago, "the so-called 'rice-Christians' who adopt the faith for the sake of the rice packages given out in the missions, and the Kagawa Christians the like of whom is not to be found in England or in America."

Kagawa belongs to the same type as Tolstoy and Gandhi, but he is much less complicated. Perhaps because of that he escaped those pseudo-religious and pseudo-ethical extremes which mark the Russian artist and God-seeker and the Hindu moralist and politician.

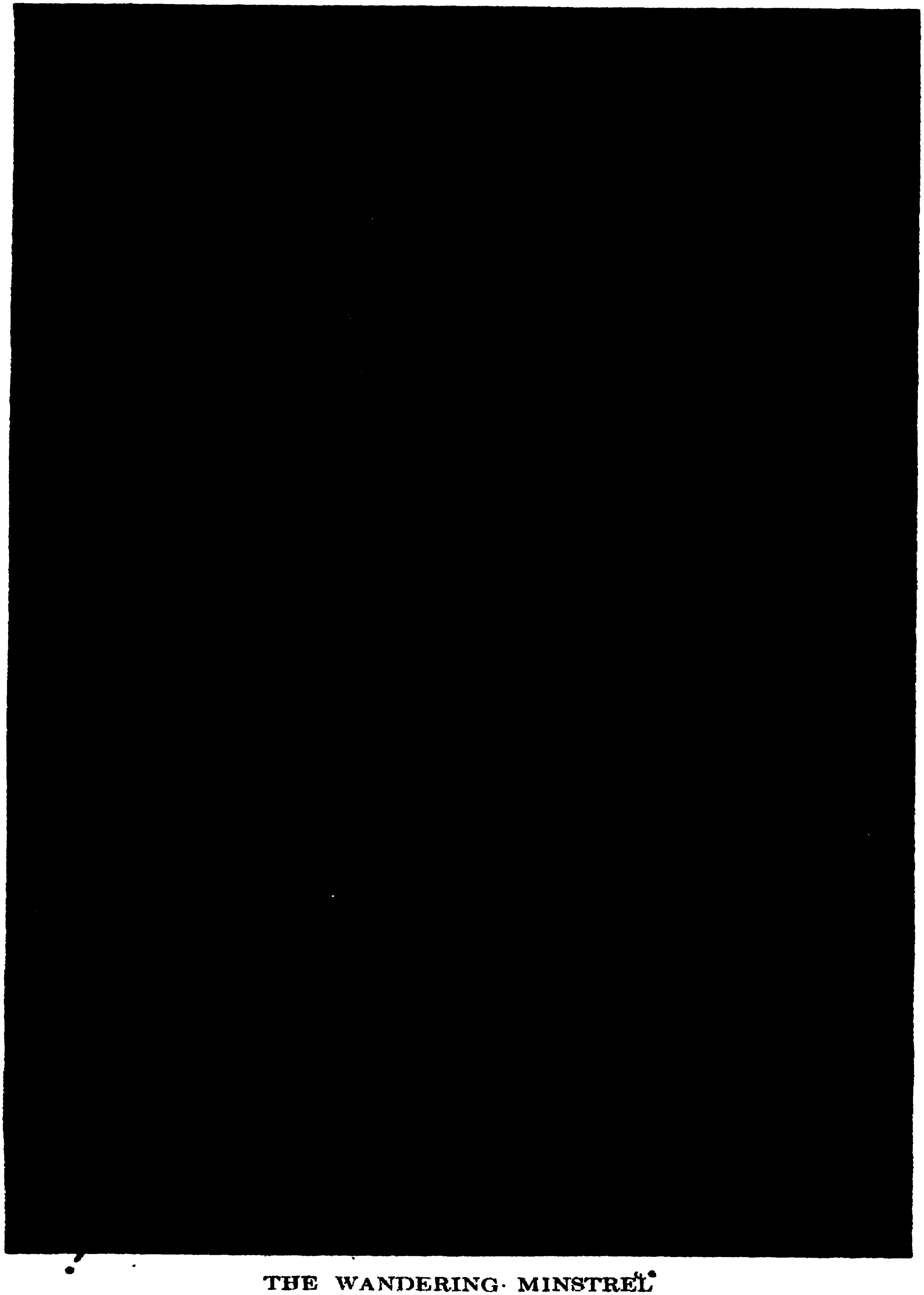
Unlike Tolstoy and Gandhi, Kagawa is a great admirer of science and technical progress and sees in them a source of liberation rather than of enslavement for humanity. He believes that Asia has not learned enough from Europe and America in the fields of technical development, medicine and social hygiene.

While Gandhi sees in the locomotive an evil demon whose smoke drives away the gods from the forests, Kagawa sees in it a blessing. He dreams of such crassly mundane things as bacon on the breakfast table of every Japanese family. He is in his own way a consistent reform socialist and he finds in religion, especially in Christianity, a stimulus for economic progress and social rejuvenation.

Kagawa has faith in the future of Japan, although he spares no words to condemn the present conditions in his country. The average Japanese, he writes, has now become a robot, and the air is poisoned with servile mechanical discipline. He reminded his countrymen that everything of spiritual and cultural value has come to them from the Chinese whom they were now repaying with bombs. He is deeply grieved by the mad spirit of aggression which enveloped his fatherland, but at the same time he is sensitive to every act which offends the feelings of the Japanese. When the Japanese Exclusion Act was adopted in 1924 by the United States Senate, he wrote:

"The Japanese people are sorry to find out that the spirit of Washington and Lincoln does not abide in the hearts of the United States citizens. America today is only a land of liberty for the White race." And he reminded his American friends that for years the portraits of the two great Americans had hung on the walls of Japan's elementary schools and that Japanese children had been taught that the two great emancipators recognized an equal status for the Japanese. But Kagawa's disillusionment with America did not call forth in him any hatred or bitterness. He believes that sooner or later Japan and America will co-operate in building a world federation on the foundations of universal social equality.

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THE WANDERING MINSTREL

By B. Karmakar

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Employ Carts to Carry Coal

Coal prices in Calcutta soared up to Rs. 5-8 per md. a few days back. Shortage of supply in the local market was the only reason for this extraordinary rise in price. Shortage of supply, in its turn, was due to the ever-increasing shortage of wagons. The wagon supply is completely under the control of the Government. When the situation threatened to become extremely serious, the Government of Bengal moved and announced that they had secured 1,100 wagons which were "earmarked for Calcutta and allotted to dealers this month." It is yet to be seen whether this "earmarking" has actually set 1,100 wagons in motion on the rails.

The question may naturally be asked, why these wagons were not released earlier and what has prevented the authorities from securing a steady supply of the requisite number of wagons for carrying coal in order to maintain the stability of its prices in Calcutta. We have shown in the December number of *The Modern Review* how the available number of wagons were steadily and rapidly decreasing. The Government knew best the reason for this progressive decrease in wagon supply and whether it would be possible to replace the wagons or to bring them back on the rails in the near future. They have assumed all control in their own hands; it is for them to provide means of railroad communication themselves or to suggest and offer active help in securing alternative means to transport.

School boys have been taught in their classes that railways were brought in India by the British for the good of the Indian people; but at a time when railways were needed most, they find that it is the people who have been greatly deprived of their services in the movement of men and goods alike. One important chapter in "England's Work in India" is ending in a fiasco; all that remains now is to invoke the aid of the bullock cart.

Reservation of Hospital Seats for European Air Raid Victims

The Secretary of the South End Ratepayers' Association has revealed to the public the insufficiency in hospital arrangement for air raid casualties which might happen in the Tollygunje and Ballygunje areas of Calcutta, and the reservation of a more than proportionate number of beds for the treatment of European air raid victims. He says:

> "I learn that there are only 3 hospitals for receiving air raid casualties for Southern Municipal areas of 24-Parganas, Tollygunge, South Suburban, Matiabruz in addition to these of South Calcutta with the following accommodation:
>
> Presidency General Hospital—100 for Indians and 317 for Europeans.
>
> Sambhunath Pandit Hospital—264.
>
> Prince Golam Mahammad Hospital, Tollygunge—10 and probably 20 more for Europeans.

The British were so long very generously providing for reservation for Muslims and Scheduled Castes. The statement quoted above

reveals that they have now ranged themselves by the side of the Muslims and Scheduled Castes clamouring for reservations. After the protector has stooped down to the level of the protected, can the backward people expect any protection ?

China Relations Officer

The New Delhi Correspondent of *The Hindu* understands that "an interesting appointment has just been made, namely, the China Relations Officer at New Delhi, Mr. Pridaux Brune being the nominee for the post." Sir Robert Reid, on relinquishing his office as Governor of Assam, was appointed China Relations Officer. It is not yet clear whether Mr. Brune is going to succeed him, or that it has been considered necessary to make provision for two gentlemen for the same duty. We do not exactly know as yet what Sir Robert Reid was doing to enable China "to understand India better." In fact we find the Chinese Consul General for India and the Calcutta branch of the Chinese Ministry of Information trying to make contacts with the Indians with a view to understand India better and circulating bulletins in English and in vernacular languages.

China and India have maintained good and neighbourly relations with each other for centuries past and hope to continue it for ages to come. A Reid or a Brune will not be needed to bring about a "better understanding between India and China" so far as the peoples of the two countries are concerned !

Calcutta University's Queer Decision

In view of the prevailing circumstances, the University of Calcutta have decided that no examinations (Matriculation, I. A., I. Sc., B. A., and B. Sc.) will be held this year outside the provinces of Bengal and Assam, as was done last year—this news has been published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

The University had made arrangements for holding examinations outside Bengal and Assam when they had joined in the general panic and stampede last year and failed to show any sign of foresight, courage and steadiness. When there was only panic and no bombs, examinees were allowed to appear at centres outside Bengal. But now when bombs have begun to be dropped in Calcutta and when the need for evacuation of boys and girls have become real, they have backed out and withdrawn the facilities granted last year.

Is Rationing Desirable ?

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha has adopted a resolution suggesting the desirability of taking necessary steps for introducing rationing system in the city. Of late, suggestions for the introduction of ration cards have been made without giving much thought to the real problem. A proper and intensive study of the present economic conditions in India would reveal that ration cards would provide no solution. The problems consist of lack of transport, inadequate supply and absence of co-ordination between the public and the price control authorities. These three causes together with the inflation which has placed enormous wealth in the hands of the rich speculators, have completed the vicious circle which is tightening its grip on the throats of the poor consumers. Corruption and inefficiency in the price control department have suffered hoarding and desperate profiteering to go unchecked.

If ration cards were introduced under such conditions, it would make the life of people still more miserable. Already every day we witness the nauseating and disgusting sight of long queues consisting even of women and children standing in the sun for hours together for a few seers of rice or a *powa* of sugar. The number and length of these queues will be multiplied if ration cards are introduced before bringing the supply and transport organisations to at least a working order, cleansing the stable at the price control department and setting up a real co-ordination between the price control authorities, the business communities and the consuming public. A new organisation for this purpose is required. The "popular" Ministers have failed to solve even a fringe of the problem; they have rather permitted themselves to be degraded to the level of glorified clerks and have confirmed the belief that they are holding office by sufferance of the Civil Service.

Public bodies would do well to study the problem in all its bearings before they proceed to give economic suggestions of a far-reaching character.

Relief Operations in Midnapore

Relief operations have commenced in Midnapore, three months ago, but no full and authentic account of how and to what extent relief has been given to the stricken people has been published by the Government besides occasional and scrappy news released to the Press. The Government should have been more generous in the

publication of fuller accounts of their activities because they knew that their activities were being watched with a shrewd suspicion. Their actions had come in for a good deal of criticism and the best way to regain public confidence was to take the public into confidence. But their activities do not seem to lend support to the view that they have been able to raise themselves above criticism.

The report published on January 14, states :

> The difficulties of the various organisations, carrying on relief work in the cyclone-affected areas in Midnapore district, with special reference to the problem of supply of rice and medical equipment were discussed at a meeting of the Workers' Sub-committee of the Bengal Cyclone Relief Committee held at the Secretariat. Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Revenue Minister, presided.
>
> With a view to securing the services of an adequate number of medical practitioners for relief work it was decided at the meeting to raise the salaries of the medical officers required for this purpose to Rs. 100. It was stated that several additional doctors and large quantities of medicine had recently been sent to the affected areas to cope with the epidemic diseases which had almost been brought under control in different thanas.
>
> The meeting also discussed the problem of supplying cattle to the cyclone-stricken people. Decision on the matter was postponed pending the receipt of definite suggestions from the various organisations.
>
> The Additional District Magistrate of Midnapore and the Special Relief Officers of Contai and Tamluk were present at the meeting.
>
> The Government of Bengal have so far spent about Rs. 83,00,000 for relief work in the cyclone-affected areas in Midnapore and 24-Parganas. Out of this, about Rs. 65,00,000 has been distributed in cash and the balance in kind.
>
> It is learnt the Government of Bengal have agreed to release 10,000 ft. of tubes for the Mayor's Relief Fund for sinking tube-wells in the cyclone-affected areas. Two tube-well engineers have agreed to sink these tube-wells at cost price. It is being arranged to sink 20 tube-wells at present.

The Revenue Minister has stated that the Government have spent Rs. 83 lakhs for relief work in Midnapore and 24-Parganas. Is this amount sufficient ? The same Minister had made a statement in the Bengal Legislative Council on November 12, 1942, that "nearly 7 lakhs of huts had been destroyed making over 15 lakhs of people homeless, and 75,000 heads of plough and milch cattle had perished." Even if we consider that most of this sum, out of this Rs. 83 lakhs were spent in Midnapore, it works out at *less than Rs. 6 per head of the suffering people numbering 15 lakhs for a period of nearly 3 months, i.e.*, barely Rs. 2 per head per month for a people who have lost their all—their belongings, their homes, their cattle, in short everything. We do not as yet know the total amount spent by the non-official organisations, but judging from the lists of donations published by them, it seems that the help rendered by them would be far less in quantity, because they had to depend for funds solely on public charity. Where the Governor of the Province has himself collected barely Rs. 5½ lakhs, including Rs. 2 lakhs from London, the non-official organisations cannot be expected to make better collections in these hard days.

Whatever small harvest there has been in the devastated areas, is absolutely insufficient to make the people live on it till the next harvest. Mr. Horace Alexander states from his personal knowledge that "rice has all been cut, but there was no grain in the rice." Even where rice was made available to the sufferers at Rs. 8 per md., the *two-rupee* dole would be fully consumed in the purchase of ten seers of rice which would be insufficient for two meals a day. The Government themselves proposed to give 8 chhittaks of rice per day for each adult, leaving nothing for the purchase of salt and *dal*.

The following news item published on January 15 states that the Government have *sanctioned* Rs. 45 lakhs as agricultural loan, but it gives us no idea of what has been done to replace the 75,000 heads of cattle destroyed and to remove the salinity of the soil washed by the tidal wave :

> In pursuance of their scheme for distribution of agricultural loans in the cyclone-affected areas in Midnapore and 24-Parganas districts, the Government of Bengal have so far sanctioned about Rs. 45,00,000. They propose to sanction further amounts, if required, for this purpose in future.
>
> The Director of Agriculture, Bengal, is now engaged in collecting *amon* seeds which will be required in large quantities for the people of the affected areas and in making plough cattle easily available to them for purchase.—*A. P.*

On January 18, the following news was published :

> Definite and detailed instructions regarding the grant of loans for house-building purposes, for the purchase of cattle and for the maintenance of all deserving families in the cyclone-affected areas in Midnapore and 24-Parganas districts have been issued by Mr. B. R. Sen, Additional Commissioner, Presidency and Burdwan divisions. Orders have also been issued for the grant of loans to traders, businessmen, artisans, etc., to enable them to restore their business so that normal condition in the area can be brought back as early as possible.
>
> As regards the distribution of gratuitous relief, the Additional Commissioner has directed that the programme of distribution should be gradually curtailed as the local people having lands collect their harvest or as the landless and other people are given employment in the test relief and embankment repair works and under business loan schemes of the Government.
>
> The relief work in the area will be carried on by the Government as long as it will be necessary.—*A. P.*

What are those "definite and detailed instructions" issued regarding the grant of loans

for house-building purposes? What is the amount of money sanctioned for this purpose? The Revenue Minister had stated that 7 lakhs of huts had been destroyed. At least a hundred rupees would be required to build one hut, and at this rate 7 crores of rupees would be required for the rebuilding of the destroyed huts. Why does the Government feel shy about disclosing the amount sanctioned for this purpose?

The report quoted above also mentions that "definite and detailed instructions" have been issued for the maintenance of all *deserving families* in the cyclone-affected areas. What is the basis on which families have been classed as deserving and undeserving? Has the idea of teaching a lesson to the rebels anything to do with such classification? More than three months have passed since this great calamity took place but the Government have not yet been able to make any full and frank statement clearly showing what they have actually done to help the sufferers. From time to time large figures are dangled before the eyes of the public through short and vague statements, carefully avoiding any detailed and clear statement.

The Additional Commissioner's direction asking the non-official organisation to curtail gradually their programme of distribution will be considered as cruel and undesirable. The public have as yet received no report from Midnapore which would lead them to think that conditions there have so improved as to render any further help unnecessary. The Government have themselves been unable to make out such a case. Under such conditions, it is simply inhuman to ask the non-official organisations, who have not thrived on Government money, to stop their activities. The public will not in the least be convinced about the desirability to discontinue gratuitous help till a joint report of the non-official organisations tells them that it is time to wind up.

Chimur Incident and the Reaction of the Press

For the first time in the history of Indian journalism, nearly one hundred newspapers of the country joined in a protest against the unjust order passed on the Press by the C. P. Government calculated to hide the disgraceful Chimur incident. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in its leading article on January 14, summed up the facts of the case very ably in the following words:

It is well-known that some Government servants had been murdered in that village early in August last. The accused were in due course sent up for trial and the Judge, on the evidence placed before him, came to certain conclusions. The C. P. Government issued a *communique* on the basis of that judgment and stated that there was no foundation for the allegations made by certain inhabitants of that village against the police and the military posted there. It was alleged, for instance, that the troops and policemen concerned tried to terrorise the villages and committed excesses in disregard of the elementary decencies of civilised life. There was a public demand for expert and impartial enquiry into these allegations, which the C. P. Government were not prepared to concede. One of the grounds urged by them was that in all these cases the women complainants were related to or connected with persons involved in the unfortunate events of August and that there was absolutely no case for investigation into allegations emanating from interested sources.

Professor Bhansali took up the matter and joined in the public demand for an enquiry. Failing to get redress from the C. P. Government he approached the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, whose native village was close to Chimur and who was expected to take personal interest in the matter and use his high office for the ends of justice. Mr. Aney, however, declined to intervene and the result was that Professor Bhansali, as a *Satyagrahi*, resorted to fasting unto death on the issue of these grievances. It was then that the C. P. Government issued their order calculated to black-out all relevant news about the matter.

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference took a serious view of the order banning all news of Prof. Bhansali's fast and even a mention to this order. At its Bombay meeting, a resolution was passed declaring this act of the C. P. Government to be a breach of the understanding between the Conference and the Central Government and demanding redress from the latter. In the event of the Central Government not showing any inclination to compel the C. P. Government to withdraw the order, the Editors decided to stop the publication of certain categories of news, including the New Year's Honours List. It was also decided that Newspapers who were members of the Conference would suspend publication for one day, *viz.*, on January 6. This All-India *hartal* was observed by nearly a hundred newspapers all over the country. The order in question related to one calculated to stop the demand for an enquiry into serious allegations of dishonour done to women. When the public expected the British-owned newspapers in India to take up the strongest attitude in this case, the *Statesman* backed out and did not join the *hartal*. The Madras Government, at present run by British Officials, took up a vindictive attitude against the newspapers who did not publish the Honours List and adopted measures to punish them. This unprecedented unity amongst the Indian newspapers, however, shook the Government of the Central Provinces to its

senses within a rather short period of 12 days, and a *communique* was issued to the effect that "there was no intention on the part of the Government to attribute any ulterior motive to women of Chimur generally and that Government attaches and has always attached greatest importance to the maintenance of discipline among the military and police engaged in restoration of order and considers the respect for honour of women and their protection from molestation is and shall be the first essential of good discipline."

The following correspondence which passed between Dr. N. B. Khare and Prof. Bhansali and was released at the Press Conference held by the Chief Secretary of the C. P. Government would throw a flood of light on what the Provincial authorities were trying to hide.

NAGPUR, Jan. 12.

From Dr. Khare to Prof. Bhansali :

Dear Bhansali, I saw you on January 8 and had talk with you. I had as a result full and free discussion with His Excellency about Chimur incidents. As regards complaints as to outrages committed on women of Chimur the demand for public enquiry may not be pursued in view of the difficulty of identification after this lapse of time. I am in a position to assure you :

(1) The C. P. Government will issue a *communique* to the effect that there was no intention on the part of the Government to attribute any ulterior motive to women of Chimur generally and that Government attaches and has always attached greatest importance to the maintenance of discipline among the military and police engaged in restoration of order and considers that respect for honour of women and their protection from molestation is and shall be the first essential of good discipline.

(2) The ban on Press relating to Chimur and Bhansali affair will be removed.

(3) The *communique* or Press Note, etc., would simultaneously appear in the Press with the letters.

(4) I understand that there will be no restrictions to visitors to Chimur now, but if there is any they will be removed. I am in a position to assure you that the Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney will join you in your visit to Chimur and meet people and Government will not place any restrictions. If you so desire I have no objection to go with you. Yours has been a tremendous sacrifice, but in view of the above I would request you to break your heroic fast.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Khare.

From Prof. Bhansali to Dr. Khare :

Dear Khare.

Many thanks for your letter and your efforts. I am glad to find that Government are willing to issue a *communique* as suggested by you and remove the ban on the Press as regards Chimur news and the restrictions on visitors to Chimur. I am also glad that Mr. M. S. Aney will be kind enough to come with me to Chimur and meet the people of the village and thus concede my request to him; as a man devoted to religious life, I have always felt that molestation of even a single woman is a crime not only against society but against God. Now it has been given to me to communicate this feeling to others—may be in a very small measure. I am therefore beholden to God so that he made me the instrument of awakening conscience on so vital a question as the honour of women. When I recover my strength I shall be glad to visit Chimur in company of Mr. Aney and yourself. In view of reasons given by you, I agree to drop the demand for an enquiry and break my fast. After I break my fast no restrictions will be placed on my movements or utterances which may be directed to the relief of Chimur, or which relate to my fast.

Sincerely yours,
(Sd.) Bhansali.

Wardha, January 12.

—*A. P.*

It remained for Prof. Bhansali to teach the British Officials of C. P. that "molestation of even a single woman is a crime not only against society but against God."

Allegations of Dishonouring Women in Midnapore

What was successfully secured in C. P. was passed unnoticed in Bengal. The Ex-Finance Minister of Bengal in his statement issued in November 23, after his resignation stated that "Allegations affecting the lives, properties and *honour of men and women* have been made which are of a most serious character." This portion of his statement was not contradicted by the Government of Bengal. Neither did the Ex-Minister try to mobilise public opinion on it. Bengal lacked a Satyagrahi like Bhansali. The British Officials in India of the present day do not seem to attach any importance to cases of dishonour done to women, when these women are Indians. The Bengal public will refuse to believe that the Ex-Minister failed to bring these allegations to the notice of Sir John Herbert, the Governor of Bengal.

Will America Share White Man's Burden ?

January 26 is observed in India as the day of the declaration of Indian Independence. This year three incidents, apparently isolated but converging into the same object, happened on this auspicious day. An Independence Day Dinner was organised by the India League of America in New York. Speaking at this Dinner, Miss Pearl Buck declared :

"When Englishmen tell us that we must help them to bear the burden of Asia if we want India free, isolationists among us come to new life. We see in India, thanks to England's emphasis on all possible differences there, something even more troublesome than Europe.

"We Americans really have no wish to take our share of the white man's burden. There never was

white man's burden, except in the sense the white man made a burden for himself by trying to force his rule upon reluctant peoples."—*Reuter.*

On the same day, the following incident happened in Washington :

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26.

Five persons including a girl of 20 and a 30 year-old clergyman picketed the British Embassy at Washington today (Tuesday). They carried placards proclaiming that it was the thirteenth anniversary of India's "Declaration of Independence" and appealing "to Britain of democracy to renounce Britain of the Empire."—*Reuter.*

Again, on the very same day, the following passage appeared in an advertisement inserted in certain daily papers in India by the United States of America :

"This people of the New World turned their pioneering drive to make a society in which all men are free. These are the people who have committed themselves through their President to defend human freedom all over the earth."

Rights of *Man,* and not merely the rights of the *white man,* were confirmed in America. Whole Asia and Africa have laboured under the white man for the past three centuries. The white man "made a burden for himself by trying to force his rule upon reluctant peoples," and created separate rights for the white and the coloured man. The millenium old civilisations of Asia and Africa faced a new Christian Civilisation thrust upon them and a 'conflict of civilisations' followed. Commercial interests in Asia and Africa divided the white men themselves, the white man's burden boiled down to ideas of race supremacy and war followed war during the past two and a half centuries.

The United States of America has solved the race question within her own borders. She has removed the separatist tendencies among her different races and minorities by refusing to give "emphasis on all possible differences" and has succeeded in achieving the present remarkable unity among all elements which compose her national life. If she can extend her idea of the rights of man, irrespective of race, colour and religion, beyond her borders and all over the globe, she will be remembered by posterity as the true Arsenal of Democracy.

Mr. Winant on British Colonial Policy

Addressing a lunch-time meeting of the Royal Empire Society on July 28, Mr. J. G. Winant, American Ambassador in England, made the following observation on the British Colonial Policy :

"It was not without some misgivings that I accepted your invitation nor have I had sufficient leisure since accepting to develop any real contribution to your thinking on the problems of Government. Like most Americans I would feel on more familiar ground if I were permitted to join with you in a discussion on the British Commonwealth. You are an island empire, while we are a continent nation with few appendages. Our great contribution has been to accept peoples from many parts of the Old World, who are under a "government of the people, by the people and for the people" have learned to live in peace with one another, enjoying certain inalienable rights such as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." . . . . We have less in common with your Colonial empire. *A careful survey of public opinion in the United States showed there was a greater divergence of viewpoints on British Colonial Policy than on any other subject that divided us.*"—(Italics ours—ED., *M. R.*).

Rupee Note No Longer Legal Tender ?

Following the Calcutta Tramway Company and the Government controlled shops in Calcutta, the East Indian Railway have notified intending passengers to come to the booking offices with the exact fare. What was so long going on unofficially has now been consecrated by official sanction.

East Indian Railway is a Government institution and therefore legally bound to accept ten rupee, five rupee or one rupee notes when they are tendered for the payment of fares. The mint is owned and worked by the Government and it is the duty of the Government to provide the people with small change. It is unlawful for the people to construct mints and manufacture coins and the Government cannot lawfully expect the people to make small coins for tendering to the Government institutions.

The attractive value of the metal content is hardly any argument for the shortage of small coins. In that case, the silver half rupees and quarter rupees would have disappeared first. But in fact, copper pice was the first to go out of circulation, followed by a sudden disappearance of half anna, one anna and two anna bits made of nickel and brass.

Some coins have no doubt been hoarded by unscrupulous speculators but it would not be unreasonable to make inflation of currency mainly responsible for driving metallic currency out of circulation. When the standard money falls due to inflation, unit of currency rises. We find this is exactly the case here. Pice, half anna, one anna and two anna bits have gradually and progressively disappeared from circulation. The quarter rupee has now become the unit of currency for practical purposes. If things go on like this, the quarter and half rupees will disappear in another jerk and paper rupees may become the units of currency.

Story of the German mark and the Russian rouble is not yet out of public memory. Unless the Government takes *real* precautions against inflation, a currency crisis seems inevitable.

Government has also shown slackness in hunting out the speculators who have hoarded coins. It were they who helped these unscrupulous people to get huge amounts of coins from a comparatively small number of sources. The Tramway Company's and the controlled shops' veiled orders to tender *exact* fares and prices led to large accumulations of small changes in the hands of their employees. The coins might have proceeded to the speculators from these sources. This may account for one of the reasons for such a rapid withdrawal of coins from circulation. The Special Branch Police shows great activity in hunting out leaflets and pamphlets; we do not know whether the Government requisitioned their help to discover the hoarders and the clandestine trade in small coins.

Attention should however be given to the principal reason—inflation of currency. An indirect premium has already appeared on notes in the form of forcing unnecessary purchases for the purpose of obtaining change.

Food Problem, Mr. Amery and the Importing of British Food Expert

Since the creation of the new Food Department under the Government of India two months earlier, the situation has shown no sign of improvement. When the people of India have grown disgusted and tired of the inefficiency of the Administration, Mr. Amery has come forward to shield them. His short statement betrays a lamentable ignorance of the Indian situation:

LONDON, Jan. 21.

The question of shipping wheat to India to tide over until the new crop is available is being urgently considered by His Majesty's Government. Mr. Amery told in the Commons today. He said that he hoped to make an announcement on subject in the near future. Replying to a series of questions he said: "The food situation in India is causing considerable anxiety. Last year's food crops were in general satisfactory but the loss of Burma rice of which about one and a half million tons normally go to India coupled with increased demands for the army and the serious failure of the millet crop in certain parts have caused prices to rise and food to become in many parts not only dear but scarce.

Flooding in Sind and cyclones in Orissa and Bengal accompanied by flooding have been contributory factors but have not, in themselves, caused more than temporary local shortages. At first the problem was mainly one of distribution but it must now be accepted that there is a shortage though it affects only urban and a few rural areas where crops have failed. With care and proper distribution there should be enough to go round and there is no cause for alarm. But the distribution problem is undoubtedly difficult.

The Government of India's first measure to meet this vital problem was to centralise in the Food Department a number of administrative functions hitherto spread over various Government departments and also to arrange for purchase of wheat by Government agents from the producing areas. Similar arrangements have been made for purchase of other grains.

The results, therefore, have been disappointing owing to hoarding and profiteering which are difficult to deal with. The possibility of individual rationing in urban areas is being seriously considered. Preparatory measures are already being put in train in some larger cities but *administrative difficulties obviously will occur in a country such as India.*

The question of shipping wheat to India from overseas to tide over before the new crop is available in April is being urgently considered by His Majesty's Government and I trust it will be possible to make an announcement on the subject in the near future."

Answering other questions Mr. Amery said, that the *control of prices is being very earnestly considered by the Government of India* and transport had naturally occupied the attention of His Majesty's Government. Asked if the Government of India will secure the release of accumulated surpluses Mr. Amery said, "Yes, that is being done."—*Reuter.* (Italics ours.—ED. *M. R.*).

Mr. Amery has admitted that the Government of India have been unable to check hoarding and profiteering. The Indian people know that these evils cannot be checked by a Government which is unable to stamp out sloth, corruption and inefficiency from its own officials. Even honest attempts in this direction does not appear to have been made.

The *New Statesman and Nation* of England has been able to take a more realistic and correct attitude regarding the food situation in this country. The following summary of an article in it was published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*:

LONDON, Jan. 24.

The *New Statesman and Nation* in an article expresses its belief that the British Government is now facing an enemy in India more formidable than the Congress, namely "Famine" which is man-made. It says that several explanations have been made which account for a shortage but not famine. "Nor does the explanation for deficient transport impress us."

It believes that the clue can be found in occasional leading articles of Indian newspapers that peasants are hoarding food under pressure of fear while dealers and usurers are hoarding for gain.

The article asserts that although the shortage has been growing for the past 6 months, *nothing has been done until recently, but even the measures taken, though useful, will not halt hoarding.* Indians are asking for rationing which, the writer believes, should certainly be carried out in towns but is unworkable in villages.

"The problem is to get at the hoarded food stored in jars by peasants and in granaries by dealers. Our first suggestion is that coercion should be applied to profiteers. If shooting there must be, why not start on

a few usurers? The first thing to do obviously is to commandeer all stocks of food and put them on the market at a reasonable price—even below price. The peasant only remains to be dealt with who hoards because he is afraid."

The article points out that *a radio broadcast by Mr. Churchill would restore any such lack of confidence but such a thing is impossible in India.* "The only way to deal with the food problem in a village would be to appeal to its public opinion as a unit. When the Indian village does make up its mind about anything, it thinks and acts with astonishing unanimity. But first of all it has to be persuaded, reassured and taught how to act."

It concludes with the belief that the *two main problems are, firstly, distribution and secondly, increase of production;* but for the time being the urgent problem is one of relief, "and the relief itself may be so administered as will induce some of the political and personal conditions out of which may spring the solution of the deadlock."

The *New Statesman and Nation* rightly said that two problems, *viz,* distribution and increase of production have to be solved in order to ease the food situation. The solution of both these problems depends on the Government of India. Only the Government could ensure proper distribution by releasing the requisite number of wagons and other means of communication like lorries and boats for food transport, securing shipping space for importing food from abroad to make up for the defficiency in production and by stopping hoarding and profiteering. The Government of India failed to do anything of the kind. As regards increase in production, they have equally failed. An advertising campaign of "grow more food" had been carried on but hardly anything had been done to help the cultivators with seed, cattle, implements, manure and money. The very fact that the cultivators are unable to increase their food production even when they find that it would bring them more money than any other crop, leads inevitably to the conclusion that there is something gravely wrong somewhere which is hindering increased cultivation. No enquiry by the Government to ascertain these causes appears to have been made. In a Press Conference held in New Delhi on January 25, the Commerce and Food Member was harping on the same tune of "embarking on a widespread publicity campaign."

The most interesting part of this Conference, however, consists in the following short answer given by Mr. Sarker:

Asked as to *what would be the functions* of the *British Expert, who was being imported into India,* Mr. Sarker said, that be would advise on matters relating to food rationing, distribution and how a similar situation was met in Great Britain.—(Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

In their effort to solve the food problem, the Government have concentrated in the creation of separate departments, importation of white experts and publicity campaigns preferably through British experts, but has left the problems of distribution and increase of production unsolved and have refused to co-operate with the people in this gigantic task. It is no wonder that the result will be nil and statements from Mr. Amery will be needed to whitewash the gross inefficiency of the Indian Administrators.

A New Book on Bengal

Prof. Binoy Chandra Sen's remarkable book "Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal" has just been published. The book has thrown a flood of light on the dark pages of pre-Mahommedan epochs of Bengal History. The first two parts of the book represent Prof. Sen's thesis submitted in 1932 and approved by London University for his Ph.D. After ten long years it has been published. It is a pity that such a monumental work could not be published earlier. The first part deals with the political geography of Bengal from the earliest days. Prof. Sen has candidly pointed out the yet unsolved geographical problems in a separate chapter. The second part gives the political history based on inscriptions in a very attractive style. The third part has been newly added and represents his researches in the social and administrative history of Bengal since pre-Pàl days. Prof. Sen deserves to be congratulated for removing a long-felt want in the historical literature.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has been elected President and Dr. Kalidas Nag the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the current year. Asiatic Society of Bengal is the oldest learned Society in the whole of Asia, having been founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones. In founding the Society, Sir William dreamt of developing a centre of research wherein would be co-ordinated the multitudinous currents of oriental culture, language and literature, law and social institutions, religion and philosophy, civic and natural science of Man in India against the background of Man in Asia. It has been pointed out in the Annual Report of the Society that this dream was realised by him although his pemature death prevented its full achievements. The 160th anniversary of the foundation of the Society comes off in January 1944. It will be

only in the fitness of things if the Society decides to celebrate this august function even in the midst of the war.

Bijay Chandra Majumdar

Bijay Chandra Majumdar, the celebrated linguist, litterateur, jurist, anthropologist and historian, has passed away in Calcutta. He lost his sight nearly thirty years ago but his physical disability could not deter him from pursuing his study and research. During his period of blindness he wrote his celebrated book *Orissa in the Making* compiling the data mainly from inscriptions. The book earned him the admiration of renowned historians like Dr. Burnett. He was for a long time the legal adviser for the Sonepur State in Orissa. He had a very sharp memory. Such a combination of memory and intellect can rarely be seen. His contributions have mostly been in Bengali and have enriched the Bengali language and literature. May his soul rest in peace.

The Turkish Delegation

A Turkish Press Delegation has arrived in India and the delegates have been given a warm reception. M. Atay, leader of the delegation, replying to questions by Indian pressmen at a tea party given in their honour by the Punjab Muslim Press, declared, "We are Turks first and Muslims afterwards and we are not interested in any scheme of pan-Islamic Federation." M. Atay also explained that "religion was an honourable institution but it was individual and personal and had no place in politics in Turkey."

These utterances from a Turkish delegation were needed as a corrective to those who still strive to continue the middle age tradition of keeping religion and politics together and dream of pan-Islam under the veil of Pakistan. Like die-hards, the Leaguers in India die hard, but the Press delegations tour will be remembered if they can open the eyes of non-League Muslims in our country.

Control World's Strategic Minerals

In the last session of the Indian Science Congress held in Calcutta, its President Mr. Wadia pointed out how the world's mineral resources were being used up in the wars and made a very valuable suggestion for the future conservation of metals. He suggested that "if the supply and free movement of a few ferro-alloys and a few strategic key materials for non-industrial uses are controlled by some central world organisations the demon of totalitarian war can be banished." The relevant portion of his speech is quoted below:

Explaining the world's mineral position Mr. Wadia said, that man's advancement to civilisation from the hunter and peasant stage was due to his mastery over metals and minerals but this advance had caused most inroads on the world's stock of minerals and especially of metals. During the century and a quarter *between the Napoleonic wars and the Hitlerian war, the consumption of minerals had been over a hundred-fold of that consumed during the entire history of man on earth* and so far as metals were concerned *man had used up* between 1914 and today, *between the two German wars, more metals than during any previous period of history.* The speaker regretted that so far no checks had been devised for this alarming depletion of the world's underground wealth and this robbing of the earth by the living generation at the expense of future generations.

Remarking that when the whole world's mineral resources were fully known and mobilised the stock would not last many generations if it was to feed the waste of recurring wars on the scale of magnitude and frequency of the last two world wars, Mr. Wadia stressed that "*if the supply and free movement of a few ferro-alloys and a few strategic key minerals for non-industrial uses is controlled by some central world organisation the demon of totalitarian war can be banished and the* remaining wars shorn of the insane waste involved in military as well as non-military devastations. Then, the wreckage of tanks and armourplates can be beaten back into ploughshares and its superior steel released for beneficent uses in peace. It is no exaggeration to say that half of the later wars of history have been directly or indirectly motivated through the desire of gaining access to stores of strategic mineral products, ores, fuels, salts, alloy metals and essential industrial minerals."—(Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

The Question of Hospital Space

Long before the air-raids on Calcutta had begun, hospitals in the city were evacuated to a large extent in order to provide for beds for the victims of the raid. Civil population had to suffer for a year due to a great contraction in hospital space. The authorities in India have a peculiar fancy for taking precaution long ahead of the actual contingency and making experiments with their proposed measure, but they instantly give way as soon as the zero hour strikes. This happened in this case as well. Large numbers of beds were kept vacant causing severe hardship to the civil population throughout the major part of the last year. A little stretch of imagination on the part of the persons in authority would have shown that reservation of beds in hospitals might have been effected by discharging the convalescent patients if and when the raids began. If the people have to suffer, let them suffer when the testing time comes, why should they be made to suffer in contemplation of a future contingency, whose

time and degree of devastation is unknown? In a country like India, where not even 25 per cent. of the ailing people can get hospital accommodation, it is inhuman on the part of the authorities to shut out beds for an indefinite period.

The recent air-raids have shown that there is hardly any justification for calculating the devastation on the scale of London bombing. The hostile air base in our case is further off and the raider is far less formidable in air strength than Germany. Almost the whole of the reserved beds in the Calcutta hospitals can, after the recent experiences, be released for the use of civil population. Reserving a few beds in the moonlit nights would seem to be more than enough.

High Price of Cloth: Its Real Cause

A pair of coarse *dhotis* is selling at Rs. 6-12. What this means to India's masses can be better conceived than described. In and around the town of Madhupur in Santal Parganas poor men, women and children congregate in large numbers in open spaces in the small hours of the morning, make large fires with dry leaves collected during the day and sit round them to ward off cold. They have not sufficient clothing. Men are thus little removed from the condition of monkeys. Wages here are four to five annas for ten hours' work. For the greater part of rural India this is true. We explained a year ago in the columns of this journal that the high prices of cloth, paper, etc., were due to the amount of Excess Profits Tax allowed to manufacturers in this country. Australia allows only 4 per cent. as profits to manufacturers. In Britain itself only 20 per cent. are allowed and even these are used to build up a reserve fund to be used after the war. A Bill is going to be introduced in the Stockholm legislature limiting Company dividends to 6 per cent. The Viceroy during the last week of December pointed out in the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta that the Excess Profits Tax was the lowest in India in the whole Empire. The Finance Member of the Government of India is also convinced at long last of the anomaly of allowing a wide margin of profit and then taking only 66⅔ of excess profits. But he confines his activities of reform to the State purchase of military requirements. If the Government will make the Excess Profits Tax here the same as in Britain, it will take the wind out of the sail of the mill-owners and prices will then come down. If, on the other hand, it will limit profits to the same figure as in Australia, cloth will sell at the pre-war price of Re. 1-12 for a pair of coarse *dhotis.*

The owners of cotton mills are mostly Indians. Have they got no duty to their poor countrymen who through their representatives in legislature have imposed on themselves for years a self-denying ordinance in the shape of a high protective duty? When the scorched earth policy was discussed, these mill-owners invoked the names of labourers and our countrymen. Can not members in the Central legislature in the ensuing session press home this matter affecting millions? How long will the disparity between the prices of cotton and cloth continue?

SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAY

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's Inaugural Address

In opening the fifth session of the Indian Political Science Conference, the Hon. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru made a very important pronouncement. Pandit Hridaynath deals with the various aspects of the present political situation in the country in a comprehensive manner and exposes as completely as possible the policy followed by the British Government in dealing with it. He very appropriately urges that the people of India must be made to feel that the freedom for which the war is being fought is in some measure theirs already and that the defeat of the Axis powers holds out the prospect of its complete realisation. He shows how, on the other hand, the liberty of the people has quite unjustifiably been restricted by the Government's increased control over the Press, and their promulgation of drastic ordinances, as also the extent to which quite a large number of people have been punished and treated very unfairly and unjustly as a result of the imposition of collective fines. The speaker is right when he points out that "the control which Government have sought to impose on newspapers is due less to the needs of the situation than to the aversion of an irresponsible Government to a free Press." About the policy relating to the promulgation of ordinances followed by Government, Pandit Kunzru complains that "the legislature has been completely ignored and roughly speaking, but for its control over the finances, it would have been virtually superseded by the executive." From what he says about the financial control of the legislature, we fear Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru has failed to note, how ineffective and sterile has been this control as also to overlook

the implications of the present financial policy of the Government of India, which cannot in any way be stated to be in consonance with the wishes of the legislature. He very properly urges that in the interests of Government themselves, the injustice in the matter of collective fines should be rectified.

S. K. L.

Demand for Sovereign Status

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's speech at the Indian Political Science Conference contains a clear and well-reasoned analysis, along with a scathing condemnation, of the policy that is being followed in the administration of the provinces. In the provinces which are stated to be administered normally by Ministers "the situations created by the war have tended to concentrate all real authority in the hands of the Government and the permanent officials," and the Ministers occupy a subordinate position. As regards other provinces where the constitutional machinery has broken down, he considers that to describe them as "autonomous and allow them to be governed in accordance with the wishes of a single person is contrary to all constitutional canon." In such provinces, the Governor has, in fact, become a dictator and the permanent official, the master of the situation. Pandit Kunzru has rightly come to the conclusion "that the working of the Provincial Governments has clearly shown that Responsible Government in the provinces cannot flourish under an autocratic central executive." In this connection, he did well in sounding a note of warning to the advocates of functional representation and irremovable executives. He said :

> We do not know what solution the authorities have in view but suggestions were previously made that systems of government which did not make the executive dependent for its existence on the support of the legislature might be more suited to the conditions of India than those based on responsibility of the government to legislative majorities What the authorities had in mind we do not know, but disillusionment awaits those who think the Indian political structure can be based on functional representation and irremovable executives.

Pandit Kunzru considers that the acceptance of the federal scheme with the authority that it retains in the hands of the British Government, as urged by the Viceroy in his Calcutta speech, is not a practical proposition at the present moment and then observes :

> The last war was followed by radical changes in the constitutional status of the British self-governing dominions. It seems fairly certain that this war will also lead to new developments in the relations between them and England. They will probably cease to be thought as dominions and be acknowledged more explicitly as sovereign states than they have been thereto. It will be a mistake therefore to think that at a time when the war is altering old political conceptions, India will be prepared to accept the dependent status. She can in future only be a sovereign state in free association with England and other nations. No lesser position has any chance of being willingly accepted by her people.

The future course of Indo-British relationship will, in this circumstance, have to be decided, as Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru says, upon a frank acceptance by Britain of this position.

S. K. L.

Indian Political Science Conference

It is unfortunate that the proceedings of the Fifth Session of the Indian Political Science Conference have not attracted adequate notice in the Press. At a time when the problem of after-war social and political reconstruction is being canvassed, both in this country and elsewhere, it is greatly to be desired that the discussion at such Conferences, bearing on a number of questions relating to this important matter, should receive close and careful consideration at the hands of the more thoughtful section of the politically-minded people in the country. There are people who, for obvious reasons, urge that all our attention should now be devoted to the prosecution of the war. But if countries like England, the United States of America, and even China, which are not less interested than India is, in the successful prosecution of the war, find it of imperative importance to discuss with energy and persistence such problems at the present moment, why should India, circumstanced as she is, remain placid and quiescent, rather that acting likewise if not with greater vigour and earnestness ? As the Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar observes, in the course of his presidential address, at the last session of the All-India Educational Conference, held at Indore, the war is, in fact, the best time for carrying on such discussion for the simple reason among others that the conscience of mankind is stirred during the war against wrongs and injustice. The Conference met at Agra on the 2nd January last under the presidency of Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh of H. L. College of Commerce, Ahmedabad, and its proceedings were opened by the Hon. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, President, Servants of India Society and Member of the Council of State. The subjects discussed at the session, and on which papers were submitted to it, were of a wide range and variety. These were divided into four main groups, namely, Functional Representation ; Socialist Theories and their applicability to India; Types of Executives ; and Constitutional Development

and Constitutional Law of British India since 1935. The papers were contributed mainly by teachers of Colleges and Universities and these contain very useful information and valuable suggestions. The conclusions reached by the writers on these important matters deserve careful consideration by people interested in the future development of the country.

S. K. L.

India's Unity

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru is very emphatic in asserting, in the course of his opening speech at the Indian Political Science Conference, that the unity of India should be maintained. He is right in considering that the responsibility for the present unsatisfactory situation created by the propaganda carried on in favour of dismemberment of the country "must be borne in no small measure by Government." He says:

> By their obstinate silence at a time when an assurance that the political unity of the country will not be allowed to be disintegrated would have been of inestimable value, they allowed the forces seeking the dismemberment of the country to gain steadily in strength. In spite of repeated demands for an unequivocal declaration that India will not be allowed to be broken up into a number of states they failed to make their position clear and Sir Stafford Cripps put forward proposals on behalf of the War Cabinet which contemplated the possibility of secession of certain provinces from India in certain circumstances.

Pandit Kunzru is not satisfied with Lord Linlithgow's pronouncement on the subject made in the course of his last Calcutta speech. In stating that he does not regard the utterance as a contribution to the cause of India's unity he observes:

> Lord Linlithgow has recently broken his long silence on this vital topic and asked us to bear in mind the importance of unity to India's future and to consider whether its maintenance is not worth some sacrifice, if some sacrifice must be its price. I would have welcomed His Excellency's exhortations even at this stage as an indication of a change of attitude on the part of His Majesty's Government without whose sanction he could not have expressed the views referred to above, if His Excellency had unconditionally stated that no post-war changes would be allowed to impair the political integrity of the country, but he has made the maintenance of unity conditional on its willing acceptance by the minorities. His Excellency's warning that mere artificial unity without genuine agreement between component parts may well be a danger rather an advantage, takes away from his appeal the value it would otherwise have had. The destiny of the country is still dependent on previous agreements which is a prerequisite to unity and freedom. I cannot, therefore, regard Lord Linlithgow's speech as a change of policy on the part of the authorities. Both the supporters and opponents of the territorial integrity of the country can find something in it in favour of their views.

That the British Government have not yet abandoned the sinister idea of dismemberment of India is shown in the following extract from a pamphlet entitled "Fifty Facts about India" published by the British Information Services, an agency of the British Government in the United States of America, for the education (!) of the American public:

> Acceptance and implementation of any constitution framed immediately after the cessation of hostilities by an elected body of Indians, was undertaken by the British Government in March 1942. If any province should not agree to the proposed constitution, that need not impede Indian independence, as Britain is ready to recognise that Province's independence separately.

S. K. L.

Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh's Presidential Address

In his Presidential Address at the Fifth Session of the Indian Political Science Conference, which met at Agra on the 2nd January last, Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, deals at considerable length with what he describes as the birth and growth of Muslim Nationalism in India and indicates the chief steps in the evolution of the movement which has culminated in the demand for Pakistan, which, in other words, means the establishment of separate and independent Muslim states. He also sets forth the different stages through which the British Government have furthered their policy of keeping the people divided in India beginning with the activities of Principal Beck of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, in the eighties of the last century down to the recent declaration by the British Government as embodied in Cripps proposals. The most important step taken by the British Government in promoting this policy was, in the view of Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, the introduction of the system of separate communal electorates, under the Reforms of 1909. How his policy was systematically pursued at succeeding stages in the discussion on Reforms in India is shown also. He demonstrates completely by quoting from the writings and utterances of responsible British statesmen and writers that the responsibility for this policy rests wholly with the British Government.

S. K. L.

"Terrible Half Solution of the Indian Problem"

The speech contains an analysis of the more important among the causes that may be held to be responsible for the enunciation of the two-nation theory and the demand for Partition and

Pakistan on Sudetan lines. These are, first, the need felt by the Muslims "for an effective popular slogan, to rally the Muslim masses, which became an urgent necessity with the extension of the franchise and the starting of the 'Muslim Mass Contacts' programme"; secondly, "the failure on the part of the Muslim League to capture power in any of the four Provinces in which Muslims have a majority"; thirdly, "the decision of the Congress to accept office in the Provinces where it had a majority deprived the Muslims of those Provinces of the temporary advantages they had gained by the formation of interim ministries in which Muslims occupied a most important position"; fourthly, "the failure of the Congress-League negotiations for the formation of coalition ministries in the Congress-majority provinces, particularly because coalition ministries were functioning in the Muslim-majority provinces"; fifthly, "the inspiration derived from the Sudetan movement in Czechoslovakia which led to the separation of Sudetanland and its incorporation in German Reich in October, 1938"; and, lastly, "the existence of social customs among the Hindus which make real social contact with the Muslims an impossibility." The analysis though not a complete and perfect one—and Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh in a way admits it—is certainly able and ingenious and quite good for a proper comprehension of the problem. He feels that as the question has passed "beyond the realm of thought into the irrational zone of highly surcharged emotion," it is no use going into the arguments for or against Pakistan. If the Indian Muslims have been able to create "the desire to live together and be one and to feel separate and distinct from others"—a condition, which, he says, "forms the supreme condition for constituting nationality," none of the other conditions being essential, "no denial on the part of others will prevent them from being a separate nation—opposition will only result in hastening the process and in bringing about its earlier materialisation." Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh describes this as a "terrible half solution of the Indian problem." He, however, admits that the British Government might not ultimately accord its approval and support to the League-proposal, although he fears "that the League is sure of the support of the British Government in which Mr. Churchill is the Prime Minister and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, and which has already announced its adherence to the Cripps Proposals." After describing the stupendous nature of the difficulties of any proper solution of the problem looked at from the point of view of either the Muslim League or the Hindus, the President of the Indian Political Science Conference comes to the following conclusion:

> In my opinion the future of India will depend upon how the problem of minorities is handled in Hindustan and as to what efforts are made to bring about a real fusion of the peoples into a single whole. A good beginning might be made with composite cabinets and by guaranteeing complete religious freedom and protection to the language and culture of minorities but a determined effort must be made to cultivate a purely secular outlook in public affairs and to discard untouchability of all kinds and to abandon personal, local and communal conceptions of law and politics and thus create in course of time denational, socialist States in the country. When that is accomplished the separated States shall return and form a Union of the Indian Socialist Republics.

It appears to us that the President of the Indian Political Science Conference has taken a too pessimistic and gloomy view of the situation. He ignores the fact that the better minds amongst the Muslims have already begun to realise the unwisdom of the course advocated by Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. He also utterly overlooks the growing volume of opposition of other communities to the project. Further, he fails to take into account the effect of the forces that are likely to flow on the termination of the war against all Fascistic tendencies.

S. K. L.

The Rt. Hon. Jayakar on Educational Reconstruction

The Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar delivered a comprehensive and thoughtful address as President of the All-India Educational Conference, held at Indore, on the 27th December last. The speech deserves the closest attention of all interested in the future welfare of India. At the outset the distinguished speaker condemns in the strongest terms the present educational policy of Government which discourages education by curtailing educational expenditure, taking over buildings of educational institutions for military purposes, and by other ways, and commends to the notice of the authorities as also the Indian public the examples of Britain and China in pushing forward educational advance even though confronted with the greatest difficulties. The main part of Dr. Jayakar's speech is, however, devoted to a consideration of the pressing problem of reconstruction of the Indian educational system. He emphasises the need of devising a wider and more sound system of public education with the ultimate goal of creating a loving faith in freedom, truth and

beauty and the establishment of national unity and peace. Before this onerous task is undertaken, he urges, they should decide what kind of society they desire to create, "what ideologies to promulgate, whether the present organisation and competitive system is to be replaced by a co-operative one securing the common good of the various classes supplementing one another, whether we shall think on terms of individual or class profit in place of common good." In doing this they shall, of course, have to keep in clear view Indian traditions of education and build on their basis, the main Indian tradition embodied in their ancient literature being "that right education must be aimed at the freedom of the individual all round, freedom to think and believe, freedom for self-evolution and self-expression against all the tyrannies of sacred books and the fantaticism of political and religious zealots." The general belief that a time of war is not the best time for planning whether in the sphere of education or in any other sphere finds no support in Dr. Jayakar. On the other hand, he holds the view that a time of war is the best for pushing forward educational schemes. The war is bound to give a rude shock to all sorts of institutions in all countries. India cannot hope to escape this universal change and it is only by a reconstruction of her educational system that she can expect to meet the requirements of the new era. The failure of Government in the matter to do its duty, Dr. Jayakar thinks, can be no excuse for Indian leaders not to do theirs. On the contrary, it makes all the more binding upon them to do it, and, indeed, to redouble their efforts to make up for the lost time and energy.

S. K. L.

Truth and Glory

A great English poet wrote of his homeland once, on some great occasion,

"Many a time in this island's story
Truth has been the Path to Glory."

We are quoting from memory and we cannot recall the occasion on which it was written. Imperialism always has had the false glory of outward splendour attached to it, under the surface there is always a very sordid and inglorious mass of festering filth. History teaches us that no empire was ever built without breaking every one of the Ten Commandments. The story of all conquered nations makes it clear that whatever else may be associated with Imperialism, Truth cannot be said to have any considerable relation with it

"Fifty Facts About India"

"Fifty Facts about India" is the title of a small pamphlet that is being circulated in America for the education of the people of that country about the Government of India, the people of the country and her war effort, and the nature of the present relation between the United States and India. It is published by the British Information Services, an agency for the British Government in America. Some of the "Facts" which have been stated in the pamphlet prove the truth of the saying that half-truths are more dangerous than untruths. We desire to refer very briefly to two or three of these "Facts," a word which indicates conformity to reality and accuracy, to show the nature of propaganda that is being carried on in America against India by responsible British authorities. One of these "Facts" runs thus:

> British Indian Provinces have enjoyed self-government since 1937, each of the eleven having virtually, the same powers as those enjoyed by individual States of the U. S. A. In each Province an Indian Prime Minister and Cabinet administer finance, law, education, health, agriculture and similar matters, and are responsible to an Indian legislature, representing an Indian electorate.

The dismissal of Mr. Allabux, Chief Minister of Sind, the resignation of Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjea. Finance Minister of Bengal, and some of the statements made by the Hon'ble Fazlal Haque, Chief Minister of Bengal, have proved the illusory character of the autonomy possessed by the provinces which are still stated to be governed smoothly and in a normal manner. In the other provinces, the Governor, who is a dictator, and the permanent officials, who actually control the administration, govern the country in an entirely autocratic way. The Hon. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, to whose pronouncement on the subject we have referred elsewhere at some length, shows that in no way can any of the provinces of India be said to enjoy autonomy and responsible government. In this circumstance, nothing could be further from truth than any comparison of the provinces of India with the States of the United States of America. Another "Fact" referred to in the pamphlet speaks of India's Fiscal Autonomy. American citizens are told:

> India has had Fiscal Autonomy since 1921, which means she has the power to impose tarriffs upon goods from Britain as well as from non-British sources—a power which has frequently been exercised.

Is it not a fact that the Fiscal Autonomy Convention was given a decent burial when on

technical grounds the Convention was ignored and Preference was granted to British steel and textiles about fifteen years ago? One will recall in this connection the spirited protest of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the observations on the subject made at the time by the late Mr. V. J. Patel, the then President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. But worse things were to come. In fact, the method of concluding the Ottawa Agreement and the implementing of the Mody-Lees Pact and the Indo-British Agreement (mainly in relation to the steel industry) robbed the so-called Convention of all but a debating point only. The records of the debates of the Central Legislature are there to show how strongly India's public men have felt in this making a mockery of the much trumpeted Convention. Another "Fact" states: "India pays no taxes to Britain either direct or indirect." When one takes into account the entire financial policy of the Government of India together with the enormous drain of India's resources to Britain in numerous ways, can it be said that this statement conveys with exactness and precision the actual financial relationship in which India stands to Britain? The situation demands that some responsible organisation should come forward with statements of actual facts in all cases in which the pamphlet referred to above transmits to the American people an entirely wrong and distorted view of actual Indian conditions.

S. K. L.

Enemy Agents Ordinance

We are, perhaps, approaching a time when no activity of any individual living in India will be outside the scope of an Ordinance issued by the Governor-General of India. Recently an Ordinance, called the Enemy Agents Ordinance, 1943 (Ordinance No. 1 of 1943) has been promulgated which provides for the trial and punishment of enemy agents, and persons committing certain offences, with intent to aid the enemy agents. The Ordinance provides that whoever is an enemy agent, or with intent to aid the enemy, does, or attempts or conspires with any other person to do, and act which is designed or likely to give assistance to the naval, military or air operations of the enemy or to impede the naval, military or air operations of His Majesty's forces or to endanger life shall be punishable with death. The Ordinance will apply to offences committed at any time after the 2nd September, 1939, and will thus have retrospective effect. Offences punishable according to the provisions of the Ordinance will be tried by Special Judges having jurisdiction throughout British India, appointed by the Central Government. Any person who has acted for a period of not less than two years in the exercise of the powers of a Sessions Judge or an Assistant Sessions Judge may be appointed to such special judgeship. The Central Government may, at any stage of the proceedings before a Special Judge, transfer the case to another Special Judge. In such case the Special Judge, to whom the case is transferred, shall not be bound to re-summon or re-hear the witnesses or any of them unless he is satisfied that such a course is necessary in the interests of justice. Further, where a person is charged before a Special Judge with an offence committed as an enemy agent, or with intent to aid the enemy, in terms of the Ordinance, he may also be charged with and tried at the same trial for any other offence with which he might under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1938 be charged at one trial, and the procedure of the Ordinance shall also apply to the trial of any such other offence. The Special Judge is empowered to pass any sentence authorised by law. In cases in which a person convicted is sentenced to death or to transportation for life or in which the Special Judge certifies that, in his opinion, the case has involved questions of special difficulty, whether of law or fact, or is one which for any other reason ought properly to be reviewed, the proceedings shall be submitted for review by a person appointed by the Central Government in this behalf, from among the Judges of a High Court in British India and the decision of that person shall be final. When the Judge grants permission to the accused he may of right be defended by a pleader. Such pleader, however, shall be a person whose name is entered in a list prepared by the Central Government or who is otherwise approved by the Central Government. When the statement of any person has been recorded by any Magistrate, it may be admitted in evidence in any trial before a Special Judge even if such person is dead or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence. There shall be no appeal from any order or sentence made or passed by a Special Judge or a reviewing Judge under the Ordinance. Any person who, without the previous authorisation of the Central Government, discloses or publishes any information with respect to any person proceeded against under this Ordinance, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both. These are

the main provisions of the Ordinance. There are other provisions with equally reactionary features. The Ordinance is of so drastic a character, the wording of some of its provisions are so very vague and elastic, its sweep is so wide, and its scope so comprehensive, that we think that before this dangerous weapon is employed by the authorities, they should place it before the legislature with a view to a proper revision of such of its features, as the exclusion of the jurisdiction of the High Court, the Federal Court and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the various restrictive provisions put in the defence of the accused, and other similar objectionable provisions.

S. K. L.

Censorship in Jails

A rather unusual type of censorship in the Dum Dum Special Jail has been reported to us. The *Indian Messenger* and the *Tattwakowmudi*, the two organs of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and which deal mainly in theology, were sent to Sj. Prabhat Chandra Ganguli but the jail authorities have refused them to be delivered to the addressee. We are quite sure that these two journals do not publish any matter which may place any obstacle to the proper prosecution of the war. Is this the type of censorship enforced in the jails where political prisoners of learning and experience have been detained ?

Open Letter to Mr. Churchill

The *News Review* of London in its issue, dated 8th October, published an open letter to Mr. Churchill under the main caption *We Can Lose This War*. This letter, we are told in a later issue, received wide notice in the outside world. Needless to say, we in India knew nothing about it until the arrival of the said journal in India after a considerable lapse of time. Two paragraphs of this open letter are of special significance to India. The opening paragraph reads :

> Dear Mr. Churchill,—The common people of these islands have stood behind you through some grim and awful days. They have trusted you, and believed in you, for two and a half portentous years. But now the supreme test has come upon you. This can be the decisive Winter of the war. It is up to you.
>
> In the six months which lie ahead you must weave the pattern of victory cast upon the loom of heroic Stalingrad. If you fail now, it will be too late. Six months ! Six months in which to sweep away class prejudice, sloth, timidity, inefficiency and corruption. Six months in which to capture immortality in the minds of all free men. It is a terrible responsibility ; it is a glorious opportunity.

And the paragraph preceding the closing one goes as follows :

> If we are to give Russia effective aid in 1943 there is no time to be lost. We can clear the way to victory if you, Mr. Churchill, act with resolution *now*. Let us stop wrangling about the fuel shortage ; send more miners back to the pits and ration us until they have filled the yawning gap between output and consumption. Let us stop moaning about the shipping crisis ; give us less food, fewer "frills." Cease trying to preserve the old ways of life ; remove the obstruction of vested interests. Give the soldier, sailor and airman decent pay. Sack the incompetent gentlemen who have wrangled themselves into soft Whitehall jobs. Stop the policy of drift over India.

Class prejudice, sloth, timidity, inefficiency and corruption clogging up the wheels of victory at the fountain-head, in the Britain of Mr. Churchill. What about the conditions prevailing here ? If the reality were known about what is happening here, the appalling spread of corruption, that is now eating deep down the vitals of the country, the truly colossal inefficiency of those in power in all matters relating to this country and its people, the all-consuming spread of class-prejudice—a pet of those who govern—and the truly amazing quality of sloth now associated with red-tape, then the Editor of the *News Review* and all right-thinking men with him would really be plunged into despair.

Regarding the second paragraph, we would wish the Editor Godspeed in his mission, if he still has any hopes. Three of the six months of winter he refers to have already passed. The Russians have fought on gloriously and magnificently in another grim winter campaign. They have ceased calling for aid from their Allies and indeed they have even absented themselves from Allied Conferences. We do not know what are in the Allied plans for future—action all round or just Imperial drift.

LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

MY very dear friend, before I sail for China, the time for which is drawing near, I must thank you for the delight that your last letter has given me.

Pearson had an abundant gift of friendship which he freely offered to those, who, because of their obscurity, failed to attract notice. They were like night's background against which his love found its light fully revealed. He was sensitively conscious of the immense value of the individual man, irrespective of his special merits and uses, and this made him keenly suffer whenever that individual was ignored or hurt in consequence of social maladjustment or tyranny of organisation. This grew in him to such an extent that he became jealous of all institutions which represented some ideal which had a wide range transcending the limits of the concretely personal. In fact, lately his mind was distracted when Santiniketan outgrew its vocation as a mere educational body belonging to the immediate locality, when it tried to respond in its various efforts to what I consider to be the great call of the present age He was afraid lest our attention should in the least measure be diverted from the children attending our school into a channel for the communication of ideas and formation of a community. I was feeling anxious about him for some time before he died when he grew restless at the apprehension of encroachment of some adventurous ideal into the happy realm of his personal service. No doubt, idealism is a disturbing factor in all settled form of life and therefore prosperous people have a vigorous suspicion against it. There is such a thing as the enjoyment of emotional prosperity where the stimulation to our personal feeling of love is constantly supplied. Pearson found it when he first came here and his own natural instinct of attachment had its full scope among our school children and the neighbouring villagers. Then came the idea of Visva-bharati like a strong breeze, scattering the petals from our *ashram*-flower, claiming its fruit. Pearson never was fully reconciled to it to the end of his days. Intellectually he had nothing to say against it, but his heart ached—for his mind was like the bee which has nothing to do with the fruit but only with the flower.

I understand this conflict in his mind because I myself have a kind of civil war constantly going on in my own nature between my personality as a creative artist, who necessarily must be solitary, and that as an idealist who must realise himself through works of a complex character needing a large field of collaboration with a large body of men. My conflict is within myself between the two opposite forces in my character, and not, as in the case of Pearson, between my individual temperament and the surrounding circumstance. Both of the contending forces being equally natural to me I cannot with impunity get rid of one of them in order to simplify my life's problem. I suppose a proper rhythm is possible to be attained in which both may be harmonised, and my work in the heart of the crowd may find its grace through the touch of the breath that comes from the solitude of the creative mind.

But unfortunately at the present moment, the claim of the organisation is rudely asserting itself, and I do not know how to restrain it within bounds. The poet in me is hurt, his atmosphere of leisure dust-laden. I do not wish that my life's sunset should thus be obscured in a murky air of a strenuous work, the work which perpetually devours its own infinite background of peace. I earnestly hope that I shall be rescued in time before I die;—in the meanwhile I go to China, in what capacity I do not know. Is it as a poet, or as a bearer of good advice and sound commonsense? With love,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

26th Feb., 1924

[W. Pearson came out to India as a professor of the London Mission College, Bhowanipore. He met Rev. C. F Andrews (1912) in Delhi and both visited Santiniketan (1913) while the Poet was still away on his third European tour (1912-13). Both decided to join the Ashrama as life-long workers and both served splendidly the cause of the Indians abroad. Pearson visited South Africa, Fiji, etc, and toured through Japan and U. S. A. with Rabindranath (1916-17). Pearson was the life and soul of the Santiniketan school managing with rare insight and love some of the most difficult boys of the Ashrama Pearson wrote an excellent book on the School and also translated the famous novel *Gora*. I had the joy and privilege of knowing him intimately and I met him a few days before his tragic death in a train accident in Italy (1923). He came to see Mon. Romain Rolland while I was staying with M. Rolland as his guest. Before leaving us Pearson expressed to me, sitting on the bank of the Lake Leman, his desire to return to India and serve the neglected [illegible]ts of our country.—KALIDAS NAG.]

BETWEEN TWO WARS: WILSON AND ROOSEVELT

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

THE memorable part played by President Wilson in the direction and conclusion of the last imperialist war throws a curious sidelight on the role of the 'democratic' nations of Britain and America in this momentous war of our times. It partly reveals the nature and possibilities of the mightiest drama that is being enacted and unfolded before our eyes. There is a strange affinity between the role of two famous Presidents of the U. S. A., Wilson and Roosevelt, though they are separated by two decades and a different historical epoch, as signified by the rise of fascism in the declining state of imperialism. Evidently, Roosevelt speaks a more radical language and foresees a better future like his illustrious predecessor than what Lloyd George or Churchill has ever given vent to and anticipated. He may be aiming at a better kind of freedom for all oppressed and exploited peoples and a more stable foundation of world peace than what the diehard Premier of 'democratic' Britain is working for. But there is, as yet, no evidence that he is playing a more progressive role than President Wilson although the former is fighting a people's war against the world's common enemy—fascism, not merely in alliance with imperialists but also in alliance with the progressive and revolutionary forces headed by the Soviet Union, while the latter had to fight an "imperialist" war against the people's interests and revolutionary forces and bargain with sworn imperialists for a better peace through his famous 'fourteen points'. On the contrary, it looks as if Wilson was more outspoken in condemnation of the imperialist policy of the Allies and their attempted imperialist peace than Roosevelt has ever been. The following facts tell their own tale.

The last war was undoubtedly an imperialist war in every sense of the term. Yet the Allies, the same 'democratic' countries fought it in the name of defending world peace and freedom and the same social democrats and their Labour Parties fell so readily in line with the imperialist policy of their ruling classes to fight out an imperialist war. They indulged in all sorts of make-belief and misled their politically-backward peoples. But the world lived to learn that they were fighting only for their vested interests, for colonies and raw materials, when Lenin's Government mercilessly exposed their 'democratic' pretensions by publishing the secret Treaties made by the Allied Governments to partition the world among them.

History has to record as well a severe indictment against the Allies' imperialist designs from unexpected quarters, from the pen of no less an authority than Colonel House, a personal envoy of President Wilson, who so truthfully recorded in his *Intimate Papers* the role of President Wilson and of the Allies in the last world war. He was despatched by the President to Europe in November 1917 to try to

"persuade the European Allies to issue a joint statement of war aims, which would weaken German propaganda and help the Allies to maintain relations with Russia. Such a step, he maintained, was more necessary because of the Bolshevic peace proposal and the increasing demand on the part of liberal and labour elements in Allied countries for an assurance that the war was not being continued for imperialist ends" (*Intimate Papers* of Colonel House, Vol. III, p. 184).

Exactly the same kind of assurance is being demanded by the Indian people and liberal and labour elements in the Allied countries from the very beginning of the war but without any visible effect on the ruling classes who have still upperhands in the conduct of the war. Even the military necessity of a people's war could not persuade the imperialists to discontinue their traditional policy.

On the occasion of the Pope's peace note of August 1917, Colonel House suggested that the Allies might associate themselves with Wilson's reply (to abandon the imperialist secret Treaties) and that

"this would in itself go far towards a co-ordination of war aims and perhaps indicate a tendency towards the revision of the more extreme territorial aspirations of the Allies." (*Ibid*, p. 170).

But "the President was conscious of such a difference between his point of view and that of the European Allies that he feared to reach an agreement." (*Ibid*, p. 172).

The President felt the "vital need" for "revision of what some termed the imperialist aspirations of the *entente*. . . Only thus could the enthusiasm of liberal and labour elements be maintained." (*Ibid*, pp. 172-3, 176-7).

But the President failed to persuade the European Allies even to agree to a policy which, according to him, indicated nothing more than "a tendency towards the revision of the more extreme territorial aspirations of the Allies."

But nothing about these fateful negotiations were known to the outside world or even to the British and American peoples whose Governments were negotiating behind their back but on their behalf to make or mar their future. So Colonel House wrote:

> "Historians have often wondered why Wilson chose to make the speech of the Fourteen Points at the particular moment he selected."

According to evidence in the House Papers:

> "It was because the American Mission failed to secure from the Inter-Allied Conference a manifesto on war aims that might serve to hold Russia in the war and result in an effective diplomatic offensive against the Central Powers."
>
> "Because of the failure to achieve this unity President Wilson was compelled to undertake the diplomatic offensive on his own responsibility." (*Ibid*, pp. 291, 324-5).

However,

> "The Allies were ultimately forced (by this diplomatic offensive) to concede to the Fourteen Points with some reservations on the threats of a public exposure of their real war aims."

It is significant that nothing but that threat of a public exposure of their *real* war aims could induce them to concede to the Fourteen Points, still *with some reservations*. Colonel House was first jubilant over this achievment. But he lived to learn that the Allies were too shrewd for them and his Fourteen Points could not prevent them from concluding an imperialist peace. He sadly wrote on March 3, 1919:

> "It is now evident that the peace will not be such a peace as I had hoped, or one which this terrible upheaval should have brought about. . . . If the President should exert his influence among the liberals and labouring classes, he might possibly overthrow the Governments in Great Britain, France and Italy; but if he did, he would still have to reckon with our people and he might bring the whole world into chaos. The overthrow of Governments might not end there, and it would be a grave responsibility for any man to take at this time." (*Ibid*, p. 782).

What a confession from a great diplomat!

President Wilson, faced with the only alternative of overthrowing the Governments of Britain, France and Italy that sabotaged his peace terms, had to ultimately swallow his good intentions because he could not take that "grave responsibility". He achieved his first diplomatic victory

> "in the face of a hostile and influential Junta in the United States and the thoroughly unsympathetic (to his Fourteen Points) personnel constituting the *entente* Governments."

But that very Junta won the final victory which alone counts in the ultimate analysis.

Yet social democrats and Labour Parties and Radicals of Europe were misled by the democratic pretensions of their Governments and believed in their peace aims like simpletons. But it goes to the credit of Wilson that he had no such illusions. On board the *George Washington*, on his way to the Peace Conference,

> "The President remarked that we would be the only disinterested people at the Peace Conference, and that the men whom we were about to deal with did not represent their own peoples. . . With great earnestness he re-emphasised the point that unless the Conference was prepared to follow the opinion of mankind and to express the will of the people rather than that of their leaders, we would soon be involved in another break-up of the world, and when such a break-up came, it would *not be a war but a cataclysm*."

His prophetic words have come to be true to the letter. But did the imperialists or Labour Parties and Radicals learn anything from these significant lessons of history? Nothing appreciable so far. Popular forces are being misled into false security in the same old way. Every attempt to conduct the war in the people's way is being sabotaged by the same influential Junta.

That very history is being repeated before our eyes in a very remarkable manner. President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill dramatically signed the Atlantic Charter and openly pledged their determination to fight for peace and freedom of all peoples of the world. The redoubtable labour leader and Churchill's Deputy Attlee announced to the world that the Charter obviously applied to India and other dependencies. But his diehard chief and conscience-keeper immediately corrected him and stated that it did not necessarily apply to India, as European peoples were in their minds when they made that declaration. Although the Charter clearly referred again and again not merely to "the European peoples" but to "all peoples of the world," yet Roosevelt, the other principal signatory, preferred not to correct him or give his own interpretation openly for reasons best known to himself. Attlee and his whole Labour Party had to swallow their own words. Although fascist propagandists quite logically took every advantage of that significant departure, Roosevelt maintained his silence to the great dissatisfaction of all coloured peoples of Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. It is not known what diplomatic pres-

sure he exercised on the British Government behind the scene. But the very fact that Churchill's statement went unchallenged in spite of the repeated demand of many representative Indians and other influential peoples of the world to clarify the real meaning and scope of the Atlantic Charter spoke a volume about the difference between a declaration and its interpretation, not to speak of its application. According to Churchill, not merely Indians but also other coloured peoples of Asia, Africa and America did not enter into the rosy picture drawn by the Atlantic Charter. If he could interpret so glibly the oft-repeated phrase "all peoples of the world" as meaning only European peoples even before the ink in which the Charter was written could be dry, what reliance the oppressed and weaker peoples can place on their " solemn " assurances ! Again, the die-hard imperialist Junta triumphed through a tiny loophole in the Charter which, while referring to " all peoples of the World," did not specifically mention the freedom of all colonial and coloured peoples.

This naturally created a lot of misunderstanding in India, China and other countries. Influential journals and notable persons in America began to clamour for a Pacific Charter and a categorical declaration from Roosevelt on that all-important point. This demand in relation to the present and future status of India became very insistent during the rapid collapse of the British citadels in the Pacific. Many Americans showed much sympathy for the aspirations of the Indian people. Yet they could not move the American Government to intervene in the Indian dispute which was still officially regarded as a " domestic " matter of the British Government. Roosevelt might have used a certain amount of diplomatic influence on the British Government which was indicated by the role played by Colonel Louis Johnson during the Cripps mission in India. But under the cover of the tragic failure of that mission the American opinion again beat a retreat. The manner in which the Cripps proposal was trumpeted as the grant of virtual freedom to India and its rejection deprived India of much of the earlier American sympathy showed how easily even well-meaning peoples can be misled by interested propaganda and vague assertions. Conscious of a coming decisive war in the Pacific and even in the Indian soil, the American opinion seems to be recovering from that reaction in favour of pursuing a bold policy towards India and Asiatic countries in order to enlist their solid support by guaranteeing freedom of Indians, Burmans and other Asiatics in the immediate present. That mood is partly reflected in the recent reference by Roosevelt to the freedom of all peoples including those of Asia and in the statements of some spokesmen of the U. S. A. Government regarding the importance of India as the war zone and immense value of the Indian peoples' wholehearted support. The arrival in India of the personal representative of Roosevelt and his role will be watched with great interest by all freedom-loving peoples. All this, however, indicates nothing more than a growing American interest in a more speedy and satisfactory solution of the Indian issue in the best interests of the common war efforts.

In contrast with the role of President Wilson in the last war, one cannot, therefore, help observing that although the stake is far greater than ever before and the present war is being fought between progressive and reactionary forces, President Roosevelt could not appreciably rise equal to the occasion in making a timely and categorical declaration regarding the meaning and scope of the Atlantic Charter, or in coming swiftly to the aid of Russia and China, or in preventing the Indian situation from drifting from bad to worse during the most fateful phases of the war. These lapses are by no means accidental but significant in their own way. The talks of preservation of the French Colonial Empire by 'democratic' Generals De Gaulle and Giraud, of formation of the United States of Africa under the virtual hegemony of white peoples and of the joint control of the world poduction and supply by Britain and America can not but produce a bad effect on the morale of the coloured peoples fighting for the survival of the United Nations. What a blindness not to guarantee freedom of the Burmans on the eve of the Burmese campaign! Roosevelt has just delivered a great message to the 78th Congress. He has talked of "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" and of "economic stability". But he did not explain how all these admirable things can be secured without liquidating imperialism and without disturbing the capitalist mode of production, distribution and exchange. He " shuddered to think " what will happen to humanity . . . . if this war ends in an inconclusive peace! Yet he has no better peace to offer to the war-ruined world than an Armed Peace secured and maintained by the strong arms of the Allies by disarming for all time Germany, Italy and

Japan. He does not even dream of disarmament of all nations and maintenance of an international armed force to secure an abiding peace under the terms of the League of Nations and on the basis of freedom of all peoples including the vanquished. He condemns not merely fascists but the entire proud and civilised peoples of these fascist states to eternal damnation. He looks upon these "aggressor nations" as nothing better than "predatory animals". What a colossal folly to cleanly forget the history of all other predatory and aggressor nations and the bitter lessons of the Versailles Treaty and its carefully-secured armed peace so soon. What a pretension to claim that "after the first World War we tried to achieve a formula—a formula for a permanent peace based on magnificent idealism"! No wonder, Roosevelt again forgot to declare to stand unequivocally for freedom of all colonial peoples and dependencies.

It is painful to contemplate that even a strong and progressive President like Roosevelt is failing to assert his own against the powerful Junta and to play even that much role which his illustrious predecessor had the courage to pursue against a far more powerful Junta. Yet Wilson undoubtedly lacked that much popular backing which Roosevelt will surely have from his great Allies, peoples of Russia and China as well as from all oppressed and weaker peoples. The entire progressive forces of Europe and America would back him if only he dares take action in the right spirit of the Atlantic Charter which he has himself signed. Chiang Kai-shek virtually made that appeal long ago. The Soviet Union stands four square for complete freedom of all exploited peoples. A timely action on the part of the President to solve the Indian issue not in any uncertain future but today may yet turn the tide of Indian opinion irresistibly in favour of the United Nations. This courageous righting of a historic wrong at this critical phase of war at the very doors of India may well prove to be the last knell on the coffin of Fascism. But will he dare? The future of India and China, nay, of the whole course of the war depends not a little on his timely intervention.

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER

By V.

Now, as twenty-five years ago, we are fighting a World War to save Democracy. Will the results be the same? Did the end of the last war see the Rights of Man acknowledged and established on a firm and permanent footing? Or did the world continue as usual—Business before Humanity? The answer is well-known to all men. After fighting the bloodiest battles in history, mankind went back to its sordid pursuits. Ignorance, poverty and injustice continued to prevail and Big Business ruled supreme everywhere. So we came into another World War.

At the end of this war, are things going to be different? Are people going to be less ignorant, less poor and more just? If not, then what is the good of all this tall talk about Justice, Freedom, Democracy and so forth. Given their proper dimensions these words mean Food, Housing, Education, Medical Aid, Comforts, Luxuries and a Self-respecting Existence. Without these, the creation of a number of empty designations for a limited number of men means nothing. As far as India is concerned, the situation can be summarised quite easily and in brief. About two hundred years ago, British tradesmen obtained a hold on this land by fair means or foul—it does not really matter which; for human outlook was different then and what was good for Clive and Dalhousie is not moral and just for Churchill and Co. After the British got their hold on India, they tried energetically to make it a sound and profitable business. If they did any good to the people, it was done incidentally, as part of a sound business programme. The outlook was one of making a profitable business out of this political control. This can be proved by the results. While millions of Indians have remained poor, ignorant, ill-fed, ill-clad, dominated by sporadic diseases and epidemics, the British have made good by their Indian connection and have seldom gone out of their way to make Indians prosperous, efficient strong and intelligent. Any impartial observer with a working knowledge of arithmetic will be able to prove this to the hilt, if he only went about it the right way.

It is, however, not so very important to try and fix this guilt on the British rulers of India.

Nor does it help the British to try and prove that a large number of Indians connived at this tremendous business of governing millions of poor ignorants with a view to build up a superstructure of profit and good living for the benefit of a small number of Britishers and Indians. The main question is, are we going to continue with this or is there any hope of a better state of affairs at the end of this war. The Indians are potentially as good producers of wealth as the members of any other race. Had the British tried during the last two hundred years to make the Indians produce as much wealth as they could—for their own well-being—instead of following the business principles of international trade which only guaranteed profit to exporters and importers, the Indians would have by now built a pucca house for each family, good roads for all villages and public utility services for everyone. They would have by now set up an economic structure in which all men would have fitted in for the production of all necessary goods and services required for comfortable existence. Instead of that the policy has so long been one of buying and selling internationally for the benefit of men other than the common people of India. Chambers of Commerce and Trades Associations will not make India come into her own rights, and this statement includes such bodies run and organised by Indians.

If I remember right, some American person of importance made a statement sometime ago about teaching Indians how to increase their standard of living. If this meant only starting some American-controlled business houses in India, the promise is not a very thrilling one. India does not require to adopt an American outlook upon life. With all respect to American powers of production, one may yet ask the workers of that great country whether they have achieved contentment and happiness. What is known as a higher standard of living is not necessarily a better standard. Intensive industrialisation does not yield a maximum of national happiness, and we Indians should study the full implications of any economic programme before we start on it.

In summary; when the war is over are we going to follow a national economic policy which will bring the greatest happiness to the greatest number of Indians or are we going to increase trade, commerce and industry in the present, established manner? We must realise that the two are not the same; far from it, they are antagonistic to each other in many ways.

Leaving aside the question of material wealth, let us dwell upon the question of national honour, pride and self-respect. When the war is over shall we still have to meet the loud-voiced, arrogant and half-educated *Sahibs* in our workshops, offices and institutions? Should we still have to see highly educated and well-bred Indians working as subordinates, at half or quarter pay, to people who have wangled a good job in India? There may be nothing in our Law and Constitution which gives the foreigner a higher place than Indians; but the fact is that India is infested by a bunch of bullying men who have been overrated by themselves as well as by their employers and who roam this fair land as living symbols of racial antagonism. This type must be removed from India, if Britain wants the two countries to remain friendly and at peace. We know that pride and arrogance are not unknown vices in India. We have many obnoxious types of superior beings. But the Empire-building type of Britisher can give a few lessons to the average Nazi in racial arrogance and playing the superior. If one studied Indo-British relations during the period that India has been under the British and tried to single out the causes which made the relations bitter and intolerable, the place of honour would undoubtedly go to the lower-middle class Britisher who happened to become a big noise in spite of all lack of qualifications. By far the majority of Indians who feel strongly about India's political subservience to Britain can trace back their feelings to some encounter with one of these *Burra* or *Chhota Sahibs*.

Britain has passed through a great ordeal. She has not yet overcome all the difficulties that she will have to before victory is achieved. One of her promises to India and to the world has been that she will see justice done to all men and all nations. America, Russia and China have endorsed this promise. We in India alternately believe in and doubt Britain's promises. This is due to the fact that our experience in the past has been rather unhappy. But we like to think that a great change has come over the world as a result of this life-and-death struggle against Fascism. And, we would like to believe that this war will end that phase of human history during which all men exploited each other, and will inaugurate an era of mutual help and universal well-being. If our hopes are unfounded and we are merely the victims of a colossal bluff, then this war will lead to others, yet bloodier wars. One can only wait and see.

MISSIONS AND SWARAJA

By CYRIL MODAK

THE *pundits* of the National Christian Council are arranging a "Conference on Indian Theology." True to its British traditions the Council is only fifty years behind the times. For when in this year of grace 1942 the real issue is "Can Christianity survive?" the National Christian Council is getting absorbed in the question of an Indian Theology. The springtime of wishful thinking is past. The time has come when Christians everywhere must grapple with icy realities and weather the blizzard of facts. They may avoid reading these words. They will not be able to evade the disaster that is impending.

In this War Christianity has chosen to be one of the belligerents. It has crossed the Rubicon. Not only in the prayers offered from a thousand pulpits every Sunday, but in statements made by its officials, Organized Christianity has declared that it is on the side of the Anglo-American cause. That cause has been defined in the Atlantic Charter by the combined ability of Roosevelt and Churchill. The albinocratic spirit of the Atlantic Charter is unmistakably opposed to the Christ-intention. Christianity has, thus, deliberately espoused an unchristian cause. The reason is not far to seek. It had to. It had no other course because of its political and socio-economic entanglements. The political and socio-economic set-up of the Anglo-American group is the chief target of the Axis. If this political and socio-economic structure should collapse, will Christianity escape? Figuratively, Christianity has stepped aboard an Anglo-American battleship to join the fray. Can it survive if that battleship is sunk or captured?

Turning nearer home, what are the prospects for Christianity in Missiondom? In Asiatic countries under foreign domination there has been the same albinocracy underlying Mission policies as those of the governments. But Mission funds have come from White supporters. That was expected to justify everything. Legally justifiable or not, the albinocratic grip on the throat of Christianity in Missiondom has had three fatal results. It has perverted the national and cultural integrity of a vast majority of indigenous Christians. It has steadily alienated those non-Christians who have observed its working. It has destroyed the confidence of those indigenous Christians with nationalistic convictions.

William Carey, the great pioneer missionary, enunciated the policy: "Westernize Indians in order to Christianize them." In diverse subtle ways this policy has been implemented. If all westernized Indians did not march to the baptismal font at least most educated Christians came to be westernized. This sounds innocent enough. In fact, it would do us good to be westernized in some things just as it would be good for Westerners to be Indianized in some ways. If it is a choice, critically made, it is valuable. But when the Indian Christian is pressed by the Mission system to smother his conscience and declare, at least in the presence of missionaries, that British rule is an unmixed blessing for India; that the Mission system with its glaring inequalities and its theocratic totalitarianism is a God-send; that Indian culture is of the devil; that everything Western, from collars and ties to Amery's latest pronouncement, is perfect, it is nothing short of demoralization. Obviously, it is done in nine out of ten cases for the pragmatic purpose of retaining or securing a Mission job and possibly other missionary favours.

The proof that this is the common practice in Missiondom is to be found in the cases of those Indian Christians who are called "dangerous" by missionaries and safely kept out. They may be qualified abroad and have unquestioned ability and influence. But their unpardonable sin of refusing to be "Yes-men" renders them in the eyes of the Mission system unfit to serve the Church. With scrupulous care they are kept out of all official paths of service and of course out of Mission employment. While the "Yes-men" both in the employment of the British Government as well as of Missions by the necessity for "loyal submission" have been unable to point out the folly of certain policies or the disasters on the road chosen by the authorities. Follies have been added to folly. The harvest is ripe. Who shall reap it, foreign Missions or the Indian Christian community?

Observant non-Christians, the rank and file

no less than leaders, have seen these effects of missionary activities. The best of them, with all the goodwill in the world, and genuine respect for the Christ-impulse have been disappointed with, at times annoyed at, and ultimately alienated from the missionary enterprise. "A Hindu or Muslim who becomes a Christian is lost to the Motherland," is a common remark one hears from thinking non-Christians. The tragedy is that it is true. With the surge of nationalism which has flooded the country since 1885, no Indian nationalist can help feeling out of sympathy with a movement which by its albinocratic spirit aggravates the bitterness of racial discrimination aroused by British Imperialism and directly or indirectly gains numerous supporters for it from among its converts.

In a recent issue of the *National Christian Council Review*, the Rev. E. C. Dewick shows how between 1927 and 1937 even Mahatma Gandhi's attitude has changed from friendliness to hostility.

"In 1927, we find him telling the Colombo Y. M. C. A., 'If I had to face only the Sermon on the Mount and my own interpretation of it, I should not hesitate to say: O, yes, I am a Christian!' .... In 1937, he tells a sympathetic American missionary bluntly that while he is willing to find a place for Jesus in Hinduism, as one of the many incarnations of God, he is not prepared to give him a supreme or even a unique position."

The point is not whether Mahatma Gandhi would have become a professing Christian, but that the attitudes, conduct, methods and activities of missionaries in general have driven him to oppose organized Christianity and its theology. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in his recent book, *Unity of India*, has a strong denunciation of the anti-Indian implications of the "Missionary Pledge" whereby all foreign non-British missionaires pledge "to do nothing contrary to or in diminution of" British Imperialist rule, euphemistically termed, "the legally constituted authority of the land."

The precious little homilies read out to India by sections of the American Press, at the failure of the Cripps Mission, and the somewhat absurd echo of them by some foreign missionaries and many Indian *padres*, have only made matters worse The presence of non-British foreign troops in India, whatever the real motive, constitutes in the sight of nationalists an unfriendly threat by these countries to the legitimate aspirations of Indian nationalism. They can hardly be expected to feel friendly towards missionaries or others from these countries. The frequent criticism of the Indian National Congress by missionaries and Indian agents of Missions, even if made from behind the camouflage of *khaddar*, have only proved in which direction their real sympathies lie. We may regret these unpleasant facts. We cannot alter them. We should not forget them in our assessment of things later when the storm is over.

A few Indian Christians have lacked the pragmatism to compromise either the Motherland or the Master. They have felt, and most of them have expressed themselves in no ambiguous terms, that the Gospel of Christ is the proclamation of justice, freedom and brotherhood and not a charter for exploiters, dictators and lawgivers from across the Mediterranean or Atlantic. They have urged their comrades of the faith to fight political, economic, social and ecclesiastical injustice and domination and race and class discrimination wherever and whenever contacted. They have seen, from experience and careful observation, that the long-distance control of foreign funds is the root-cause of the evils in the missionary system. They have urged the necessity of a radical reformation of this system as well as a transfer of control to Indians. They have pointed out that the establishment of the Indian Church, free from foreign censorship in its expression, is of more fundamental importance than all the diplomatic negotiations for Church Union. Their reward, as they perhaps deserved, has been ostracism from Missiondom. Official Christianity has all but struck their names off the roll. Whereas, actually those few Indian Christians who suffered for their convictions, and not the "Yes-men," would have been the best assets of the Indian Church in a free India. But the missionary machine has gone on unheeding, unrelenting. Can it survive.?

And if Missionary Christianity does not survive in a free India, will India be to blame? In the heat of that moment the natural tendency for missionaries, foreign supporters of Missions and many Indian Christians will be to charge Indians with ingratitude, totalitarianism, bigotry, and even vindictive hate. But will such charges be warranted? When one considers how for centuries India has been hospitable to Christianity; how Indians have borne the albinocracy which in every sphere of life has been tinged with insolence; how India has been scandalized by countless missionaries 'home' on furlough while speaking to raise mission funds; how Christianity has been made a tool of Imperialism in India; how the missionary system has persecuted those foreign missionaries and nationalist Christians who have demanded

liberty, justice and equality in the name of the Christian Manifesto; how the economic control of foreign mission boards has demoralized a large majority of "mission-compound" Christians in every part of India, can Indians be blamed for objecting to a repetition of such a tragic story in a self-governing India? Would America or Britain behave differently under these conditions? It is most unfortunate that the good that the Missionary Movement tried to do has been overshadowed by its albinocratic spirit which has made it an unconscious ally of British Imperialism.

Nevertheless, as it happens, most Indians are inclined to be thankful for small mercies and to philosophize even in the midst of a fight. So, perhaps, a free India will be disposed to temper justice with mercy and not visit the sins of the Missionary Movement on the children of the Indian Church unto the third and fourth generation. But it will be well for the Indian Church (if, indeed, such a thing exists) to come out of the torpor induced by the opium of Mission funds and missionary patronage and take its stand unequivocally on the side of freedom, justice and brotherhood, the eternal verities of the Christ-Revelation. Let Indian Christians as a community be up and doing now while it is yet day, for the night cometh when no man can work. It is not yet too late to realize that a religion of expediency is unworthy of Christians and unworthy of Indians. Truth is the highest religion. Ultimately, Truth alone triumphs.

A YEAR'S PROGRESS OF ART IN INDIA

By O. C. GANGOLY

WITH the black shadows of War all over the world obliterating the Book of Human Culture, it is idle to expect the pages of Art to shine with any manner of brilliance, particularly in India, where the lamp of Art has been burning very dimly in the twentieth century. India has not very much 'progress' to report, for the year just passed, in the sphere of Art, under the deepening gloom of economic depression. The buzz of bombers and the thunder of guns inevitably silence the still small voice of Art, and the Arts of War over-ride the Arts of Peace. For, Art comes out of the superabundance of Life, which it is the business of War to destroy.

The Memorial Exhibition held at Lahore of the Art of Amrita Sher-Gil (21st December 1941 to 16th January 1942) offered an opportunity to lovers of Art in the Punjab to pay their tribute to that reputed artist whose untimely death cut off a career of great promise. The beginning of the year 1942 offered opportunity to Christmas holiday-makers to come back to Calcutta and see the very interesting Exhibition of the works of the Twentieth Century Painters of Bengal organized with commendable enterprise by the Kamalāya Stores (Dharramtolla Street, Calcutta). It was a retrospective exhibition of the progress of painting in Bengal from the beginning of this century. It was a brave and ambitious attempt somewhat hastily planned and not generously supported by all owners of modern Bengali Pictures. Even the New School of Tagore was not fully represented, and, not also, in worthy specimens. Nevertheless, it was a very commendable effort well worth repeating with greater thought and co-operation. Much more organized and carefully planned was the "Art in Industry Exhibition" sponsored by the Burmah-Shell, and held during January 1942, at the Government School of Art, and patronized by H. E. the Governor of Bengal. It is the second year of the enterprise which provides a very practical way of patronizing Art in its application to Industry. It derives added interest from the fact that it affords excellent meeting-ground between Indians and Europeans in a spirit of helpful co-operation. It has been felt that to push commercial products in Indian markets, the aid of the Indian Artist, and of Indian aesthetic *motifs* is of great use and significance. The large number of prizes given by many European commercial firms and some generous Indian patrons have opened a new avenue of employments for many a starving artist. The Typographical section was a new and a very interesting section patronized by the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and *Hindusthan Standard*. The Exhibition is growing every year and has evoked a good deal of popular interest in Art and will undoubtedly help to make the useful things of life more beautiful and attractive. The sponsors have published a very attractively printed report of the Exhibition with many colour illustrations. A much more significant Exhibition of the year was the

first Child Art Exhibition, held at the Town Hall, Bombay (6th to 13th February, 1942), under the auspices of the Child Art Society, an enterprise of great value to the fundamental psychology of education. Hitherto we have done our utmost to kill the artistic pre-dispositions of our children by our regimented methods of teaching drawing. The aim of the Exhibition was to demonstrate how children, when surrounded by things of beauty, react spontaneously and guided by their natural instincts are prompted to create original designs in form and colour in a symbolic language of their own evolved in direct relationship to their spontaneous power of expression and vivid imagination, yet existing in a nascent state, unimpaired by the sophisticated knowledge of the adult derived from book-learning. The credit of the Show, first of its kind held in India, is due to Mr. Pulin B. Dutt, Art-Teacher of the Fellowship School run by the Theosophical Society.

But the most important Art event of the year was undoubtedly the first Provincial Art Conference held at Bombay on the 24th January 1942, under the auspices of the Art Society of India. The credit of planning and organizing the Conference goes to Mr. V. P. Karmarkar and to Mr. N. M. Kelkar. It was presided over by Mr. Ravi Sankar Rawal, the well-known artist of Ahmedabad, Editor of *Kumar*, and a person of remarkable charm and distinction. The Conference was certainly a tremendous success, although it appears to have offended certain vested interests. The leading problems of Art in India today were discussed and many valuable suggestions were made and embodied in resolutions, some of which could be immediately worked out in concrete efforts. It is hoped that the Secretary of the Conference would take early steps to implement the least expensive resolutions by practical projects.

Modern Indian Art has received rich re-inforcements by the magnificent Frescoes executed by Mr. Nanda Lal Bose at the Palace of H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda. If the example set by this generous patron were followed by every Indian Prince and Potentate,—Art could become once again a vital factor in Indian life and recover many of the glories of its past history.

The Exhibition of the works of students of the Government School of Art, Madras, is regularly chronicled in the pages of this *Review* and offers evidence of the advances made from time to time in the practice of the Arts in the South. The joint Exhibition of the works of Stanley Jackson and D. P. Chowdhury held at Madras in December last is a happy example of the spirit of comradeship in the field of Art which British and Indian soldiers are evincing in the field of battle. But a more live centre is now offered by the *Kalā-Khsetra*, (The Sanctified Area of Art), at Adyar, on which the President Rukmini Devi continues to shed her energetic lustre. Though principally pre-occupied with Dance and the Drama, her influence is dynamic in a general rise of Art-conciousness in the South, the birth-place of some of the best phases of Indian Art. In the Department of Publication, the *Kalā-Khsetra* has to its credit two volumes by Dr. Cousins, one on drama (*Hound of Uladh*) and another a collection of essays (*The Faith of the Artist*) which convey Dr. Cousins' faith in the regenerating mission of the Arts and the necessity of their inclusion in educational programmes. We would appeal to the President to open a Department to study and popularise the best phases of Indian Painting and Sculpture, ancient and modern,—phases of Art, hitherto neglected, if not ignored by the *Kalā-Khsetra*. The State Gallery of Mysore should be congratulated for its acquisition of a series of twelve landscapes by Bireswar Sen, one of the oldest and talented disciples of Dr. A. N. Tagore whose teaching duties have not interfered with his creative productions. It is, however, a very questionable policy for any public Museum or Gallery to acquire a number of works by the same artist. Museology is in its infancy in India and our Museum Directors and Curators have yet to learn the ethics and principles of new acquisitions.

All the annual Exhibitions of pictures usually held at Calcutta in December had to be abandoned owing to the emergencies of war, so that Calcutta's record for the cold season in matters pictorial offer a dull blank page, except for the short-lived Exhibition of the oils of Satish Sinha held at the rooms of Hall and Anderson and the Exhibition of students' works held at the Government School of Art, Calcutta. This year's show had a happy feature by the inclusion of works by the former students of the institution. The only important and very outstanding show of pictures and sculpture, held last year in Calcutta, was that offered by Subho Tagore for the relief of the distressed Artists and Poets of China, and, appropriately opened by Dr. J. C. Pao, the Consul-General, on the 30th May 1942. It was a small collection but a very distinguished one, particularly in the

large-sized decorative panels of surprising colour schemes, and daring methods of design.

In matters of Art, Bombay is fast outstripping Calcutta, as is evidenced by the opportunities of perpetual exhibitions provided by the Bombay Art Society in a permanent Exhibition Hall at Rampart Row, lent freely to all artists, to show their works for public appreciation. Of the series of such exhibitions the most interesting was the one of the works of Mr. K. H. Ara, originally a motor car cleaner, and an artist by self-education, like the great French modern Landscapist, Rousseau. This self-taught artist has a very original style of his own, particularly in his colourful and spontaneous landscapes.

Except at the Calcutta University, there is no permanent place of Art in any of our educational institutions; sporadic activities of some of our universities, therefore, call for a passing notice. The Punjab University had arranged for a series of Illustrated Lectures by Eric Dickinson, that enthusiastic educationist whose professorial duties have not squeezed out his passion for Art. With the help of such enthusiasts we could hope for pictures competing with books in the class-rooms, some day. The Dacca University has to its credit, thanks to the interest of Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, its late Vice-Chancellor, a series of Illustrated Lectures delivered last year on Early Buddhist Art, Mughal Architecture and Painting. Such lectures should form a permanent item in the syllabus of all universities, if only to give to our college students a nodding acquaintance with masterpieces of Indian Art which are all but forbidden fruits to our University students.

With a view to awaken interest in Indian Art in England the enterprising Editor of the London *Studio* issued in August last—a Special Indian Number, to draw attention to some of the old masterpieces inspired by the Indian genius in the Visual Arts. The letter-press somewhat meagre and one-sided has been accompanied by a wealth of illustrations, not very well-chosen, demonstrating the high quality of Indian Applied Art and Artistic Industry. Though some colour reproductions of old Indian and Khotanese Frescoes and some examples of Architecture were included the Number has signally failed to convey the high achievements of India in the sphere of Architecture. Painting and Sculpture—the schools of Painting and Sculpture being very inadequately represented, not a single masterpiece of Mughal or Rajput Schools having been cited.

A word of commendation is due to the All-India Radio, which, at its centres at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, and Dacca—occasionally included Talks on the various phases of Fine Art many of which have received warm appreciations.

Let us hope the New Year will chide away the shadows of War, reinstate the Images of Art on its lofty pedestals.

TAGORE'S MESSAGE OF LOVE OF THE EARTH

By R. R. KUMRIA,

Lecturer in Educational Psychology.

Against the deep-seated other-worldly philosophy of life, against the icy cold ideal of *Nirvana* Tagore set up a standard of revolt. Couched in exquisite language he offered the warm message of Spring and love of this earth. To a people whose first and last love is the Beyond and whose highest effort is directed towards its attainment he called out:

> Come out into the highways of life. Come out, ye youthful renouncers.
> In the open world all is change.
> All is life, all is movement;
> And he who ever moves and journeys
> With this life-movement, dancing and playing
> On his flute as he goes, he is the true renouncer.

"We are the true renouncers because change is our secret. We lose in order to find. We call to every one to carry all their joys lightly in a rythmic measure. Our words don't speak; they sing."

"It is not those who become adepts in turning out quantities of work, nor those who are ever telling the dry beads of duty, it is not those who win at last. But it is those who love because they live, these truly win, for they truly surrender."

The lover of this earth never feels the weight of sorrow's burden. He feels that his hair shall never turn grey. He shall die old but never attain age. He is a butterfly freed from the cocoon of age. Old age comes and nature tries to rub out the green of youth and paint everything white. The lover of this earth feels a newer glory. The descending shades of age have another meaning for him. He knows and rejoices to know that in the heart of the white dwell all the colours of the rainbow. So he works on and on and with ever-increasing gladness fulfils the law.

This aspect of Tagore's teachings has not been fully taken notice of by western writers. Perhaps for them it is not a new thought. But for us, Indians, it is new, since it has come to us after more than two thousand years. And we know we were in great need for it. Unless we love this earth and its values our social and political problems will never be properly solved. With the insight of a genius Tagore saw where the trouble lay and love of this earth became his central message.

"I shall pour my songs into your mute heart and my love into your love. I shall worship you with labour. I have seen your tender face and I love your mournful dust, Mother Earth."—*Gardener*.

"The world puts off its mask of vastness to its lover. It becomes small as one song, as one kiss of the eternal." —*Stray Birds*.

Tagore drives home this message by means of a parable:

At mid-night a would-be renouncer got up and said: This is the time to give up my home and seek for God. Ah! Who has held me in delusion, here? And God whispered: I, but the ears of the man were stopped.

His wife lay in bed with their baby peacefully sleeping by her side. The man turned to them and said: Who are you that have fooled me so long? The voice said again, They are God, but the fool heard it not.

The baby cried in sleep and clung close to her mother. God commanded, Stop fool, leave not thy home, but still he heard not. God sighed and complained, why does my servant wander to seek me, forsaking me?

God dwells in every heart and the kingdom of Heaven is within. It is wrong to turn one's back upon the current of life and seek God in solitary jungles and caves. It is the heart where you have to look for Him. "How far are you from me, O fruit, I am hidden in your heart, O flower." When the heart opens itself to the world in pure love, the process of God-realization begins. And then the King of the Dark Chamber smiles and says: "I open the doors of the dark room today. The game is finished. Come, come with me, come outside into the light." The secret of Realization lies in selfless love, in giving. "To all things else you give; O God, from me you ask." "Life is given us; we earn it by giving it." The lover is like the autumn cloud. empty of rain, but he sees his fulness in the field of ripened rice. The lover has thrown his lot with the humble and the lowly. For him God is there "where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and shower, and his garment is covered with dust." The lover is the Divine King's postman, lantern in hand, delivering letters of confidence, courage and hope from door to door. There is pain, there is suffering, there are limitations in this life. What then? Shall we run away from them? No. Lovers never complain. They

"... . welcome each rebuff
That makes earth's smoothness rough."

In love thraldom is as glorious as freedom, pain as welcome as pleasure. Evil is an opportunity for good and pain is our true wealth as imperfect beings and makes us great to take our seat with the Perfect. Even Death is welcome.

"Death, thy servant, is at my door.
He has crossed the unknown sea and brought thy call to my house.
I will set before my guest the full vessel of my life.
I will never let him go with empty hands.
I have got my leave. Bid me farewell, my brothers.
I bow to you all and take my departure.
When I go from hence let this be my parting word, that what I have seen is unsurpassable."

This is a very robust message. India needs love of the earth. This is the foundation on which all effective political and social philosophies can be built. From this point of view Tagore is the herald of a new era.

Love of the Earth. to Tagore, does not mean the crude materialistic point of view. He does not give up the highest ideal of the Upanisads, the ideal of finding one's true essence, the ideal of being in tune with the Infinite. What he emphasises is that God is in the life-process and you have to find Him there. Saffron clothes and a long face do not bring God any the nearer. If you wish to find God, "put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil." The life-process is his great Lila. He is for ever bound with it. Why do you want emancipation from this Lila? In doing so you are not true to the Law of God.

"Deliverance? Where is this deliverance to be found? Our master himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation; He is bound with us all for ever. . . ."

"Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy flowers and incense. What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained. Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and in sweat of thy brow."

In the *Sadhana* Tagore gives his metaphysical position which is the same as that of the Upanisads. He says: "The same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day runs through the world and dances in rythmic measure. The same Spirit dwells in the most distant Sun and in the darkest depths of the soul. . . ." Self and not-self are only relatively opposed. It is the business of man to break down this opposition and make both express

the same Spirit. If, then, there is the all-embracing Spirit the glooms and shadows of life lose their edge and bitterness. Such a philosophy of life is necessary for the lover of the Earth. It bears him up through all the tribulations and privations of life. Without it, if he is sincere, the lover will lose anchor and go down. So a real lover of the Earth has also to be a sincere lover of God. And you meet a lover of God at his best in the *Gitanjali* and *Poems*. The *Poems* was published after his death and contains the Poet's superb expression of mystic love of God. It gives the various moods in which the lover of God finds himself. But nowhere do we find him even dreaming about running away from the rough and tumble of life.

> Come friend, flinch not, step down upon the hard earth.
> Do not gather dreams in the dusk.
> Storms are brewing in the sky, lightning flashes are striking at our sleep.
> Come down to the common life.
> The web of illusion is torn, take shelter within walls of rough stones. (2)

Again,

> Let honour come to me from Thee through a call to some desperate task, in the pride of poignant suffering. (24)
> Death-long tapasya of suffering is this life, to win truth's terrible value, and to pay all debts in death. (118)

KESHAB CHANDRA SEN AND THE GREAT PROHIBITION MOVEMENT OF BENGAL OF THE LAST CENTURY

BY REBATI MOHAN LAHIRI, M.A., B.L.

THE excise policy of the Government of India was vehemently attacked by Mahatma Gandhi during the non-co-operation days and indeed the boycott of Excise shops became one of the most important planks of the non-co-operation movement. It is of interest to learn that during the early seventies of the last century a similar movement was launched in Bengal under the auspices of Mahatma Keshab Chandra Sen and Peari Charan Sarkar. It became a force in the land and the Government of the day had to amend the Excise Act according to the wishes of the people. Even at that distant date, leaders of public opinion realized the baneful effect of the Excise policy of the then Government and tried their best to eliminate drink evil by all possible peaceful agitation. Judging from the activities of persons and institutions connected with that Temperance movement, it can be said that they were the forerunners of the movement that followed nearly half a century later on an All-India scale. All the arguments and persuasion that were used by Mahatma Gandhi had been in their lips and memorials; and Keshab Chandra Sen became the soul of the movement as Gandhiji became the central figure of the modern movement. The Prohibition movement of the last century was not an isolated event. Like the Prohibition movement of the present century, it had a link with the politico-religious movement that came towards the end of the last century.

There was a considerable increase of intemperance among the people of Bengal, specially among the educated classes of the society, during the second half of the last century.[1] The following figures will show how the consumption of opium increased during the 21 years under review beginning from the year 1851-52 :

	Consumption	Net Revenue
1851-52	196 mds. 26 srs.	Rs. 35,399-0-0
1854-55	203 mds. 8 srs.	Rs. 36,576-0-0
1859-60	279 mds. 19 srs.	Rs. 83,818-0-0
1864-65	1,822 mds. 24 srs.	Rs. 8,14,003-0-0
1871-72	1,655 mds. 15 srs. 8 ch.	Rs. 9,74,142-0-0

The sale and consumption of Ganja, the sister intoxicant of opium was equally alarming as the table below will indicate :

1864-65	9,048 mds.
1871-72	10,710 mds. 34 srs.

The traffic in liquor was equally thriving. The total revenue from the sale of liquor both country-made and foreign amounted to more than Rs. 31 lakhs in 1871-72, as against Rs. 23 lakhs in the year 1867-68.

The Excise policy of the Government and the spread of English education were responsible for the spread of intemperance amongst the people who were naturally averse to all such intoxicating habits. Up to 1867, licenses were freely given to all the applicants who were not suspected characters. *Complete freedom of trade was the theory and the rule.* As a sequel to this liberal policy of the Government, the liquor shops

1. Government of India Financial Proceedings, May 1875, Nos. 21-31.

flourished everywhere, and all intoxicants and drinks were within the easy reach of all. The officials who helped the administration by increasing the excise revenue were praised by the Government and were rewarded with promotions. The spread of English education and the impact of western civilisation effected a radical change in the habits and temperament of the educated youths of the land of that period. The old attachment to religion and religious habits was greatly loosened, old prejudices and checks were removed and the newly enfranchised youths of the land fell an easy victim to the vices of western civilisation. What the Baboos did in the cities and town were imitated by the half-educated villagers and rustics of the countryside. The wide prevalence of drunkenness amongst the people of the lower provinces, specially amongst the educated classes was admitted even by the authorities of the time.[2] The Board of Revenue in their excise report for the year 1870-71 freely expressed the opinion that

"A very large majority of Mofussil Officers are of opinion that the use of stimulants by the people is steadily on the increase, and that this increase is far more noticeable amongst the better educated than among the poor classes."

The effect of the habit of intemperance that was steadily on the increase was most disastrous on society. The happiness of domestic life was gone. The very foundation of the Hindu society was crumbling to pieces. The educated community of the country forgot their old virtues and noble tradition and were already slaves to the vices of the West. A new generation sprang up free from any religious scruples or moral restraints, steeped in the grossest vices of the western civilisation. Pauperism was on the increase. A wave of crime and immorality swept over the whole country. At no time, the condition of the Hindu Society was so deplorable and appalling as it was during the second half of the 19th century. The following is a very painful picture of the educated *Bhadraloks* of that period :

"It is sad to think that this has been the effect of education, but it is too true to be overlooked. No Hindoo can become acquainted with European Science without disbelieving his own religion. Without any religious conviction and without moral training he leaves the college a slave to his own passion, and blindly follows the example of the rich and influential around him. Having no fixed ideas to guide him, he yields to his own inclination and adopts habits which are foreign to his race ; caste observances are broken through and all that a Hindu regards as obligatory. . . . Friends never meet now a day without spirit being consumed . . . nearly nine-tenths of the Bengalis instructed at our English Colleges and Schools indulge in the demoralising habit of private drinking."[3]

Such was the condition of the educated community of Bengal at that time. It seemed that Bengal was rushing headlong towards an infernal abyss. If this state of things had gone on unchecked not only the whole population would have become drunken and criminally-minded, the Bengali Society with all its culture and rich heritage would have been a thing of the past. The religious and political regeneration that baptised the Bengali society towards the end of this century woud have been of no avail against the inroads of western vices. But happily at this time there still remained in the Bengali society a handful of public-spirited men who could realise the hopeless position of the society, and led by Keshab Chandra Sen and Peari Charan Sarkar ultimately saved the Hindu Society from utter ruin and destruction. Multifarious were their activities and wide was the scope of their benevolent mission. They mobilised all the available resources they had at their command and carried a systematic campaign against the monstrous evil of intemperance. Under the guidance and leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen and Peari Charan Sarkar a great prohibition movement was launched, it gathered momentum as it spread. A magazine called *Mad-na-garala* (Wine-or-Poison) was started to preach against the evil of intemperance and ultimately not only the administration had to listen to their appeal but the educated public was also awakened to their senses.

At first a memorial was submitted to the Government of Bengal by Raja Kali Krishna Bahadoor, President, and Peari Charan Sarkar, Secretary, Bengal Temperance Society. After alluding to the spread of the habits of intemperance and to the vices that it brought in its train, the memorial suggested the following remedies towards the eradication of the evil.

(1) That the number of liquor shops should be limited.

(2) That no liquor shops should be allowed to exist in the vicinity of an educational institution, or a place of public worship.

(3) That no license should be given at any place where two-thirds of the local people object to.

(4) That the sale of liquor in hotels should be regulated.

(5) That all liquor shops should be closed at sunset.

(6) That the rates of license fees and duty on intoxicating drinks or drugs should be raised so high as

2. Revenue Board's Annual Report for 1871-72.

3. From a Medical report embodied in the Minute of A. Money of the Board of Revenue, dated the 25th January, 1875.

to afford the greatest possible discouragement to their use.

This was followed by another memorial which was addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council signed by Raja Ramanath Tagore and fifty-one other Bengali gentlemen. The memorialists quoted the opinion of the Commissioner of Orissa, who observed that

> "Opium eating is yearly becoming an ingrained habit with all classes, all sexes, and ages. That Government system has facilitated this, there can be no doubt. The drug appears to have become almost a necessary of life."

The memorialists opined that a greater misfortune could not befall the country than a deep-rooted habit of opium taking and prayed that the consumption of opium be prohibited except as medicine. Raja Kali Krishna Bahadoor sent another petition to His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of the inhabitants of Bengal in which the petitioner expressed his disapproval of the custom hitherto observed by the local Government of bestowing high praise on subordinate officers for their successful efforts to increase the excise revenue. Not only the landed aristocrats and the public-spirited citizens were out to check the drink evil, every class of Society joined the campaign of prohibition. The anti-drink campaign, became a sort of crusade. Rev. John D. Don and other 26 members of the Calcutta Missionary Conference joined the campaign and sent a petition (dated the 20th March, 1873) to the Government of Bengal and drew the attention of the Government to the efforts then made by English statesmen at home to regulate the liquor traffic of the United Kingdom. Then came the memorable petition of Keshab Chandra Sen. It was an ably drafted petition addressed to the Viceroy of India. He quoted facts and figures showing the gowth of the habit of intemperanee and condemned the excise policy of the Government. These are his memorable words:

> "The avowed object of the Excise administration is to meet a public want without detriment to the public weal. Experience, however, has proved otherwise. Far from checking, the Excise Department has rather facilitated the spread of drunkenness by multiplying liquor shops."

And to verify and strengthen his contention he quoted the following words of Mr. Money, the then head of the Excise Department:

> **"It has always been a blot on our *abkaree* system that it had brought temptation undesirably close to every man's door."**

Keshab Chandra after enumerating in detail the harm that has been caused by the existing excise policy of the Government suggested certain remedies and urged upon the administration to enhance the duty on liquor both country-made and foreign and to impose higher rates of license fees. Keshab Chandra lamented that frequently boys of 15 or 16 years of age were found to indulge in the excesses of drinking. He took the following lines from the Convocation Report on Intemperance in England and appended to his Memorial:

> "No evil more nearly affects our national life and character and therefore no question more immediately demands the zeal of our clergy, the attention of our Statesmen, the action of our Legislature and the thoughtful aid of our philanthropists."

When Keshab Chandra was issuing pamphlets and drafting memorials and was thundering against the drink evil from the public platform, the Press of the land did not remain idle. The *Statesman* then really acted as "friend of India," which it even now poses to be, when it strongly criticised the Government in the following words:

> "Unfortunately half a century of our vile Excise laws, only now slightly modified, has deliberately taught the present and rising generation, the brutal pleasure of intoxication. Are we not as a Government and a Christian nation guilty, through the utter carelessness of our system of licensing, deliberately tempting to drink a people who but for us, would have, in this respect at least, retrained the simplicity, the innocence and the happiness of their ancestors that were an example to Christendom.?"

The other newspapers of the province such as the *Hindoo Patriot*, *Shom Prakash*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and *The Indian Daily News* joined the chorus of protest against the vice of intemperance that tried to undermine the very basis of our religious life. The movement travelled beyond the bounds of Bengal and enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of papers such as the *Indian Statesman*, *Oudh Excelsior*, *Lucknow Witness*, and the *Bombay Guardian*. *The Indian Daily News* which was run by English proprietors wrote in wrath:

> "The utter failure of the Akbaree Department may be traced to the fact that while flirting with English principles of Political Economy it has made the best of both worlds, by feeding upon and encouraging an abnormal phase of native immorality."

Another important memorial which was signed by the prominent public men of all sexes and communities, which may be termed as "an all party manifesto" by our present-day generation, was submitted to the Lieut.-Governor

of Bengal earlier in the struggle. It was signed by eminent persons such as Raja Kali Krishna Bahadoor, Raja Komal Krishna, Maharani Sharnamayee, Baboos Ramanath Tagore, Joteendra Mohun Tagore, Digumbar Mitter, and Annoda Prosad Banerjee, Pundit Ishwara Chandra Vydyasagar, Moulvi Abdool Latif Khan, Messrs. W. S. Atkinson, H. Woodrow and John Sutcliffe, Rev. J. Barton, and James Long. Testimonials testifying to the prevalence of the vice of dunkenness were also secured from Rai Rajendra Mullick Bahadoor and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Eminent physicians of the city such as Dr. B. D. Smith. M. D., Dr. T. E. Chartew, M. D., and Dr. S. G. Chuckerbutty M. D., also came forward with their manifestos and condemned the spread of intemperance.

It is interesting to note that every community joined together and condemned the excise policy of the Government. When all parties joined together in demanding the revision of the excise policy of the Government which was held mainly responsible for the growth of the intoxicating habits amongst the native population, it was a foregone conclusion that public opinion should be listened to, and respected by the Government. The correspondence that passed between the Governor-General and Lt.-Governor of the province on the point at issue throws a flood of light on the official attitude which offers a pleasant contrast to the stereotyped and hostile attitude of the officials of the present generation.[4]

It is gratifying to learn that His Excellency the Governor-General of India cordially recognised the public spirit of the gentlemen who addressed the Government on the excise administration of Bengal, and most cordially sympathised with the desire manifested for the discouragement of intemperance. He further assured the Lt.-Governor of Bengal of receiving every support of the Government of India in any measure that he might adopt for limiting the consumption of Ganja. His Excellency went so far as to say that "*if the use of drug could be altogether suppressed without the fear of leading to its contraband use, such a course would be justified.*" Had even an ounce of moderation and sympathy which was exhibited by His Excellency been shown by his successors who were at the helm of the Indian Administration, during the time of non-co-operation movement, much bloodshed and suffering might have been spared. Mr. A. Money who was at that time at the head of the excise administration of Bengal drew up a minute reviewing the excise policy of the Government. Though he admitted[5]

"that all over Bengal there is more drinking now than there was twenty years ago, and there was more twenty years ago than forty years ago, he tried to refute the allegation of Keshab Chandra Sen and termed his allegation 'as' a piece of sensational writing."

But Mr. Money was hoisted by his own petard as he had written a few years ago in his Annual Report (1870-71) "that it has always been a blot on our Abkaree system that it had brought temptation undesirably close to every man's door." After all, it was a face-saving minute. However, the necessary permission was obtained and a bill was prepared to amend Acts XXI of 1856, Act XXIII of 1860, and Act IV (B. C.) of 1866 which covered the whole of the Excise system of the Government. Though the bill did not meet all the points urged upon by the memorialists, it went a long way to put the growing evil under check. It remained for the activities of the Temperance Society and the eloquence of Keshab Chandra Sen, backed by the press of the land, to awaken the educated community to their moral senses and put any effective check on the drink evil. In the meantime the Revivalist movement had set in and the educated community, free from the vices of the drink evil, became ready to be caught in the whirlpool of Renaissance that swept over Bengal towards the close of the 19th century. Keshab Chandra Sen and his worthy associates did the spade work and freed the liberalised minds of Young Bengal from the vices of the Western civilisation and thus prepared them to receive and appreciate the "message of the new order." Therein lies the greatness of Keshab Chandra. Temperance movement under review is not an isolated and temporary movement. It should be studied in the background of the politico-religious regeneration of the last decade of the last century.

4. Letter No. 469, dated the 29th April, 1875: Government of India Financial Department.

5. Letter No. 439, dated the 22nd February, 1875, from the Government of Bengal Revenue Department (Miss Rev.).



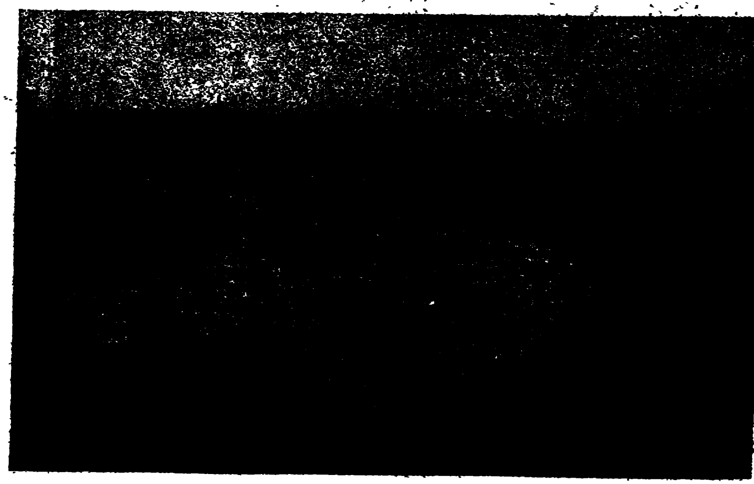
Wat Po, one of the most extensive temples in Bangkok



Scorpion-tail boat which was used in the past before the railway for conveying passengers and goods from Chiengmai to Bangkok



The floating market in Klong Mahanak, the busiest canal in Bangkok



Flooded rice fields at Petchaburi, Central Siam



Rama reaches the forest and is blessing Kevat



Exorcism

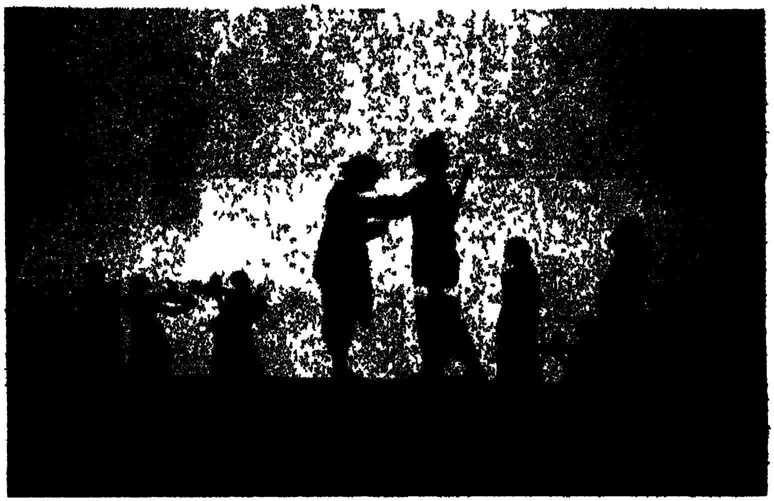
Photo: S. K. Koparkar

UDAY SHANKAR'S SHADOW PLAY

By HARIN CHATTOPADHYAYA

On Sunday, the 18th October, 1942, last day of the Puja celebrations at the Uday Shankar India Culture Centre, Ramaleela was staged as a Shadow Play before a huge audience which numbered over twenty thousand. I watched the evening come on with its twinkling stars, and the little lights of Almora, the quiet Himalayan town, beat time to them and to the hearts of the people who thronged to witness the great performance, brimming over with a reverence only matched by that which they feel when they go to see their gods. Thousands and thousands of figures, men, women and children, came winding up the steeps of the hills of Almora, living streams of unspoilt and sincere beings, their faces aglow with the thought of the immense experience they were going to have that evening. Hundreds came trudging all the way from surrounding villages, old men with wrinkles as old as the hills themselves, old women with tired bodies grown alive with the excitement of the feast promised them by the Centre which for that evening at least was nothing but a sacred shrine; little babies in arms, little growing children prattling on the way of Uday Shankar, whose name is as familiar all over this part of the country among the masses as though it were the name of one who was bringing back a lost light, the faded splendour of the gods, back to these Himalayan heights. It was for me, at least, more than a mere rich artistic experience—it was nothing short of a political one. For I felt that art, for the first time, while retaining its new inspiration was keeping pace with the modern tempo and standards of finish, was serving the purpose of filling the life of the people with rare colour and beauty thus uplifting them from merely the religious sentiment to one of cultural progress. Shankar by reviving the Ramaleela has succeeded in reaching the very heart of the people who have now begun to look up to the Centre as they look up, for a similar reason, to the Himalayas.

It was a massive shadow play. The theatre which was constructed temporarily by Shankar's uncle, a silent worker at the Centre, was in itself an achievement of no mean dimension. A giant stage, which has evolved in three successive years in size and technical qualities, stood on 140 vertical shafts planted into the ground which slopes at a sharp gradient. With a total frontage of 60 feet and an effective opening of 45 feet, it gave a depth of 40 feet and a height



Bharat-Milap

Photo · S. K Koparkar

varying from 45 in the front to 30 at the back. The natural formation of the hill itself on which the stage stood lent an air of an amphitheatre, and indeed, the acoustics which it afforded were almost perfect; it reminded me of the splendid, famous large amphitheatre in Verona where I had some years ago witnessed from the start to finish the production of a D'Annunzio play.

The technique of the shadow play has been carefully evolved on a mighty scale by Shankar; it is a technique which one can scarcely get acquainted within an hour or a day, or a month. The inner workings of a shadow play are as erratic to witness as perhaps the inner workings of a deranged brain itself. Everything is



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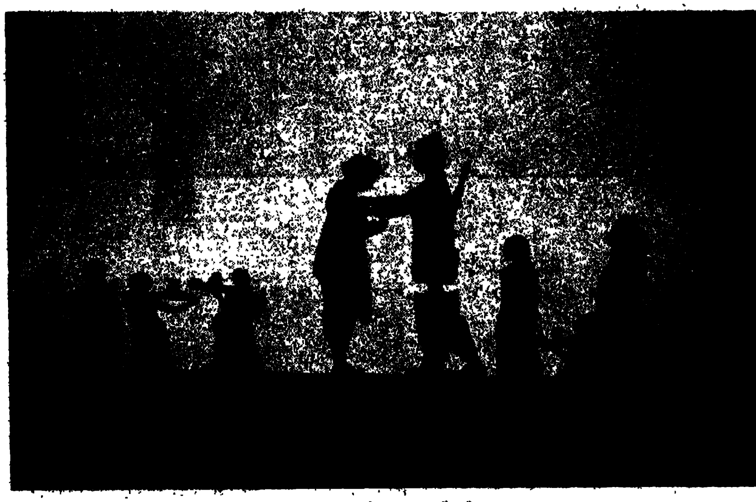
Photo : S. K. Koparkar

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topsy-turvy. But the whole affair needs sane and precise calculation without which the shadow patterns and the nuances and movements and rhythms are impossible. Shankar had to put in, all told, about nine months' work to produce his two and a half hour play. And to witness this Ramaleela, which traditionally last for days and nights the crowds came from forty and fifty miles and then trudged back all the way after the show!



Rajyabhisheka
Photo: S. K. Koparkar

The shadow play was a dream in rhythm and although the outer eyes could not see colour, the inward vision revelled in hundreds of colours that came and went as the play was in progress . . . . .the splendid city of Ayodhya, the glow on the faces of Sita and Rama and Lakshman, the passionate blush on Hanuman's tail when he burnt Lanka and set it ablaze. One saw the shadows stained from colour to colour, golds and greens and blues and purples and violets and browns and the whole range of colour that one imagines in connection with a play of the gods and the demons!

This form of shadow play is Shankar's invention and I believe that it has a capacity all its own to produce such emotions as not the theatre nor even the cinema is capable of doing. It has only just been inaugurated.

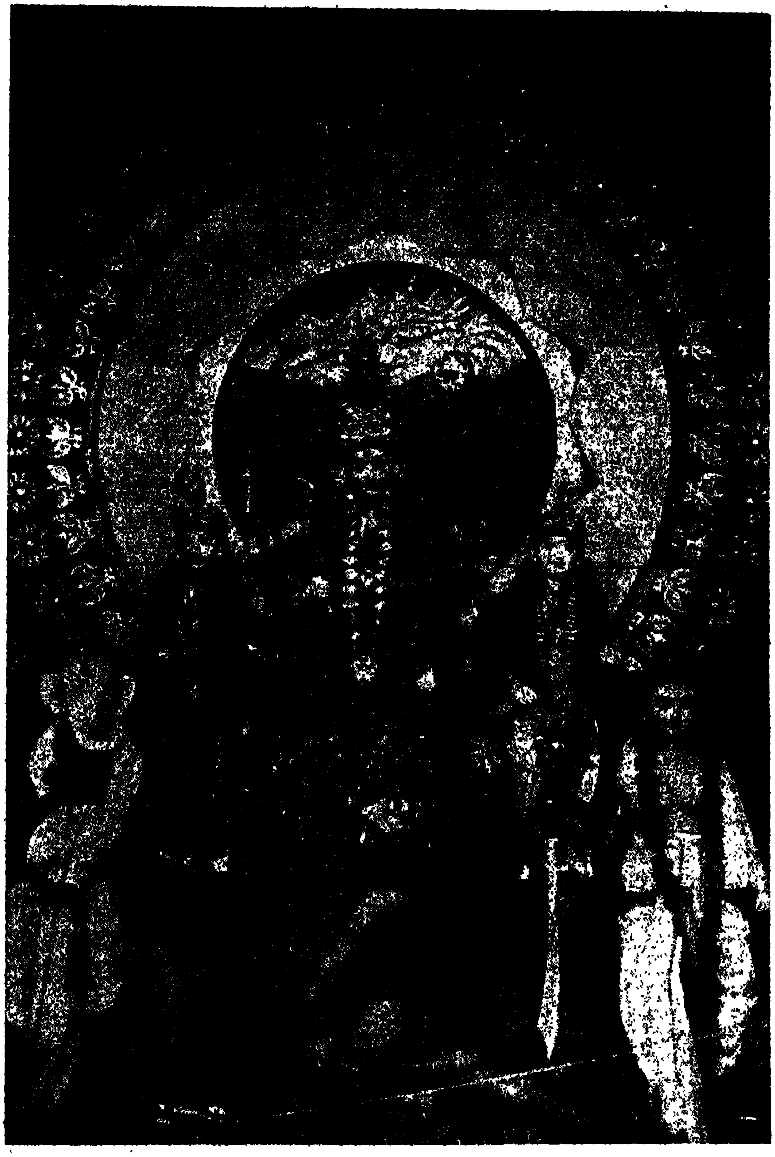
A new life is evolving with new values, a new life which shall need new media of expression. History is fluent and demands of human consciousness which is an interior process ever new and ever fluent expression in outer form and outer image. The theatre on a small scale is indeed a universe in itself. Being manipulated by a creator who is ever restless to find new forms and new ways of expressing an evergrowing life which historically analysed seems to be moving towards a deeper and deeper harmony of men and the gods. After all, the war that is waging at the present day is



Rahu and Chandra
Photo: S. K. Koparkar, Poona

the result of a disharmony between man and the light within himself; chaos is a most certain indication of a natural and inevitable necessity in evolution for spiritual re-adjustment. Post-war values will differ from pre-war values in an

unrecognisable manner, for after the war the centre of man's growth will shift from the individual human being to humanity itself. Our expressions will be large-scale ones in future; we shall have to outgrow the expression of a comfortable isolation, in which the class artists have been living cosily during the past 200 years. The canvas on which the artist will be forced to paint will be one that will stagger history itself. The song of singers shall no more be content to be considered as merely beautiful or be immortalised on a gramophone record, for it shall grow restless to wing its way along vast horizons of collective human growth. The dancer shall no more be content to "dance the gods" as though they were something aloof from men but will "dance men" as being gods themselves. The theatre under such circumstances becomes for the first time a deeply historic and spiritual centre, ceasing to be merely a superstitious and religious one. But the theatre as it exists even today has hardly the dimension to fulfil the possibility of the need of a large-scale expression of large-scale human emotion. The cinema has solved to some extent this need for greater sweeps of pattern and yet there is something missing in both these forms of expression and the reason is not far to seek. The shadow theatre as Shankar has conceived it yields the richest possibility for painting on the largest canvas of human consciousness. The large white screen, which after the shadow show still remains white, may be compared to a giant consciousness looking on, breathlessly waiting to accept multitudinous forms, psychic distances. The shadow which is the result of light, to one who sees through the eye and not with the eye, is both substance and shadow. It is amazing what worlds of psychic experience one derives while watching a shadow play staged by Shankar. The future will demand more and more psychic interpretations of the most human aspects of experience—plays dealing with the huge tragedies of men, the defeats, the efforts towards victory, their victories, life, death—all these shall ache for a new method of presentation never to be fulfilled merely by the human body in spite of all its perfection and control over rhythm and expression. There is something



Durga

Photo: S. K. Koparkar

eternal about a shadow, there is something that grips the deepest vision in us when we come face to face with a shadow which is suggestive, all the



Durga procession
Photo : S. K. Koparkar

time suggestive of the mighty drama set afloat by some hidden light behind. As such a shadow play becomes the nearest approach for an artist towards an instrument of expression fulfilling itself on an eternal plain while rooting itself firmly on the plain of substance. Shankar has done the country an immense national service not only by his dances but by this most important invention of the shadow play.

Ramleela in Shadow Play

[A talk by Dr. Panna Lall. C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Advisor to H. E. the Governor, United Provinces, at a dinner after the Shadow-Play on October 18, 1942, at the Uday Shankar India Culture Centre, at Almora.]

Friends,

We have just had a unique experience—a veritable feast of beauty. And, before we disperse, I should like to express on behalf of those of us who have come as visitors, the feeling that has been roused in our hearts. His Excellency the Governor, who saw this Ramaleela Shadow-Play last year, returned full of praises, and said that I too must see it for myself. Well, all that I can say is, what I said to Mr. Uday Shankar at the close of the performance, that I feel happy to have lived to this day to see so magnificent a work of art. It will be presumptuous for a layman like me to hold forth on its excellence or technical skill. All that I am aware of is that I sat spell-bound right through and was sorry when it came to an end, and I am sure so too felt the vast concourse of humanity that had filled this imposing Himalayan amphitheatre.

As one scene followed another with its faultless precision, I marvelled that the unassuming but distinguished-looking man, who sat by my side, so calm and unperturbed, was the wizard, who had created it all and planned its minutest details. It makes me feel proud to be an Indian today, that it is in India and by an Indian that this thing has been conceived and achieved, which anywhere in the world would attract a tremendous interest. Unfortunately such is the extent of our downfall in matters of art that many of us do not as yet fully recognise the importance and the value of the work that is being done in this Centre by Uday Shankar and his talented collaborators for the rediscovery of our capacity to understand, appreciate, and to express beautiful thoughts. This work has been so far rendered possible by the generosity of friends in foreign lands to whom India must be grateful. And, if I could broadcast to the world right now, I would say that this is something worth doing, worth cultivating and above all worth helping with our money, with our influence and sympathetic interest in other ways.

I must express our unstinted praise and thanks to the members and to the students of the Centre, who so successfully co-operated to give this beautiful experience.

I pray that Uday Shankar and his collaborators may have the strength and support to carry on this laudable effort for the revival of culture in the truest sense, and that this Centre may, by the help of us all in this and other countries, become in every way not merely the national heritage of India, but also in a larger sense the heritage of the entire world of art. Thank you.



Apsara
Photo : S. K. Koparkar, Poona

CHINESE WOMEN AND WAR

Development of Social Consciousness

By WAHIDA AZIZ

FROM the building of the Burma Road to the education of China's children, women are playing a new role in the Middle Kingdom. This is due to Madame Chiang Kai-shek's influence which, not only since the outbreak of the war but for a long time, has been tremendous. She has come to symbolise for the world Chinese womanhood.

Save for the pampered few of the wealthier classes, who have remained in Shanghai or gone abroad, Chinese women have displayed an amazing fortitude in readjusting their lives. And during the six years of war, they have developed a social consciousness which is one of the more hopeful aspects of this struggle against overwhelming odds.

In the earliest days of the war, in 1937, many were astonished to see Girl Guides and Boy Scouts, girls and boys from good families, out in the streets in constant danger helping refugees to get to hospitals or camps. Today there are supposedly 79,000 Girl Guides in China, about 3 000 of whom are on active service at the front.

VARIOUS ACTIVITIES

There are students who have moved incredible distances by all possible methods of transportation, including their own feet. They now live in barracks, some of which they have to build for themselves.

There are all the teachers, many of them women, who have moved west too, struggling to carry on their work without adequate equipment. Text-books, paper, laboratory materials especially, all are sadly lacking, but this has not discouraged them.

There is the 'propaganda' brigade whose members, many of them students in vacation time, go out through the villages to explain to the tribal-minded peasants what the war is about and why they must help. Units of this brigade usually travel by bus, which also serves as their stage.

The medical corps, too, makes use of these travelling units. Frequently, a part of their entertainment consists of instruction in bodily and household cleanliness and simple rules of hygiene. This is done dramatically with the aid of large coloured posters which have a tremendous significance.

Among the armies of China who are fighting for their land, the best are the guerillas fighting near their own homes. They are, for the most part, student groups who have acquired a national unity from their common cause.



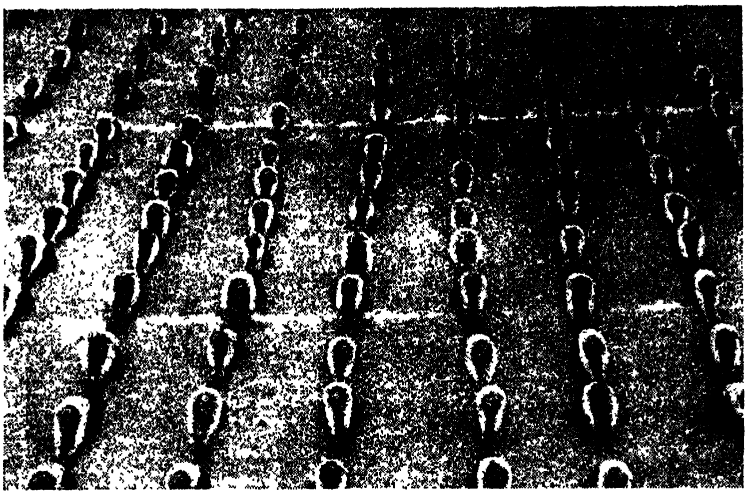
Chinese Girl Scouts distributing rice which has been donated by the American Girl Scouts to the poor and war-victims of China

Tales come from the front of these young boys and girls who have joined the political workers in urging the people to turn against the invader. One of the girls' units helped evacuate people from an area of fighting about Nanning, and then remained to incite the people to destroy the road after the withdrawal of the Chinese troops.

Student Armies

These student armies also go about helping the soldiers, persuading the people to return from hiding places in the mountains to re-taken areas, and trying to bring about closer relations between the army and the people.

Not only are they bringing much-needed knowledge to the people, they are themselves developing a sense of social responsibility previously lacking among women of their class. They have come to realise that if China survives it will be nine-tenths due to the broad and sturdy shoulders of China's peasants, men and women.



Girl Scouts doing gymnastics

There is a story about old 'Mother Chao,' the guerilla leader, who has harassed the Japanese for so long in Manchuria and North China, and who commands a swarm of 30,000 guerilla fighters in the wild hills west of Peiping. The farmers did not think a woman could know anything about fighting, and would not listen to her. So she drew her pistol and shot two out of three fleeing Japanese. The farmers decided to heed her words after all !

Amateur Exploits

Though her soldiers are amateurs, mostly students, 'Mother Chao' is sure that this is the only kind of war that can break the invaders' morale. She knows that her soldiers would be crushed in an open fight against a modern military machine, but there have been times when they have killed entire companies of Japanese.

Mother Chao is one of China's bravest women. It is said that not long ago the Japanese army offered a reward of 50,000 yen for her capture, dead or alive—preferably dead ! The last time the invaders sent an expedition against her base, they used 6000 soldiers and 50 planes. When the noise was over she crawled back into her hole laughing, for the guerillas had lost only 17 men. An elusive angel of death, she is still uncaptured, harassing all the more and fighting against the modern machine age.

Less spectacular may be the trials of the mere housewife, but they require a degree of ingenuity and patience unimaginable to those who have not experienced them. They can be summarised very simply : there is nothing, and you must do everything yourself. Food must be cooked on charcoal, and there is not enough of it for the swollen population.

Fantastic Hours

Everything for the household from beds to butter—no, not butter, that is non-existent—everything must be made, and the makers have moved out into the villages to avoid raids.

There is little plumbing of any description and what there is, is perpetually out of order due to bombings. On account of raids, marketing must be done at fantastic hours.

These and various other things are only a few examples of the difficulties that confront China's housewives. But they smile and get things done after some fashion.

The messages they send to their husbands, brothers and sons who have left for the front are always encouraging and say : 'Fight the enemy, defend our land, our children, our freedom. If need be, we will work for you day and night. When necessary, we will fight beside you.'

To the peasants and the people of the cities alike, the war has come as a passing phase and they face it with the same resignation that made living possible for their ancestors through the centuries of sudden revolt and turmoil that have made Chinese history—times when often they did not even know who ruled them.

At the Front

And strange as it may seem, the spirit has grown so intense that many women are march-

ing today on China's fronts. With shaven heads, in any sort of uniform, they train rigidly; and their regiments take their places beside the men and fight as comrades. Those too young or too old are doing magnificent work in keeping China's industries going under most difficult conditions.

The development of industrial co-operatives has been one of the most notable features in Free China. These establishments have been moved ahead of the Japanese invaders far into the interior, where they are functioning and turning out all manner of supplies, military and civil.

The workers are mostly women who manufacture 200 different products from soap to shoe-laces, and are responsible for giving square meals to thousands of orphans and war refugees who have to be fed.

The women are also providing clothes for more than 20,000 war orphans who are now housed in 49 refugee homes established by the members of their sex under the leadership of Madame Chiang Kai-shek.



After a parade the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts formed the Chinese Star

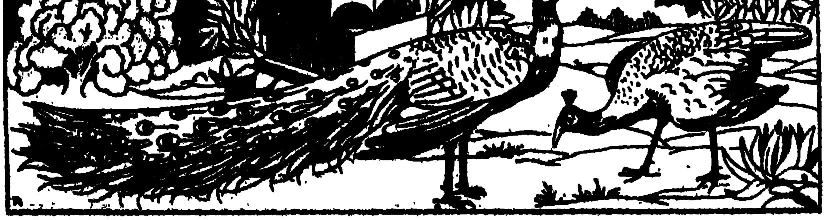
The women of few other countries in the world could have presented a more united or more powerful front than those of China. They harbour no delusions about Japan's 'Co-Prosperity Sphere.'

China's Past History

There is much in China's past to refute the theory that it can be conquered by the Japanese. The Chinese have lived in a territory which we call China for thousands of years, and throughout that period they have kept inviolate their cultural solidarity. They have on occasions been over-run by barbarians who came down from the north, but they have never been conquered. Those who have sought to rule them have been absorbed.

The Japanese remember China's past record, so even the most optimistic among them never speak of absorbing the Chinese. They know that it would not be a case of the 70,000,000 Japanese absorbing 400,000,000 Chinese, for the Japanese are in Japan—not China. It would, therefore, be a case of 500,000, or say even 1,000,000 armed men seeking to absorb 400,000,000 people who consider their own culture greater, their history more admirable, and their way of life more satisfactory than anything the Japanese have to offer.

The women of China have realised that they are as much a part of the resistance to the invader as are the men. And if China survives to win, women will be as much a part of the ultimate victory.





A Bengal village. Design for a mural

SUSHIL MUKHERJEE—AN ARTIST

By WILFRID S. LYNCH

UNDER the masterly guiding hand of Roy Chowdhury, who is far too well-famed to need introduction or praise from me, a young Bengali painter is fast developing into an artist, whose works will be known and enjoyed on more than one continent.

Sushil Kumar Mukherjee is a Brahmin, educated firstly at Ranchi College, Bihar; he went on to Patna University where he read up to Intermediate, Arts. The need to concentrate solely on his painting made Mukherjee leave the University without taking his Degree much to the surprise of his fellow under-graduates, who could not appreciate his apparent disregard for academic honours. Whilst at College and University, Mukherjee played plenty of cricket. Sushil told me the other day how greatly he enjoys cricket and the atmosphere it creates.



Wash and line sketch in Chinese ink



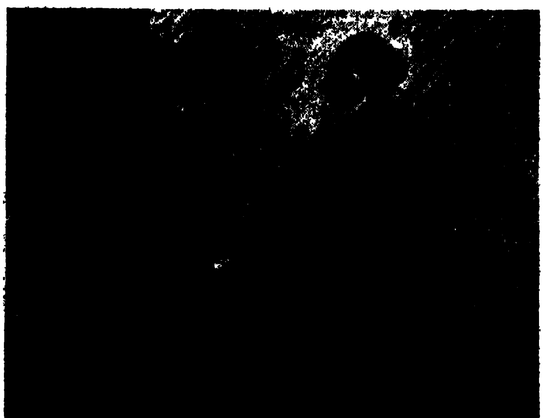
Sushil Kumar Mukherjee

His mother and maternal uncle have passed to Mukherjee their artist temperaments and ability, his mother being a musician and his maternal uncle a lover of painting. His father was an author. I know little of Indian music but I am told by good authorities that Mukherjee is an exponent of Indian music. There are no other members of the family who show artistic talent but Sushil seems well-qualified to represent them in the artistic field.



Wash and line sketch in Chinese ink

This young man urged by his desire to create, left his home to learn from D. P. Roy Chowdhury at the Madras School of Arts. Now, after imbibing the learning, technique, expression and personality of his master, Sushil Kumar Mukherjee has proved, he is deserving of the high opinion his master has of him. Mukherjee has read wisely and widely on both Indian and European Art realising as few artists do that an understanding of the works and methods of past masters is an invaluable help in attaining ease of expression of his own emotions.



The Philosopher. Water colour

As I write I have before me several of Mukherjee's paintings. Everyone of these paintings show that this young man is completely sincere, so sincere perhaps that at times he appears to be restraining himself. He sets himself out not to create an immediate effect but to tell quietly and faithfully his story.



Decoration. Water colour

Although his results are very decorative I cannot imagine Mukherjee painting without real depth of thought motifying it.

His drawings are careful and his compositions forceful and in this the influence of Chowdhury is most evident. In spite of the fact that his use of colours is very fine, I get the impression that as yet he is a little afraid of using them boldly if the subject calls for it—new influences and a few more years will remedy this fault if indeed fault it is. Again a melancholy strain vibrates throughout his works but with new experience the range of emotions with which he will deal can be greatly expanded.

"Dancing girls" is a well-composed work

dealing with two court dancers in the evening resting on a verandah The subject is treated surprisingly powerfully for so young an artist. He has used his colours sparingly but with fine effect



Dancers resting Water colour

"The Philosopher" is a very different subject, the treatment of which is, as Mr Stanley Jackson pointed out to me, greatly influenced by Whistler's portrait of his mother Mukherjee has by no means aped Whistler but used his own "impressionistic devices" with great effect



Brahmi Radhika Design for a mural

I like Mukherjee in this mood and hope he gives us more works like the "Philosopher." "The Poet" shows originality and rythmatic composition, I cannot help being greatly affected by the depth of feeling in this painting just as I am impressed by the perspective which gives a sense of height and vastness increasing the intenseness of the subject rather than detracting from it as might easily have happened

Mukherjee has achieved by the building up of tones and centering of light on his principal figure a really beautiful decorative piece in his "Wedding Procession of the Princess."

An unusual work "A Bengali Village" is worthy of note as it shows an unusual treatment and an original use of subdued colour in a way I have never seen employed by another painter.

Mukherjee as a man is modest but self-assured; his aims and views are definite but he is anxious always to hear and profit by the opinion of others. A most unusual virtue in an artist, a virtue which Mukherjee has, is for the artist to listen to constructive criticism of his works without immediately setting out on a long plea of self-justification. As a lover of all forms of artistic works, I have seen in England and on the Continent of Europe many paintings and their painters. I have lived among them in the atmosphere in which they work; I have seen paintings without technique, without soul, without design, without sense of colour and above all without sincerity. Not one of Mukherjee's works is as these.

In the course of conversation, I asked Sushil which was the factor playing the greatest part in his self-expression. His reply was definite—Colour. From there I lead him on to say that without perspective but not without design, colour could express the emotions or ideas of the artist and thence to the logical conclusion that "Surrealism" is a fake.

Much more could be written of this young artist and his achievements, undoubtedly much more will be written.

All who see his works will realise how far he has already got and what a fine future lies ahead of him. Soon the great artist Chowdhury will have given to the world of Art another scion from the tree of beauty.



The princess and the parrot. Water colour

EVACUATION AND RURAL BETTERMENT

By L. M. CHITALE, F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I.

Chartered Architect and Town Planning Consultant, Madras.

EVACUATION and urban life have now become inseparable. The total war has added to city life this new danger. As long as aerial attacks remain a possibility so long will the inhabitants of crowded cities must remain prepared to quit their homes and possessions at very short notice and face the consequences. This is the lesson of recent history. Every city threatened by the air arm sent out as many of the civilian population as possible. India, too, had its experience lately.

Modern cities constitute the danger spots of national defence and they can no longer assure security to citizens in times of war. Both the people and Governments realise with Herbert Morrison that "absence from the scene of danger is the best protection of all." Citizens flee for safety to villages; Governments move to the interior; and business houses to the outskirts of cities; all this with no small sacrifice, discomfort and dislocation.

The grave consequences of evacuation have become apparent not merely in the battered West, but in India too. That this is fraught with grave consequences to the nation is evident from the careful observations and studies made by expert authorities in Great Britain, whose evacuation scheme, costing £36,000 a day, was hailed as the best possible experiment ever put into practice. Within four months of operation, the position revealed was as follows :—

"Husbands have been parted from wives, children from parents. Domestic privacy has been invaded. Urban and rural ways of life have been brought into sharp conflict. The educational system has been temporarily reduced to a shamble and a great strain has been placed upon Local Government authorities in areas which have received a great influx of population."

The setback to education has been considered the greatest disadvantage to the children of the present generation. The dangers of ignorance and indiscipline, it has been pointed out, are more serious than the risk of being killed or maimed by enemy bomb.

The harm evacuation can cause to a nation can only be assessed after sometime, but whatever is now apparent is sufficiently grave. Stated summarily, on its personal side, evacuation results in the distraction of home life on an unprecedented scale: the separation of parents from the children and of husbands from wives. On its commercial side, it leads to an exodus of banks, insurance offices and other undertakings to unsuitable residential buildings in the suburbs which must inevitably have detrimental economic consequences. In regard to dispersal of the Government offices, it leads to inconvenience to officials and pressure and strain upon localities seclected for reception.

Under these circumstances, voluntary dispersal fails to achieve permanent success and no wonder, the evacuees returned back to London and other vulnerable cities within a short period. They would rather risk air-raids than face the problems, social, psychological and economic, given birth to by the separation and the new environment for which they are misfits. Even in India, within the last few weeks, the difficul-

ties of evacuees have become so prominent as to invite the attention of authorities and local bodies. The abnormal rise in rent in areas flooded by the citizens, the inadequacy of water, sanitary facilities, medical aid, etc., the trouble of securing suitable accommodation, have drawn the attention of Government. In one city, where the Government advised evacuation of non-essential population, women and children returned a week after the scare.

There is no knowing, for how long the threat of aerial bombardment would continue for our cities. The evacuees will inevitably return, complicating the task of Government. Even in Great Britain, where accommodation in private homes was available for 5 million people according to surveys carried out before the great evacuation, many camps of a semi-permanent type were erected. The committee of the association of architects, surveyors and technical assistants carefully studied this problem and their report presented an overwhelming case for the creation of special buildings for evacuation, including schools. They are considered absolutely essential on health, education and moral grounds and their absence a sure cause of collapse of schemes of evacuation.

In India for very much less expenditure, semi-permanent structures could be erected at convenient spots within the access of cities which would make evacuation effective and harmless. These structures would not become valueless after the war like defence constructional measures but would serve a great social and educational need in that town. Children could, in summer, spend a part of their term time in these fully equipped camps. Local Authorities, Insurance Companies and Co-operative Building Societies could be induced to invest part of their capital which could be recovered from holiday-makers and others in the post-war period. Such camps could develop small industries catering to the cities and might even be made self-supporting.

These post-war holiday resorts could be gradually developed into townships, residential estates, educational centres, sanatoria, etc., so as to bring about effective dispersal of our urban population over the land and such a gradual transformation so as to give India the correct balance of urban and rural interests. This could easily be brought about if only this task is assigned to an expert body, who could visualise and plan a new India through the camps of today.

The advantages of such a scheme are far more than what is apparent. Not merely will they help the citizens to be safe with the minimum of dislocation during the present emergency, but will in the most effective fashion lead to the improvement of the countryside, which all of us desire. It will enrich rural life which is very badly needed : it will relieve urban congestion, it will restore the broken links between town and country, and establish the lost balance between agriculture and industry. Even in Great Britain such a programme is expected to

"end that lack of sympathy between town and country which the present scheme has exposed"

This can enrich rural life and at the same time, broaden that of the town; this can keep our children in safety by measures of defence that will not only protect from attack but would give lasting benefits.

The Fabian Society, after careful examination, feel that to make evacuation a complete success the social pattern of the countryside has to be re-fashioned in a relatively stable direction. A well-designed experiment in social reform would leave the country a heritage of camp schools, village halls and clubs nursery, hostels and the like, such as it had never before enjoyed. Permanent links could be established between urban and rural community. A sense of values of right feeding, of air and sunshine, of child nurture and of social enterprise could be carried to half the homes of the land.

A well-designed scheme worked out by an expert body could achieve considerable economics and a healthy national growth with the aid of these permanent structures by securing permanent decentralisation of population and production. This will end to a large extent the need for evacuation whenever national security is threatened.

Permanent camps will further supply the ladder back to land which will surmount the artificial barrier that at present divides town and country. This is necessary to check

"the inverted snobbery of an educational system that thinks only in urban terms and regards the urban calling as the natural goal of the bright boys in school."

The land wants the bright boys and the problem is a simple one of education and apprenticeship, increased opportunity, better rural housing and modern amenities. Conjoint with these steps, are required educational and propaganda drives to unite the farmers and win over the townsmen and especially the 'hard core' of industrialists to what is in effect a reversal of modern economic policy.

Students of rural economy in India would realise that such schemes would check the drain of men and resources from rural to urban areas and arrest the pace of impoverishment of rural India by diverting the flow of men and resources of Indian cities back to land. Village betterment is possible only if enterprise and resources are directed from urban to rural centres and if enlightened interest in rural welfare is made possible to those responsible for governing the country who generally reside in towns by frequent contact between the two. Evacuation schemes can be successfully harnessed to this purpose and rural betterment will automatically follow. A wonderful opportunity has now presented itself for all those interested in rural welfare. The development departments of the Provincial Governments have now an ideal time to concentrate and carry out experiments in their respective fields and rural reconstruction associations could offer their valuable help in making such experiments a success.

It is high time we relieve urban areas of the congestion, overcrowding and their consequent evils and develop garden cities and satellite towns which would free citizens from dust, noise, smoke, etc. Many attractive places abound all over the country which could serve as reception centres for the present and the ideal townships of to-morrow. Seaside resorts, pilgrim centres, market centres and healthy areas fit for sanatoria could be selected. Suitable structures—not like one room tenements which are in evidence in urban life—but fit to suit Indian conditions surrounded by vegetable gardens, poultry farms, dairies and play grounds, as well as cooking accommodation are needed. A school for the children of the surrounding area could be built.

We should, however, remember that these camps should be in small units away from the main roads to prevent urban development and to be less vulnerable to air attacks. Adequate provision should also be made for safety, for marketing and for transport. Sites should be chosen with care since they have to be future townships. The Development departments of Government could arrange periodic demonstrations to bring home to the people new ideas and improvements. Such centres could be developed so as to supply protective food and other requisites for adjoining cities and herein lies the "Open Sesame" for rural regeneration.

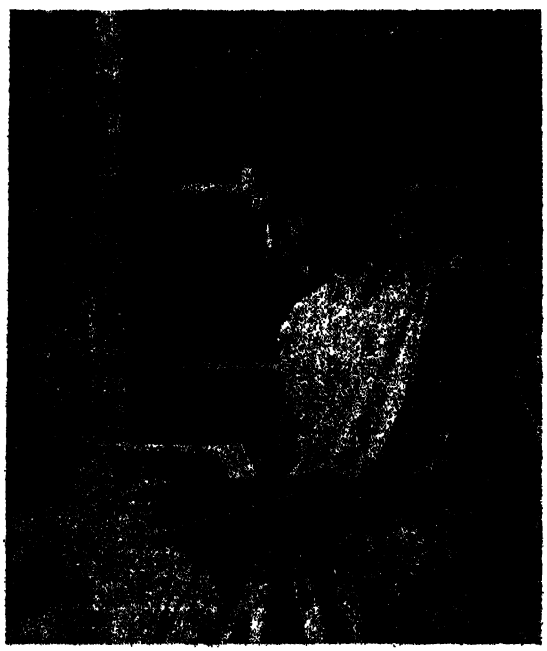
Every cloud has a silver lining and if the present emergency is taken advantage of to bring about the regeneration of rural India the recent air threat to our cities would not have been in vain.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

An Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate, dated 18th Dec., 1942

"50. Considered reports from Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A. and Prof. Radhakamal Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. on the result of their adjudication of the thesis entitled 'Banga Sahitye Gram' (Village in Bengali Literature), submitted for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts for the year 1942 by a candidate under the motto *Rus in Urbe*.

Resolved—That the report be adopted and that the prize be awarded to Sreemati Kamala Devi, M.A."



Sreemati Kamala Devi

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

The Soviet Winter offensive of this year as yet seems to be of a more formidable nature than that of last year. The planning has been done with great care and the assumption of the initiative by the Soviets' forces succeeded in surprising the German high command both with regard to its suddenness as with the momentum behind the preliminary thrusts. Although the campaign seems to be conducted with limited objectives, the primary goal being that of freeing the Caucasus from the threat of occupation that is looming above it now, the conduction of the various moves is being carried out with the maximum of force seen hitherto in winter warfare. The most extraordinary part of the present campaign has been the Soviets' organisation of transport and supply which has overcome the almost paralysing difficulty of the lack of communications and the exceptionally peculiar character of the terrain which is unsuited for heavy vehicular traffic in the absence of main roads which were all blocked by the Nazi winter defence scheme. The German high command is reputed to have made elaborate preparations for this winter in order to avoid field campaigns during the terrible climatic handicaps of the Russian winter. How the Soviets overcame all these difficulties seem to be a mystery to the Allied war-commentators, and there can be no doubt that the breaking up of the Germanic defence lines in the south are mainly due to the failure of these handicaps from clogging up the Russian offensive as the Germans must have expected it to do.

The Soviet programme is evidently now entering into the second phase. The first one, that of cutting up the German lines of communication, has been achieved within three months of the first major break-through. The first fruits of this winter campaign in themselves are of considerable magnitude entailing as it does of three great successes, that of cutting a corridor through the siege lines round Leningrad, the rolling back of the German forces in the foot-hills of North Causasus, and the liquidation of the German forces at Stalingrad. This last victory has put finish to the Nazi plans in the Don bend with a vengeance. Nowhere in this war has the Axis had to face a debacle comparable with it.

But all the same it must not be forgotten that a heavy price is being paid for these triumphs in men and material. Everywhere the German resistance has been extremely tough and if the Russians have been able to break it time and again, it is only due to the ferocity, magnitude of forces and determination behind the Soviets' counter-offensive, which makes no reckoning of costs. In short, the methods adopted in driving home these large-scale thrusts indicate that the Russians are going all-out in this winter campaign. If it succeeds, it will succeed in the fullest measure, indicating a complete turn in the tide. If it fails—there is no use in reckoning up the costs of failure.

In North Africa, the British Eighth Army has achieved the first major success for the Allied arms. The capture of Tripoli and the driving out of Rommel's army from Libya constitute a triumph in mechanised warfare on a major-scale, such as has not been achieved before by British arms. Though not comparable with the campaigns in Russia, either in magnitude or in intensity of the struggle, it most certainly is a good beginning, and the year 1943 seems to be of good portent for the Allies in North Africa. The job is not finished as yet, and in Tunisia a good deal of hard-fighting may be expected in the near future.

On the Indo-Burmese frontier, there is hardly much to report. The terrain is unsuited for quick drives on a large-scale and the preliminaries to a counter-offensive in Burma seem to be arduous. The progress is extremely slow in consequence. There are still three months and more of campaigning weather in Lower Burma, after which the monsoons would considerably complicate matters.

In China, there seems to be a lull, so far as can be judged from the daily press. What is exactly happening there is a mystery to us, for it is hardly possible that the Japanese are reconciling themselves to a stalemate for the present.

In the Solomons a new American drive seems to be maturing although the Japanese

have not stopped attempting to throw out the U. S. A. force that is consolidating its hold in and about Guadalcanar. Not much has happened in the seas around those islands of late, which seems to indicate that neither side is ready to enter into a major show-down in that locality.

The Papuan campaign has ended with complete success for the forces under General MacArthur. The campaign that has just come to a close is a minor one, the only important factor in it being the trying-out of Allied co-ordination in arms. The task that lies ahead of General MacArthur, in the South Pacific and in the Indian Ocean, is colossal in magnitude and only a very, very small beginning can be said to have been made. The great thing about this beginning is, however, that it has been successfully carried out, without any setbacks.

The Allied plans of campaign have again been discussed, by two of the major partners, this time on newly won ground, namely, Casablanca. Nothing but the very vaguest details have been given out of what transpired at this meeting, and the world will wait to see what is the concrete outcome of this conference between Anglo-American Chiefs. M. Stalin could not attend the meeting due to the nature of fighting that is now going on in Russia and apparently he did not send out anyone to deputise for him. It will not be correct to infer anything much from this absence but it does show that M. Stalin attaches more importance to the pressing needs of the Present rather than to the plan for the Future. We on our part do hope that these plans were for the year 1943, and not for 1944.

In India there is nothing much to report, though it is to be hoped that a return to good sense will not be long delayed, as time is—as it always has been in this war—*definitely against the United Nations.*

DECORATION OF THE HOME

By Mrs. C. DEVANANDAN

Decoration is the art of beautifying anything. It comes natural to most people. Have you ever noticed that people decorate everything that comes into their hands? The mason makes patterns with stones while the house is being built; the potter scratches lines and dots on his earthen vessels; the weaver weaves patterns with coloured strands in his cloth; women decorate themselves with jewels and flowers in their hair, and in many other ways human beings find expression to their sense of beauty by decoration.

"These are arts," says a master craftsman, William Morris, "by means of which men have at all times, more or less, striven to beautify the familiar matters of every day life." The house we dwell in is perhaps the most familiar matter of every day life, and we generally set out to beautify it that it may give pleasure and joy. A deep truth is expressed by the old refrain, 'There's no place like home'; and this becomes an absolute truth when the home is made a place for rest, enjoyment and beauty. A house is livable when it has comfort, restfulness, colour-harmony or pleasing colour-contrast, that is, when it has charm, life and personality. Some people think that a good deal of money is needed for home decoration, and therefore the man with moderate or low income cannot attempt it. No doubt it needs money to decorate a house tastefully, but we can avoid wasteful expense if the housewife plans carefully and goes about it leisurely.

Now, of what does home decoration consist? It is simply a matter of the arrangement of colour, line and form. I limit myself to interior decoration, and it is here that the real problem begins for the home-maker. Combination of colour and arrangement are the most important factors in home-decoration, provided the house is kept clean. Colours speak a language. There are the warm colours of red and orange to give warmth. Red is brilliant, life-giving but used incorrectly it is aggressive and irritating. Yellow is light-giving, signifying cheer, light and happiness. Blue is formal and dignified, cool and peaceful. Orange signifies light and heat or a combination of the language of red and yellow. Green typifies coolness and light, a combination of yellow and blue. Violet or purple is mystery since it combines qualities of heat and cold or red and blue. One would do

well to study the colours and their combination before one sets out to do any decorating at all.

If the walls are colour-washed, the home-maker is bound to choose the colours that combine when the carpets, curtains, cushions, coloured furniture, etc., are thought of. One cannot lay down regular rules and say what colour may and may not be placed together. Nature is a good guide and teaches us excellently well, if only we have an observant eye.

In considering the colour scheme for a room, think first of the house as a whole. You do not want abrupt changes as you step from room to room. On the other hand, you do not want monotonous repetition. One room may have cream, crimson and federal blue colouring Another may have cream and federal blue with accents of crimson......same colour scheme but different amounts of colour. In small homes or in rooms that open into one another a more restful and spacious effect is gained if one colour, possibly in different degrees of intensity, is used as a foundation. There is nothing so magical in its effect as colour. A room may be lifeless, uninteresting and then by the addition of a pillow or two in just the right colour, by the slip covering of a piece of furniture, by the re-lacquering of a picture-frame the room may spring to life.

Pictures add a great deal to the decoration of the home. Pictures of well-known artists mounted properly and hung at right heights in appropriate rooms, one cannot easily forget. When pictures are hung at all heights, when water colour, print, oil-painting and chromes are all mixed up on the same wall, there is not much restfulness Fashions in pictures change somewhat as the years go by; but good arrangement remains permanently with us. Pictures should be hung so that the centre of interest is on the level eye of the average person. Pictures may be hung in groups or paired but not arranged in step-fashion. Pictures may be hung with no cord or wire showing or hung with two cords extending in parallel lines from the picture moulding or cornice.

Every well-planned living room has its furniture grouped in units, such as conversational unit, reading unit, writing unit or a sewing unit, if necessary. There should be good traffic arrangement. If tables or chairs or lamps are placed where people bump their shins or tip over them, then the furniture needs to be re-arranged.

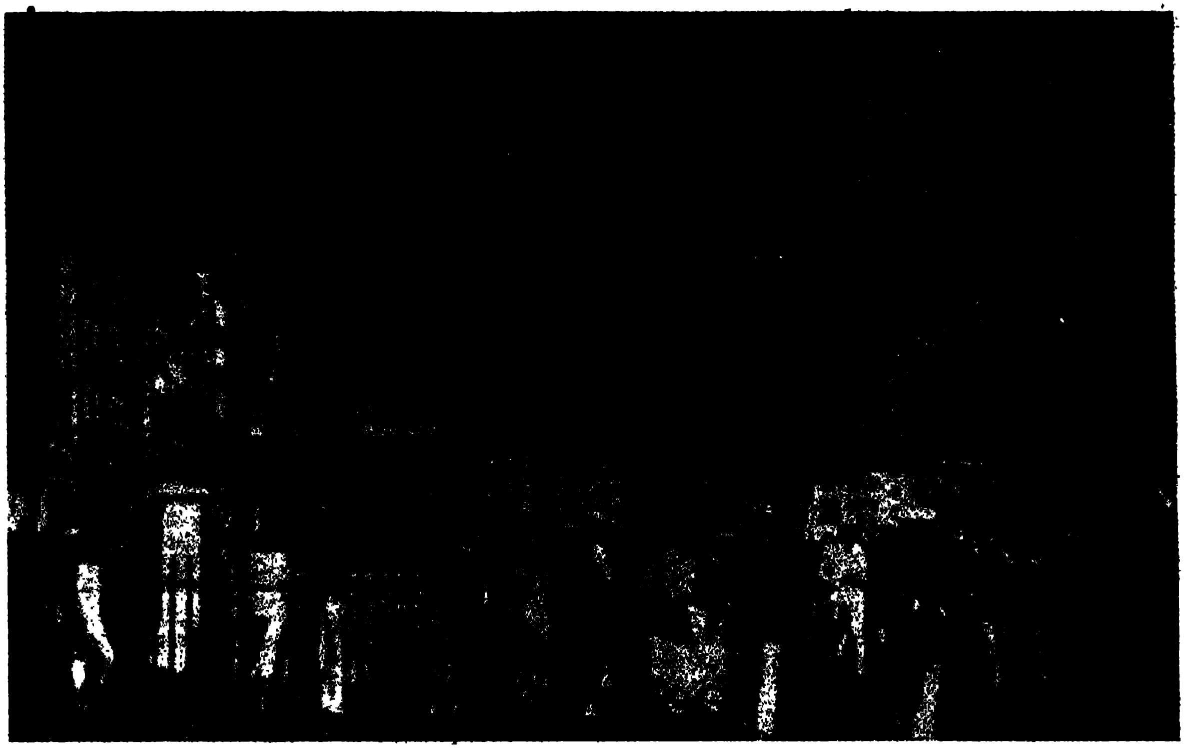
Besides curtains, hangings and cushions to match, we may decorate the home with vases containing beautiful, fresh flowers from the garden. Vases very often express the personality of its maker and give life and cheer to the room. We must take care that no faded flowers are left in the vases. Fresh flowers rearranged every day brighten up every room apt to be dreary and lonesome. Just as colour, flowers also speak a language of their own. "Follow nature" and there to the observant eye the clue comes easily as to what colours to mix and what not to mix.

There is a good deal to be said for good flower arrangement. One often comes across vases crowded with flowers just peeping out, arranged anyway. This disturbs, rather than pleases the eye Flower arrangement is an art in itself and has to be learnt by constant and patient practice as the Japanese do. The custom of decorating the house with paper flowers should be discouraged. Often they are left for months or years with the result they shine with accumulated dust and cobweb.

In India, a good deal of decoration of the house is done with brass, silver or gold vessels. Whether silver or brass, let them be kept clean and polished so that they shine brightly. There is nothing more pleasing to the eye than to find a house clean, dusted and all its brass and silver vessels shining bright. At the same time may one take care that not too many things are left about the room so that they become a real hindrance cumbering up the place. When everything possible is done as we have outlined we say that the house is tastefully decorated. Remember that anything out of place is dirt.

So far I have described homes having money to spend on decoration. What about the middle class or poor homes? A house well cleaned, with no dust or cobweb and the few belongings, specially the brass vessels brightly shining and having their place neatly arranged and the surroundings kept clean, tells exactly the same story as that of a well-furnished home. It is the pride and joy of the family. There are beautiful earthen vessels, not very expensive that can be used for keeping flowers. Every one can have a little garden of their own and grow flowers in it. Bordered sarees, swadeshi ones which are rather inexpensive, make very fine material for curtains and hangings giving various colour combinations that one requires. To an intelligent, artistic mind everything becomes a thing of beauty and joy for ever and we echo with Keats:

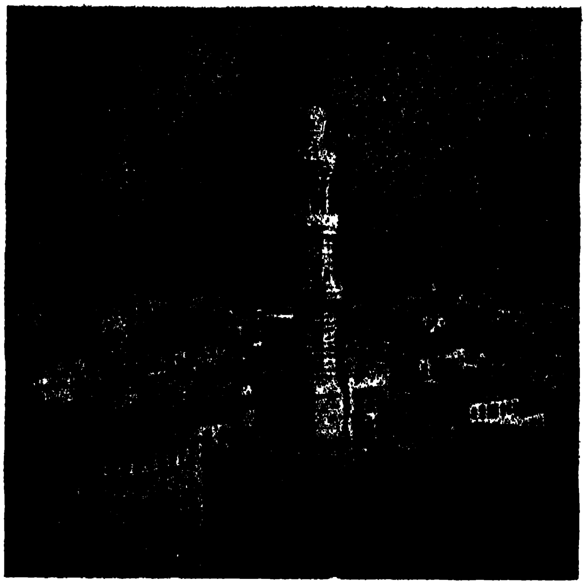
"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever."



Toulon, the place where the destruction of the French navy took place



A view of Malta which is now almost freed from the threats of Axis occupation



Cairo, the headquarters of the Eighth Army



A typical Wadi of the eastern desert, Upper Egypt



Alexandria

SHELLEY AND NON-VIOLENCE OR AHIMSA

By Diwan Bahadur T. BHUJANGA RAO, M.A., B.L.

The great apostle of non-violence in India has often quoted the following lines from Shelley's poem, *The Mask of Anarchy*:

> Let them ride among you there,
> Slash, and stab, and maim and hew,
> What they like, that let them do.
>
> With folded arms and steady eyes,
> And little fear and less surprise,
> Look upon them as they slay
> Till their rage has died away.

These lines were addressed by the poet to the "Men of England" soon after the Peterloo massacre of the year 1819 when a large gathering of men, women and children, assembled peacefully in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, to demand a reform of Parliament, was mercilessly charged by the military under the orders of a nervous and foolish magistracy and dispersed, leaving more than 600 persons lying dead and wounded on the ground. The reform of Parliament was overdue and came in 1832. But a helpless and unoffending crowd had to meet death before the reform could come.

To understand the full significance of the above lines, one has to take them along with the last lines of the poem:

> Rise like Lions after slumber
> In unvanquishable number—
> Shake your chains to earth like dew
> Which in sleep had fallen on you—
> Ye are many—they are few.

At first sight it might look as if these last lines were a call for an armed insurrection on the part of the people against the myrmidons of a tyrannical administration. But Shelley was no advocate of violence. He was addressing a united, manly and brave people with traditions of freedom and democracy, and asked them to realise their strength and the cruel humiliation inflicted on the nation but to meet the offenders non-violently. Love is the silken cord binding the universe; and Shelley asked the men of England to act with love in their hearts and forgiveness towards the offenders. It was the non-resistance of the strong that he taught.

This teaching has long been known to Indians as the teaching of *Ahimsa*. It teaches, not the supine non-resistance of the weak, but the non-resistance of the strong due to the outpouring of love. Swami Vivekananda, no disciple of Tolstoi or Thoreau, said of *Ahimsa*, long before Gandhiji, as follows:

> "Buddha gave up his throne and renounced his position, that was true renunciation; but there can not be any question of renunciation in the case of a beggar who has nothing to renounce. So, we must always be careful about what we really mean when we speak of this non-resistance and ideal love. We must first take care to understand whether we have the power of resistance or not. Then, *having the power* (italics mine), if we renounce it and do not resist, we are doing a great act of love."—*Lectures on Karma Yoga*.

How, it may be asked, did Shelley come to preach this doctrine of *Ahimsa* of far-off India? It was by the transformation, or rather the sublimation, by him of the doctrine of Necessity imbibed by him in his youth from Godwin.

It is needless to say much about Godwin's theory of Necessity. In his *Political Justice*, edition of 1793, Godwin wrote as follows:

> "If we form a just and complete view of all the circumstances in which a living or intelligent being is placed, we shall find that he could not, in any moment of his existence, have acted otherwise than he has acted."

From this Godwin drew the inference that we should not "entertain resentment, indignation and anger against those who fall into the commission of vice." Shelley imbibed this teaching and taught it in his earlier poems. In *Queen Mab*, written in his 18th year, Shelley deified Necessity and wrote thus:

> Necessity, thou mother of the world!
> Unlike the God of human error, thou
> Requirest no prayers or praises.

It may here be incidentally mentioned that the above doctrine of Necessity should not be confounded with Fatalism. A fatalist believes that certain main points in the chain of events of a man's life are pre-ordained but would concede free will to man with regard to the intermediate points. But the Necessitarian believes that the whole chain of events, and every link in the chain, is pre-ordained and follows the universal law of causation. Thus, a fatalist may blame a judge for committing him to the gallows for the commission of murder, because, according to the contention of the

fatalist, the murder was done under inner compulsion and he had no choice of action. But it is not open to the Necessitarian to blame the judge, for, if the murder was done as an act of necessity, the judge's order was also passed as an act of necessity. As Leslie Stephen says in his *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, with reference to this doctrine of Necessity:

> "Like an atmosphere pressing equally in all directions, it leaves the previous equilibrium unaltered."

By denying free will to man, it saps the foundations of morality and makes a mechanized automaton of man.

But Shelley soon outgrew this soul-less jejune creed. In reaction from the Calvinistic theology which prevailed in his time and which, according to Shelley, spoke of a 'jealous' anthropomorphic Deity wielding thunderbolts and lightning and ordaining the 'reprobation' of the greater part of mankind, Shelley began to conceive of God as the God of Love pervading the universe and said:

> The Spirit of the worm beneath the sod
> In love and worship blends itself with God.
>
> —*Epipsychidion*

Again, addressing the Spirit of Love, he wrote:

> Thou art the wine whose drunkenness is all
> We can desire, O Love! . . . .
> Thou art the radiance which where ocean rolls
> Investeth it; and when the heavens are blue
> *Thou fillest them.—Prince Athanase.*

He was also profoundly affected by the teaching of love and suffering in the New Testament with its narration of the crucified Christ. As a result he conceived of the highest duty of man as being to forgive his enemies and act through love. This, in fact, is the main teaching of his masterpiece, *Prometheus Unbound.* Prometheus was a Titan and a god. By befriending the human race, he offended Zeus, who had him chained to the rocks in the Indian Caucasus where the Furies sent by the tyrant inflicted cruel tortures on Prometheus, including the nailing of him to a cross. But, being a god, Prometheus knew his strength; he could not be killed. At first unable to bear the tortures, Prometheus cursed Zeus, saying there would come an hour when Zeus would fall from his seat in heaven through boundless space and time. But later, Prometheus felt sorry for the curse, saying:

> It doth repent me: words are quick and vain;
> Grief for a while is blind, and so was mine,
> I wish no living thing to suffer pain.

The curse of a god, however, can not go in vain. The hour struck; and down went Zeus into the abyss, dragged by Demogorgon, the Greek *Yama*, the embodiment of the principle of Justice.

In regard to this teaching of Shelley and indeed in regard to the Hindu doctrine of *Ahimsa*, one may ask, "Is not life sacred? Is it not the duty of man to save his own life when attacked by a cruel foe? Is not this duty higher even than the principle of loving one's enemy?" Shelley gives the answer thus in the final address of Demogorgon to Prometheus:

> To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
> To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
> To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
> To love and bear—
> This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
> Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
> This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory.

The goal of life is to attain that state of spirituality which would exercise love towards all, even towards enemies. It is possible that, by or during the exercise of our love, the enemy may be converted and may repent; or, it is possible that retributive justice may overtake him in the shape of a Demogorgon. But, in our exercise of love, even if our bodies are slain, what does it matter when the goal of earthly life has been achieved and life everlasting has been secured?

It is undeniable that this doctrine of love is too heavenly a regimen for ordinary mortals. It is said of Confucius that, recognising this, when asked by a disciple whether it was not his duty to return good for evil, Confucius said:

> "If you return good for evil, with what will you recompense good? Recompense good with good, and evil with justice."

So far as Hinduism is concerned, while prescribing *Ahimsa* as the duty of the spiritually advanced men who have universal love in their hearts, Hinduism recognises the fact of men being in various evolutionary stages and prescribes different duties for different classes of men. The teaching of Hinduism is thus briefly put by Swami Vivekananda:

> "Our duty is to encourage everyone in his struggle to live up to his own highest ideal, and strive at the same time to make the ideal as near as possible to the truth."

This may in a sense be called a compromise of the highest truth; but it is inevitable in the present stage of the evolution of the human race. In fact, the greatest advocates of the principles of non-violence and love have been found to

commit themselves to action involving a compromise of those high principles. Has it not been said of Gandhiji that he gave up his pacifism recently to defeat the aggressive ends of Japan ? And Shelley too was prepared for a similar compromise. A biographer (H. S. Salt), quoting a passage from Shelley, writes of Shelley :

"He did not disguise his belief that if the aristocracy and plutocracy set themselves stubbornly against the introduction of reforms, a forcible remedy would be justifiable."

Thus do the limitations of man force themselves even on those who may be justifiably classed amongst idealists and visionaries.

SUKANTA

By MANINDRALAL BOSE

(A Short Story translated by Sreemati Lila Ray)

Who would have thought that the last pages of this notebook would stay blank ? I have been going through it the whole morning. The latest chemical formulas, the history of the newest theories, notes from American and German scientific magazines, what an amount of information it contains ! This chemical research worker's notebook is the record of my youth's endeavour. Every page is replete with my dreams and joys and strivings. Well, it's over, done; all the dreaming, all the trying, have come to an end.

The doctor tells me repeatedly, "Sukanta Babu, you ought not to brood over those notebooks. They only depress you more. Your temperature will rise instead of going down.'

But he does not tell them to take these books and notebooks away. He knows death has given me notice; perhaps I can derive a little satisfaction from them during my last few days. I turn over the pages. Sometimes my eyes like weary birds alight in the middle of one and rest quietly. Sometimes page after page goes by.

If I had had another year to work on this experiment I might have been able to discover a new element or law. And the new easy way of obtaining sulphuric acid I thought of—that worked. Yesterday in a German magazine I read where one of their scientists was trying for that very thing. The German magazines came in the last mail. How pleased I was ! Our intellectual link with Germany was destroyed in the fire of the last war. Now once again a narrow bridge of intercourse has spanned the river of blood. For several days I have done nothing but read these magazines. How happy it made me to see that a couple of Berlin scientists, driven by the war and working day and night, have made some of the experiments I had planned to do. They got results too. News that a scientific worker anywhere, no matter where, has succeeded in discovering something fills me with joy.

There still remains so much in so many fields to investigate. Ways of making useful things more cheaply and more easily must be thought out every day. I filled this manuscript with outlines of long and difficult researches but the work was scarcely begun when the command to stop came.

The scientists of the West received with acclaim the theses I sent. Is it anything to be proud of ? If I had been able to work perhaps I could have done something that no scientist anywhere has yet thought of. Yes, I know everything will be tried eventually but I might have indicated the right way to do something before others.

Well, it's over. I have no regrets. My hand has tired writing these two pages. My chest is weary with coughing; my ribs are full of pain. The pain is rising into my chest again and if I cough now there will be blood

The red main road is directly beneath my window. In the morning pilgrims to the temple of Baidyanath take this road. In the evening Bengali children in their bright clothes pass on their way to the Dharoya river and back. Descending from the lap of the mountains, passing through forests of *sal*, crossing mountain streams and rocky plains, the road comes to this town. It wends its way through the bazaar, past the temple, and below the shops into the open fields where it stretches out one arm toward Nondon Hill while the other, like the thirsty throat of a crane, goes down to the Dharoya. There a thin silver thread of water flows across the golden sand. Pausing, after its long journeying, to drink the silver water the road leaps up past the fields of sugarcane and then races along beside the railway line to the station. Watching the road my days pass, nights come, nights pass, days come.

I lie and gaze at this straight and open road, the open fields, the open mountains, brimming with the noon sunlight. How beautiful ! What a pure blue the sky is ! Not a speck of even the whitest cloud ! Days can pass looking at it; there is no surfeit. In this enchanting light one can weave dreams, dreaming throughout the day, entranced. I am drinking myself full of the beauty of the earth. Never before have I had time to look at the sky or at the land. I spent my days among the gaseous smells of the laboratory, in the light of a Bunsen burner, with test tubes, in the kingdom of acids and salts. And the nights as well Many are the nights that have passed studying the Chemical Journals of other countries.

Holiday, I have been given a lifetime holiday from all experimenting and study. The day I received death's notice my holiday began. I have been set free in this scent-filled, beauty-filled, delight-filled world. So I stare at this arid, stony plain with its bare Nondon

Hill and black rocks. In Bengal one feels that the earth is really a mother with a mother's rich resources and stintless giving. How well-watered, how fertile she is! How full and divine a beauty is hers! But looking at Chotonagpur one sees her as an emaciated ascetic wearing matted hair and an ochre robe. In the intensity of her striving the very earth has been burnt into stone. Still my eyes seek and gather wherever they can find it the meagre and miserly beauty that remains.

Across the road is a small golden paddy field. Beside it on higher land is a smaller field of yellow mustard. Next to it on still higher land is a green clump of bamboo on a little mound. A white-breasted kite flies by my window. My eyes follow his half-black, half-white wings to the end of the sky where the black head of the mountain and the long leaves of a datepalm are drawn on the blue background.

I have been lying here as quietly as that hill for the last ten days, day after night, night after day. How hushed it is at noon, like a bright night! The empty house next door is hushed also with its shuttered doors and windows. All is still.

My eyes begin to close. Sundry noises come to me. A dove coos plaintively on the roof of the silent house. Several sparrows whirr away. A wasp enters my room and buzzes round, dashing repeatedly against the window panes. Rattling the doors and windows of the neighbouring house a gust of wind circles upward noisily. A pair of pigeons that have built their nest in a corner of the roof awake and call.

I gaze hungrily at the light in the sky and on the earth.

I scribble all this haphazardly without the desire or the strength to write connectedly. The stainless blue sky is like the unflinching gaze of serene blue eyes. A flock of egrets, white as milk, wheel round and round as though hypnotised. They have disappeared. Like them, flocks of thoughts drift about in the sky of my mind and are suddenly gone. My mind is as clear as that sky, without a trace of sorrow or concern. All effort, all worry are over and done with. I await death.

It is as if someone else seated in my mind were spinning spiders' webs of words that tear when I try to catch them in writing. I did not use to have this distressing habit. It must be that my illness has weakened and disordered my nerves.

I am watching the red road. A hired carriage in a cloud of dust is coming this way. The coachman's worn whip hisses and snaps above the skinny black horses. Trunks, baskets, bundles and bedding are crowded on the top of the carriage. Hanging their heads out of the window a little boy and girl look happily about them. Above the rattling of the carriage rises their sweet laughter. The carriage stops in front of the empty house next door. A young man is the first to alight, then an old man holding the arm of a young girl. Afterwards the little boy and girl. Behind them another carriage pulls up. Their Brahmin cook, another servant and the caretaker begin to call and shout to each other as the luggage thuds down. Through it all the smiles of the children.

The road is growing dark. Bengali girls are chatting as they pass. The one in a lavender sari says to the other who wears a red one from Benares, "My dear, it took you ten minutes to climb Nondon Hill. I did it in five." A younger girl in a blue sari cuts in with raillery. There is argument and laughter.

When they come here Bengali girls forget to keep their heads covered with their saris. Under this liberal sky they come out of their kitchens, leave their pots and pans, and are free. As I have been freed from the laboratory. Like a tiger which, intoxicated with his first taste of human blood, greedily stalks more, these girls, tasting freedom for the first time, try to appropriate the entire freedom of the whole outdoors. Their faces are indiscernible in the darkness of the street but their words reach me. How far they walked, where they have been and similar talk. Walking is for me a thing of the past. I lie here quietly. Their talk of walking satisfies

The empty house has filled with people. I can hear all sorts of sounds from my bed. I seem to have passed from the world of movement into the world of sound. Every little noise has a special mysterious meaning for me. From the eastern window of my room on the second storey one can see into the kitchen and one room on the first floor of the neighbouring house. In this room the young girl has arranged her books upon a table and made it her own.

Her kitchen fire sings a song that is very sweet to me. I never noticed the rhythm of fire when I used to boil acid in a flask over gas. This morning she was cooking something special for her ailing and elderly father. The whole process was musical. Her bracelets kept time with their tinkling to the boiling of the water, the sputtering of the oil and the bubbling of the curry. I watched the care with which she sliced the vegetables and ground the spices. How pleased she was when the curry was done to her liking! The kitchen might have been a temple. She seemed to be worshipping her father with offerings to the fire.

What thoughts come to me when I look at her dainty room! I am surprised at myself and ashamed. A woman's world is completely unknown to me. Apart from a few words at mealtime I scarcely ever spoke to my mother, aunts and sisters at home. I never associated with women outside the family. I have heard that the reading of novels, plays and poetry gives one an insight into the hearts of women but that was not for me either. I never quite understood poetry. I have returned many a novel after reading only a couple of pages. But if I knew how to arrange the words that are filling my head today perhaps it would be poetry. Surely my illness has affected my brain; I am growing very sentimental.

But her room is really very pretty. It is full of charm even though the furniture is carelessly placed and her table untidily cluttered up with notebooks and books, comb, mirror, inkwell, matches, and a box of biscuits. A young woman has nested there and her look, her scent and her voice fill the whole place.

The chink of tea cups, footsteps, whisperings, what a variety of sounds! I can not hear all that is said but the melody of her speech reaches me. The hum of conversation floats up. Sometimes in annoyance, sometimes in rebuke, sometimes in merry laughter: "Father, why did you stay so long? O, the caretaker again declares he will not touch bread! Dada* will never get back from the market. He must have stopped to chat with someone. What do you want, Khuki?† Another biscuit? But it's time for lunch now. All right, go and get one from the tin. Bulu, be a good little brother and go take your bath. Rub yourself with oil first! Thakur,

* Dada: elder brother's affectionate title.

† Khuki: affectionate name for a little girl.

have you finished your cooking? Move over, I must get Father's *jhol* done quickly."

I have found out today how sweet the ordinary words we use day and night can be. It seems a greater discovery than all my scientific ones.

I have been listening to their chatter all afternoon. "Deedee,‡ Deedee dear, won't you be going out? Deedee, where is my blue sari? Deedlee dear, you must come for a walk. Wear your pink sari. Minee's sister wears the nicest saris. . . ."

"Khuku, stop it. Bulu, put on your socks like a good boy. You may walk across the Dharoya bridge."

"Deedee, what shall I cook for supper?"

"O, the vegetables are all ready for you. Thakur, how can we fry *luchis* with so little ghee? Dada will never wake up. Dada, O Dada .. Khuku, bring me some water, please."

* * * *

Yesterday afternoon Satish came to see me. We went to school together, parting at the crossroads of school and college. We met again after ten years. He brought back my childhood to me. We talked long of old students and teachers. In the midst of our conversation I said, "Satish, sing me a song. I remember your singing at a Prize Distribution. I liked it very much."

"I don't know very much about singing, but my sister does," he answered. "I'll bring her over tomorrow."

"Please don't trouble her," I protested.

"It's no trouble at all," he said, "She will be glad to come. You are all alone and so ill."

* * * *

Satish brought his sister over yesterday. I have never associated with women outside the family and know nothing of etiquette. I have no idea how, according to Brahmo Samaj usage, one ought to receive a young unmarried woman. I was afraid, at first, that she would think me rude. I was apprehensive lest I ask or say something in bad taste. That is why I told Satish not to bother.

As she entered the room I lifted my folded hands in a *namashkar*. She acknowledged it with a nod and began talking easily, without the slightest hesitation. Surprisingly I found it easy too. With simple small talk she learned all about me in a few minutes. How long I have been ill, which doctors have been consulted, what opinion they express and what treatment I am receiving. Satish remarked laughingly that when she heard she was to come to see me, his sister had borrowed a book on tuberculosis from a friend who was a doctor's daughter and spent the noon studying it. The girl blushed. Abruptly stopping the conversation she declared that perhaps they had made me talk too much as it was for complete rest was essential. Satish said naughtily, "In a single day with a single book you have become a doctor."

"O Dada," she exclaimed, "don't be silly!" hesitating a little she went on. "Dada says you like music. I do not sing very well. I wonder whether you will like it." She spoke without conceit.

"You need not be afraid to sing to me," I said, "I can count on my fingers the number of times in my life I have heard anyone sing."

‡ Deedee : affectionate title for elder sister; feminine equivalent of Dada.

With a gentle smile she said, "But ought you not to ask the doctor? Music might constitute 'excitement'."

"Come on and sing!" Satish interrupted, "Forget your medical book." I said nothing. Surely she understood what I tried to tell her with my eyes when she looked at my worn dark face. Why the doctor again? The time to break my bowl of life has come long before it was full. Pour a little of the honey of your song into it for me.

Sweetening the rosy evening light she sat beside my window and sang song after song. Once I said that I did not understand what all of them meant. "It is the melody that matters," how delightfully she laughed, "The words are for singing, not for explaining. What if you don't understand them all? Do I?"

It struck half past seven. Stars had filled the sky. Bringing the last song quickly to an end she jumped up. "It is time for father's supper," she said, "I must go now. Dada, you stay."

"Come over now and then . . ." I said slowly.

"Of course I will," she said, "but you really must ask the doctor." She left us hurriedly. I keep thinking I ought to have said something more, thanked her . . . and . . . . ! But polite conventional phrases did not occur to me then.

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It is five. She will be coming soon. She did not come here to sing to a tuberculosis patient; she came for a change. Why should she waste her afternoons with me? Yet I know for sure that she will come.

* * *

I have been too preoccupied to write these last few days. She comes over every afternoon. Satish as well. The bright evenings are beautiful and gay with song and talk.

The house next door is alive with music now. She breaks into song in the midst of her work, suddenly. She is as a fountain of song. She sings as she comes from the kitchen after giving an order to the cook. She hums as she pours the tea or dresses the little girl. Khuku beats time with her. She sings as she unties the mosquito net, dusts and rearranges the book on the table "In the month of Bhadra clouds fill the sky. . . ." In the profuse light of the clear morning this song of the rainy season in the cloud-darkened and rain-swept Meghmollar raga is particularly lovely. There is no sorrow or longing in it. I feel my temple is complete, my heart brimming.

What is the light that flares up in her bright eyes when occasionally mine rest on hers? Is it the light of love or of pity?

Beautiful? That I do not know. I never did any research in feminine beauty. All that I can say is that she is nice, very nice and I like her very much indeed. I would like to look at her and talk with her a long, long time.

Last night she was telling her father about me I heard some of what was said.

"He is very ill, father."

"Hasn't coming here helped him any?"

"He is a little better. The temperature used to stay around 101°. A few days after we came it went down to a hundred. Yesterday it was ninety-nine. He is very fond of music."

"Well, whenever you find time, dear, go and sing to him but don't sit too near."

"You need not worry about that, father. At first he did not want us in the same room at all. Then he

insisted that we sit in the farthest corner near the window. He is so lonely."

* * *

I have not noticed how many days have passed. When I did nothing but lie and watch the light and the sky the hours used to go by reluctantly like a flock of weary birds propelling their tired wings ever so silently and softly. Now the hours dance by, hand in hand, with melody in their mouths. Every moment is a cup spilling over with honey.

Two doors in our two hearts have opened wide to each other, giving perfect freedom of access and egress. There is nothing of which we hesitate to speak. During the day she comes at all hours, a hundred times, to tell me something or read aloud from a newspaper or a book. There is less singing. My room is open day and night. Her windows used to be closed at night. They are no longer. She rises early and, coming to the window that faces mine, asks with a smile how long and how well I have slept. She does not even comb her hair first. Late at night after the servants have eaten and she has seen to the locking of the doors and the shutting of the windows in her father's and the little girl's rooms she comes to her window and stands looking toward mine a long while. Sometimes she asks if I am asleep. If I answer she says, "Then go to sleep now." During the day also, pausing in the midst of her work, she comes to the window to ask what I am reading, what I am doing, whether I have eaten. She is so straightforward and simple in her speech!

But she does not speak to me from the kitchen window. Why? She delights in cooking for her ailing father. Perhaps she would like to cook something for me also and, sorry that she cannot, feels diffident about speaking of it to me. But perhaps all this is pure imagination on my part. Still it is nice to think such things.

I am gazing at the dawn sky; nature is a beautiful woman.

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We had a long conversation yesterday afternoon. Satish is so glad that I am getting better. Jokingly he remarked to his sister, "You ought to open a sanatorium here. There must be a miraculous power in your voice if it can cure tuberculosis." The girl said nothing but blushed violently. I wondered whose the credit was—the song's, the singer's or the hearer's. Satish said that the doctor was amazed at such improvement in a case of galloping consumption. From now on I am to get up and out a little. He is making arrangements. Even I have begun to hope that I might live. When I surrendered the helm an angel came and caught hold of it; my boat may dock yet, I may yet stay anchored in the harbour of this beautiful world! I really would like very much to live. It seems to me that a great deal besides only chemical research remains undone. How much charm the earth has! And the beauty of woman, too, moves me deeply.

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Whether I live or not I have no regrets. Everything is so full of such an exquisite joy! I do not understand my state of mind. I never felt like this before. Whatever I see, whatever I hear, whatever I think, makes me happy. Sometimes I wonder whether it is not delirium due to an ailing mind. Such beauty there is—in that bird, that tree, those rocks, those people! It is all so delightful! When she comes and sits in my room not a doubt remains.

Lying in bed I wonder what she is doing. Whether she is cooking for her father, dusting his room, bathing the little girl, sewing buttons on the little boy's shirt, reading, or thinking of dropping in to see me.

* * * *

When I awaken in the middle of the night the stillness is such I imagine that I can hear the beating of the heart of the world. But that beating is in my own breast. A war is in progress there between the forces of life and the germs of tuberculosis. Who will win or when this beating will stop finally one cannot say. I stare at the window. Another breast, a breast full of love and pity, is beating there in that other room. May it keep on and on, year after year! The stars seem so close. It is almost as though they rested about my head in a wreath of light.

* * * *

A guest has come to their house, a young man. Satish told me that he had just come back from America where he studied agriculture. He is now trying for a government post. Satish said jokingly that without America's soil, the water of the Mississippi and the American climate he would not be able to grow anything. It seems that there is a proposal that he marry the girl

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The fever is rising again; I am able to eat less. The doctor left the room with a grave face.

There was quarrelling in the house next door yesterday. I was the cause of it. The young man complained to the old father about the girl. He said it was unhealthy for her to visit a t. b. patient the way she did, nor ought they to live next door to one. The old man quitely began to explain to him what care I take that the germs should not get abroad. She was in the next room helping the little boy with his arithmetic. The subject was no sooner broached than she stormed in. I did not know that such a simple sweet child hid so much spirit in her. In a flaming voice she declared that her father knew all about it. He knew that she came to sing to me. The young man himself had been told that she talked to me from her window. Her father was not so decrepit that he was unaware of any danger there might be. After that words cut back and forth. The distressed voice of the old father, the rough voice of the young man and the burning voice of the girl . . . . after a little the young man angrily left the room.

Really, she is at fault. She does not pay the least attention to their guest. He would like her to go out with him in the afternoon but she comes to visit me instead. The other day I protested that she was being unfair. She merely gave me a sweet smile.

* * * *

I had planned to get out a little on the maidan in front of the house but the doctor has forbidden it. For the last three days my temperature has been much higher. The music of the house next door seems very much off tune. She no longer breaks spontaneously into carefree song as she goes about her work. She comes to the window not more than once or twice.

And she comes over to see me only once a day as if under compulsion.

* * * *

The young man left yesterday evening. She is smiling again. Today she was here the whole noon. How we talked! Like a little girl hearing fairy tales she listens to stories of scientific discoveries and to the new and ever newer dreams that scientists dream. Today I was explaining to her how from coal, scent as well as tar can be made. She laughed and said I need not make up so much. When I asked her to bring the book about it from my almirah she gave in and said she would believe me. And when I speak of my unfinished experiments her eyes shine with tears. I like that.

The day and night are full of song. At night, after her tasks are done, she sits beside her window and plays on the sitar. The starry watches of the night fill with music—how many such nights have I had in my life? How many will I have?

* * * *

Since early morning there has been great commotion in the house next door. They are leaving today.

Last night after supper Satish and his sister came over. We talked till very late. Satish and I did most of the talking. She sat silently in a corner. With a smile I said to her, "Sing me one last song. I shall not hear another. Let me hear my life's last song." Any other day my speaking in that strain would have angered her and she would have contradicted me. Last night she said nothing and sang in a strained voice. I asked her if she had caught cold. She answered slowly. "I don't know. My voice seems to have got hoarse." As they left she said, "You must write to Dada regularly and let us know how you are. It will be most unfair if you are lazy about it. You will get well surely and when you come to Calcutta I shall be angry if you do not come to see us."

I answered lightly, "You will get my letters for a little while. Then no more."

"Why?" she asked.

"Because there is no mail service between here and there," I said. She dropped her head and quietly left the room.

She stood beside her window gazing towards mine far into the night. When it struck twelve I remarked, "You will get a chill. Your voice is hoarse already."

"You are still awake?" slowly she moved away.

Unhesitatingly I have spoken of much but one thing I have been unable to say. I have been on the verge of doing so many times but I cannot decide whether it is true or not. As I look towards that house I wonder if I might not yet say it, there is time. I love. Is it really love? Of the nature of the feeling, of its kind, I am ignorant. I do not know whether I love her or not. But might I not tell her, "I have liked you exceedingly. The look in your eyes, the skill of your hands and your voice have given me great happiness?"

I had worked out two possible plots for my life. The first was, after taking my M. Sc. degree here and a Ph. D. from some German University, to become either a professor or a chemist in some manufacturing concern. I planned to devote my life to the seeking of new paths and the making of new experiments. The second possibility was to die of t. b. like my mother. It is being realised. Nowhere in either scheme of things was there a place for this girl. Unanticipated she came to me from nowhere. How can she go away? How can it be that she is going away? I have never thought much about marriage. At home there was no one to urge me to marry. The fear of infecting a family with t. b. also drove me to repress the thought. Who knows what will happen if I tell her? The idea keeps pricking at me like a thorn. But the right to marry is not mine. I know it very well. So the words on the tip of my tongue remain unspoken. Yet I wonder if I might not tell her; there is still time. She will be coming now. I remember hearing of a Brahmo girl who, when the boy she loved was taken with t. b., insisted upon marrying him just the same and succeeded in curing him with her devoted care. I also was getting better, my temperature had dropped considerably. Given her love and her care I can get well. But there is that young man from America. He has health, money and a bright future.

Perhaps I have misunderstood the whole thing. With my weakening sight I have seen only my dreams. All the singing and all the talk—perhaps it is only the conventional polite code of the Brahmos. Perhaps they treat everyone the same way, as one of themselves. What if I am wrong? If being wrong has brought me a little happiness during my last days why should I correct my mistake?

* * * *

The hired carriage, piled with luggage, went away down the red road in front of the house. Khuku and Bulu hung out of the window and waved their handkerchiefs. I also waved to them. Getting into the carriage she said with a pale smile, "In the rush I could not come to see you again. Don't forget to write to Dada." Satish also said something but I did not catch it. Sending the red dust flying the carriage rolled away. Khuku and Bulu kept looking back at my house but she stared towards the maidan. I had expected her to find a minute for me sometime during the morning. When the packing was finished and they had had their meal I saw her start to come over. And I heard her footstep on the stair as well. Half-way up the sound of it grew soft, then it ceased and a little later, softer still, it died away altogether. Afterwards I watched her returning whence she came. She did not look up at my window. Burying her face in her handkerchief she turned her head away, towards the paddy field.

The carriage disappeared down the road, like a little bird against the sky.

* * * *

The house next door is again hushed. The music has ceased. Occasionally a breeze laughs through it. A bit of plaster falling, a door shaking, a window rattling. As though all the strings of a sitar had snapped save one that trembles feebly.

* * * *

Lines of songs and scraps of melody have been going round and round in my head all day. On the roof of the house next door a dove coos and is silent. A bee buzzes into my room. Though all the doors and windows are open it does not seem able to find its way out. Hurling itself against the ceiling and walls it comes back again and again.

* * * *

I remember a line, "Forgive my weariness, O Lord!

Lord, forgive me my pain. I have done what life gave me to do, for my failures forgive me."

I am again looking through the laboratory notebooks; if only I could think out a new theory or something. It is no longer a pleasure to go through them.

* * * *

It is the eleventh night of the waxing moon. She read Omar Khayyam aloud to me; today I spent the entire noon rereading the book. Reading it again and again has fixed one stanza in my mind:—

"Ah, Love! could thou and I with Fate conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits—and then
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire."

Today I know for certain that my liking for her was love.

* * * *

Who would have thought the last pages of this notebook would be filled like this? I have spent the morning turning over its pages. I no longer like to do so. Leave it, it is done. She came into my life like the beautiful Usha, goddess of Dawn; my dream of dawn is over! At the end of life when its five acts are finished the curtain of death falls. In these five acts woman appears in five guises—as mother she gives us loving birth, as sister she plays with us in our childhood, as sweetheart she builds an attractive home for us in our youth, as daughter she climbs into our lap, as an aging woman she holds the worn rope of life's battered boat and pulls it toward the ghat of the Living.

As a child I lost my mother of this same disease; the only sister I ever had died when a baby. Youth's act is scarcely begun but death's curtain is about to fall. I myself know it very well and yesterday the doctor also, as he went down the stairs, whispered, "There is no hope."

I do not know whether or as what I shall be born again. I do not know whether it will be as a human or not. I do not know what the soul is. I only know that everything in creation is immortal, no one can lose anything or take anything or receive anything. There is only change from one form to another. I remember in first year chemistry when our dyspeptic professor lectured us for three solid hours on the Law of Conservation of Dalton we still did not understand it. Today that law seems so simple, so easy to understand, so true; solids, liquids, gases, earth, water, air each becoming the other. Nothing is wasted or lost, each has so many shapes!

If I am born again in this world as a human I would ever so much like that she and I be born in the same family as brother and sister. She would be the companion of all the play, study, music and chatter of my childhood.

* * * *

The light of the evening seems as pitiful as the light in the eyes of a dying bird. The paddy across the road has been harvested. In the empty field lies a white egret with its head tucked under it.

Sometimes I would like very much to write her a letter, just a line, "I liked you very much." But no, I have no right to let her know how I feel about anything. The memory of my illness is scratched lightly on her heart. A few days more and my life will be over. That scratch also will slowly disappear. I will not deepen it into a lasting scar. I do not wish to pain anyone.

May you be happy, may you be blessed, may your home be full of joy!

I am myself neither rebellious or hurt. What has happened here with her seems like a story. God, the Cosmic Artist, alone knows why he writes stories in the lives of all of us in events and their repercussions and by joining life to life. And he knows why this particular plot has ended this way. I cannot figure it out.

* * * *

I am unable to sleep at night. As I watch the shining islands of innumerable stars that fill the blue sea of the sky, again and again I seem to hear death calling me. He whispers that he will take me from planet to planet, from star to star. Down the fire-strewn path of nebulae we will pass on the journey without an end. Reverently circling Mars, passing Jupiter, surmounting Saturn with his belt of fire, beyond Uranus, leaving Neptune behind us we will go to the infinite region of stars!

All through the night in all the sounds that come to me, in the soughing of the trees, in the trembling of the house next door, he has asked me again and again, "Where will you go?" He has called me with the eyes of the stars, "Come, come!" At dawn the stars faded away one by one and the sun, like a golden baby, was born into the lap of the radiant Usha. The heavens filled with sparkling light.

Now the flawless blue sky is overflowing with light. A phrase from one of her songs, full of this same early morning splendour, is sounding in my heart—"More light, pour more light into my eyes, O Lord!" But with my failing sight I cannot face such strong light. It is so bright my eyes seem about to burst. The light of the day waxes as the light of my eyes wanes. O, I know it. I can no longer write; I no longer want to write. Let my eyes burst, let me burst, into light.

[Translated by Sreemati Lila Ray from *Maya-puri*, a collection of Bengali short stories.]

IS THE INDIAN PROBLEM A DOMESTIC ISSUE OF BRITAIN?

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

During the last few months the increasing gravity of the Indian problem attracted the attention of the world. Although the spokesmen of the British Government tried their best to create an impression that India was enthusiastically co-operating with war efforts, it was probably felt in other countries that the unsatisfied political aspirations of the Indians constituted serious obstacle in the path of the United Nations. In the recent India debate in the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire, Under-Secretary of State for India, argued that a policy of concessions to India might lead to a reduction of war efforts. The implications of this strange statement were probably elucidated by Lord Crewe, who observed that "it was not impossible that they (*i. e.* Indians) would be more than willing to bargain with Japan even at the cost of an inferior position in Asia if it would mean complete severance with all European ties." Fortunately such arguments have not met with unanimous acceptance in allied countries. In his article on the Cripps Mission published in the *New York Nation* Louis Fischer observes:

"It is clear from the negotiations on the defence formula that the Indians wished to do more for the defence of their country than the British were ready to allow them to do. Gandhi's pacifism did not enter into it. Azad, Nehru, Rajagopalachari and other Congress leaders are not pacifists, and Gandhi knows it. They wanted to fight the war. Instead, they were told they could run the canteens, print forms, and conduct economic warfare."

It seems clear that the United States and China were convinced, even before the August Resolution of the Congress, that the Indian problem should be solved to the satisfaction of the Indians in order to secure their whole-hearted co-operation with the war efforts of the United Nations. The secret history of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's visit to India and his conversations with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is not yet known to the public. The activities of Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's emissary in India, are less mysterious. It is well-known that he acted as an intermediary in certain stages of the Cripps negotiations. Louis Fischer says in the article referred to above:

"Throughout the month of February, 1942, watching Japan advance in the Far East, President Roosevelt had taken a lively interest in the Indian question, and when the British Cabinet finally decided to send the Cripps Mission to India, the White House dispatched to Churchill a proposal for the solution of the Indian problem. President Roosevelt followed every step of the Cripps negotiations, and when the break came on April 9, he tried to persuade Churchill to keep Cripps in India and resume the talks. But Cripps did not stay."

The incidents of August last naturally intensified world interest in India. How could India be expected to exert herself fully against the Axis if serious disturbances, involving the dislocation of communications broke out in every province? The American Government issued a statement, declaring that American troops in India would take no part in the suppression of these disturbances. President Roosevelt naturally remained silent, but the American public became uneasy. It was widely felt that the suppression of the disturbances was not enough; something positive had to be done. The British Government left no stone unturned to convince America that there was nothing wrong with war efforts in India. Lord Halifax and Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai were reinforced by mighty stalwarts like Mr. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps. The result was not very satisfactory. Complaints were publicly made by British statesmen and newspapers that America was uneasy about the Indian issue.

In India there was a natural attempt to utilise this opportunity. Before his arrest Mahatma Gandhi dispatched two letters to President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. It was not an invitation for direct intervention. Mahatmaji wanted to clear his attitude towards the Axis and to offer a definite reply to the charge repeated *ad nauseam* in England that independent India would make terms with Japan. The Hindu Mahasabha invited Mr. Willkie to visit India and, on his refusal, decided to send Missions to America and China. The Friends of the Soviet Union decided to send a Goodwill Mission to Russia.

The feeling that the Governments of U. S. A. and China should intervene in the Indian issue and provide a satisfactory solution of the deadlock, was not confined to India. Sometime ago, Mr. Bertrand Russell spoke over the American Radio on the Indian question and suggested the setting up of a Commission consisting of representatives from the U. S. A., England, Russia and China for the settlement of this crisis. Pearl Buck, the famous American novelist and Nobel Prize winner, declared that the United Nations should proclaim this war as a 'war for freedom for all alike, regardless of race and religion,' and give it practical application by extending inde-

pendence to India. Some leading prelates of America expressed the view that the troubles in India 'retarded the victory of the United Nations' and requested President Roosevelt to mediate on the Indian question.

Britain, however, is not prepared to admit outside intervention in a 'domestic question.' Mr. Amery observed in an interview broadcast on the North American Service of the B. B. C. that, 'from long experience' Britain knew 'the limits of what can be done by intervention in what is now essentially a matter for Indians to settle for themselves.' A far more specific statement was made by the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, a member of the War Cabinet. The following is an extract from the *Sunday Express* (London), October 11, 1942:

> "The Jam Saheb, who . . . believes in hard-hitting and plain-speaking, denounced as foolish and dangerous the suggestion made in some quarters both in India and this country that the United States should be asked to mediate between Great Britain and the Congress. 'Britain and India have been members of the same family for 200 years,' he said. 'We have had our disputes, but they concern us alone and not outsiders.'"
>
> "I have also heard it argued that either Stalin or Chiang Kai-shek should be asked to intervene. Some Indians may support this suggestion . . . but three Indians out of four would reject it. The British Empire must settle its own problems without outside assistance or intervention."

It is useless to observe that, from the ethnological point of view, Britain and India do not belong to the same 'family.' Nor is it necessary to tell the Jam Saheb that 200 years have not yet elapsed since the establishment of the British Empire in India. But we may enquire whether 'disputes' between these two members of the 'family' are really local issues 'concerning us alone and not outsiders.'

It is admitted by Britain that the defence of Inlia is so intimately connected with the anti-Axis operations that it is no longer a local problem. Mr. Amery has recently observed, ". . . the defence of India is so intimately linked up with the defence of the Middle East, of Persia and Ceylon, and with the relief of China, and depends so largely on British ships, British aeroplanes, and British troops, not to speak today of American and Chinese forces, that Britain cannot divest himself of the ultimate responsibility for its conduct." If Britain must control India because British ships, aeroplanes and troops contribute to Indian defence, why should America and China be denied that privilege? It is no secret that the Chinese troops and American aeroplanes played a large part in the Burma campaign. It is well-known that at the present moment India is garrisoned largely by American troops. During the recent Japanese air raids in north-eastern Assam the burden of defence fell, probably exclusively, on the American air force. If Britain cannot defend all the members of her 'family' without 'outside assistance,' she must be prepared to tolerate 'outside intervention' in her 'own problems.'

There is evidence to show that Britain tolerates 'outside intervention' in military matters. Recently Mr. Edgar Granville, an independent member who is a frequent critic of Mr. Churchill's Government, asked Mr. Attlee whether "there is any regular consultations with the United Nations on the defence of India." Mr. Attlee replied, "There is full consultation." Why should Britain refuse to extend to political matters this policy of 'full consultation' on military problems, at a time when the solution of the political problem is an essential preliminary to the intensification of war efforts?

Theoretically it is difficult to treat India as a mere member of Britain's household. She has some sort of an international status, although it is not possible to be quite definite about the rights and obligations of that of the League of Nations and a signatory in her own right to the treaty of Versailles. Such a state cannot be treated as a pure dependency, like the Philippines, for example.

It is difficult to say whether Britain's claim to treat the Indian problem as a 'domestic' question will be tolerated by her allies for any length of time. China is undoubtedly sympathetic towards India, but her position is so critical that she cannot be expected to take a strong attitude against Britain. Russia is silent. America is uneasy. Sometime ago, *Reuter's* chief correspondent in New York reported as follows:

> "It is undeniable that so long as the Indian question remains unsolved for whatever reason there is a substantial impediment to complete Anglo-American cooperation."

He added,

> But the American Government "certainly has neither the intention nor the desire to take over the problem of reconciling the various warring Indian groups to the British Government or to force a solution on them."

Mr. Willkie refused to visit India, but declared on his return to America, "India is our problem." After an unusually long delay President Roosevelt has declared that the Atlantic Charter is applicable to all nations in the world. Time alone can show whether these declarations are definite statements on policy or mere formal expressions of goodwill.

November, 1942

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND AFTER: *By Birendrakishore Roychowdhury, M. L. C. Published by the Book Company, Ltd. Pp. 85. Price Re. 1-8.*

The progressive deterioration of the economic condition of the agriculturists of Bengal has recently given rise to the suspicion that something is fundamentally wrong with our land system. The Permanent Settlement made with the zemindars nearly one hundred and fifty years ago is naturally accused as being responsible for the majority of the evils that the tenants today are suffering from. The appointment of the Land Revenue Commission in 1938 is another proof of the growing belief that no permanent and spectacular improvement would be possible without overhauling the present system thoroughly. The Commission submitted their recommendations in 1940; unfortunately there was no unanimity of opinion among the members of the Commission and while the majority urged certain important changes, the minority advocated the continuation of the present system, if necessary, with small modifications. This brochure by Mr. Roychowdhury is written admittedly from the minority point of view. "At the present moment when the atmosphere is so anti-zemindar," writes Mr. Roychowdhury in the Preface, "I am certain that for the sake of justice and fair-play it is necessary to bring to the public view the other side of the shield." The book is divided into nine chapters and deals with Land Settlements between 1772 and 1793. The Settlement of 1793, Development of New Relations between Zemindars and Tenants, The Contributions of the Zemindari System, Position of Tenants. Land Revenue Commission and Abolition of the Zemindari System and Agricultural Income Tax. The style is lucid and we find in it a rapid history of certain aspects of the present Land Revenue System. It is, however, difficult to say that Mr. Roychowdhury has been successful in defending the present system. Any successful defence of the present system must show that the system had been of benefit not only in the past but would continue to be the best possible system both normatively and factually in the coming years. We do not find in the book any treatment of the subject from this historical point of view. But it is one of the sure lessons of history that unless a system can satisfy the needs of a society in evolution, no apologia can save it from going the way of everlasting bonfire.

Bimal Chandra Sinha

GERMAN GEOPOLITICS: *By H. W. Weigert. Published by Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 36. Price 6d.*

In this revealing little pamphlet in the Oxford Series entitled "America Faces the War," the author introduces the reader to the mysteries of German Geopolitics which has been defined by its sponsor, Professor Karl Haushofer as "the study of life-circumstances within a State and between States in their relationships of space." Geopolitics is not mere political geography; it embraces history, political science, sociology, anthropology and public law as much as the strategy of war. The author traces the development of this new German science from its very origin in the intellectual energism of Haushofer and the patient and searching endeavours of the Munich Institute of Geopolitics to its present importance as a new religion of the German youth. The complexities of the relation of this new *weltanschauung* of geographic determinism to Nazi ideology and foreign policy makes interesting reading.

Prof. Dr. Karl Haushofer, who holds the rank of Major-General, is the President of the Deutsche Akademie and is recognised as Germany's expert on Japan. He is known to have exercised a strong influence on Hitler's political thinking, and Rudolf Hess is an outspoken disciple of his. Their hopes for German expansion both in Europe and in colonial possessions found a strong and convincing expression in the emphasis the geopoliticians laid on the idea of *Lebensraum* (living space). The author has given us an insight into the methodology of geopolitical research, the importance of the suggestive map and the radio, and pays a tribute to the thoroughness and accuracy of data used for articles published in the *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik*, Haushofer's monthly journal. He also recognizes the great educational value of the training received by the scholars at Dr. Haushofer's Institute who have been most profitably utilized by the German General Staff in the preparation of military plans for campaigns undertaken during the present war. He advocates similar training for American boys, but insists that it should be 'humanized.' Without minimizing the role which geopolitics is playing and may play in future in the power-politics of imperialist nations, one would agree with the author that the decisive factor which guides the course of history is man, and if one neglects the human being and his role or allows him to be overshadowed by the giant earth, then the monistic outlook which arises from such a conception would supply again and again reasons and justifications for imperialist wars.

As a brief and clear introduction to the ideas of Haushofer and the role of geopolitics in contemporary German life, this pamphlet will be found extremely useful.

Monindramohan Moulik

HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA : *By Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by Nand Kishore & Bros., Benares. 1942. Pp. xxix+555. Price Rs. 10.*

In this volume Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, already well-known as the author of the scholarly work *History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest,* has sought "to provide within a moderate compass, a compendious account of the history, institutions and culture of Ancient India from the dim ages of antiquity to the establishment of Moslem rule." He claims to have utilised all available and up-to-date materials in the detached spirit befitting a true historian. We may at once concede that the author's aims have been fulfilled to a considerable extent. In the eighteen chapters of the present work he has given us a comprehensive and well-proportioned account, based upon wide reading of the standard works concerned, of the history of our country from the pre-historic times down to those of the extensive conquests by the Moslem Turks. On numerous disputed questions his judgments are marked by sobriety and good sense. His style is easy and clear. An excellent bibliography classified under different heads and a good index bring this well-written volume to a close.

We have noticed a number of slips which may be corrected in a later edition of this work :

P. 2—"Buddhist Pitakas, Nikayas, Jatakas, etc." The Tripitaka, which is the canon of the Theravada school, includes Nikayas and Jatakas. The omission of all references to the canonical literature of other Buddhist schools in the accompanying list of literacy sources is to be regretted.

P. 3—"The Ramayana and the Mahabharata represent the first notable attempts of the ancient Hindus in the direction" (of writing the rudiments of history). It has been shown by the present writer (*Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XVIII, 1942) that the rudiments of historical writing in ancient India are to be traced back to the Vamsas and gotra pravara lists as well as the gathas and narasamsis, itihasas and puranas of Vedic literature.

P. 5.—"The Dulva and Tangyur." The Dulva forms only a section of the division called Kangyur which with the Tangyur constitutes the Tibetan canon.

Pp. 8-9.—"Shrines dedicated to Siva on the Dieng plateau (Java) and the vast panorama of bas-reliefs on the walls in the colossal temples (*sic.*) at Borobodur (*sic.*) and Prambanam (Central Java) . . . . reveal the hand of the Indians." There is nothing to show that the temples on the Dieng plateau, which by the way is also situated in Central Java, are exclusively Saiva. The extent of Indian influence on the art of Central Java is still a matter of controversy among scholars of the repute of Bosch and Krom.

P. 9 *n.*—The references to the publications on Greater Indian history should be corrected as follows : (1) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Ancient India Colonies in the Far East, Vol. II, *Suvarnadvipa;* (2) *Indian Culture in Java and Sumatra,* Part I (Text) by Dr. B. R. Chatterji, Part II (Inscriptions) by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and Dr. B. R. Chatterji. In the above context, H. G. Q. Wales' popular work *Towards Angkor* might have been safely omitted. The "works of French and Dutch scholars" without further specification have no value for reference purposes.

P. 15.—The quotation of J. Kennedy's authority (*JRAS.* 1899) for the view that "the Dravidians belonged (*sic*) to the Mediterranean race" is hopelessly out of date and incomplete.

P. 27 *n.*—*For* 'Greek Patir . . . Teuton Fadar' *read* 'Greek Pater . . . Gothic Fadar.' *Omit* 'anukramanis' in the list of devices for preserving the purity of the Rigveda text.

P. 80.—"Manu allows the king to take from merchants one-fiftieth part of their profits in cattle and gold." The correct reference is probably to a periodical levy of this amount or value upon the agricultural live-stock of the cultivators and a levy in cash upon certain special classes of crops (Cf. the present writer's work, *Hindu Revenue System,* pp. 59-62).

P. 80.—"Artisans, smiths and labourers paid taxes in the form of a day's labour monthly." Actually Manu applies the rule to craftsmen, artisans and Sudras living by manual labour.

P. 80.—*For* 'democratic or autonomous' clans, 'republican clans.'

P. 152.—*For* 'antarvesika' and 'prasatri' *read* 'antarvamsika' and 'prasastri.'

P. 256.—'The mainstay of finance was the land-revenue amounting to a certain portion of the produce or its cash value.' There is no authority in Fa-hien's narrative for the last-mentioned alternative.

Pp. 286-87.—'Damodaragupta was routed and killed by his Maukhari contemporary who annexed Magadha or a large part of it.' This follows the faulty rendering of the Aphsad inscription by Fleet which has since been corrected by Mr. Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya in the D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume. The annexation of Magadha by the Maukhari king is only an inference following from Fleet's faulty translation.

P. 312.—'Yuan Chwang says that Harsha used to earmark a fourth of the revenue from the crown lands for rewarding men of intellectual distinction.' Actually Yuan Chwang refers to the division of the royal land which, as has been shown by the present writer (*Hindu Revenue System,* p. 228), means in the present context nothing but the State territory.

Pp. 325-26.—'He (Rajyapala) first sent a contingent in 991 A.D. to help Jayapala against Sultan Sabuktigin and another was despatched in 1008 A.D. when the former's (*sic.*) son and successor Anandapala was threatened by the aggressions of Mahmud.' Mention of a *raja* of Kanauj as a member of the confederacies of Jayapala and Anandapala occurs only in the late work of Firishta who, however, is silent about the name. The probable identification with Rajyapala as also the assumed date 991 A.D. for Jayapala's expedition against Sabuktigin rests only upon a suggestion of Vincent Smith (*JRAS.* 1909, pp. 275 *ff.*). For the doubtful authority of Firishta on this point, see Dr. R. S. Tripathi's own *History of Kanauj,* p. 282 and *n.*

P. 344.—*For* 'Rajapura (Rajori)' *read* 'Rajapuri (Rajauri).'

Pp. 357-58.—'Balaputradeva, king of Suvarnadvipa and Javabhumi.' In the Nalanda inscription of Devapala, he is simply called king of Suvarnadvipa, the title 'king of Javabhumi' being given to his unnamed grandfather of the Sailendra dynasty.

Pp. 361-62.—'The rebel leader (Divvoka) established an independent kingdom in North Bengal.' . . 'Bhima succeeded his father Divvoka.' There is no warrant for the supposition that Divya or Divvoka after Mahipala's death assumed the title of king. Bhima was the son of Rudoka, brother of Divvoka; he was not Divvoka's son.

P. 363.—'No building of that (Pala) age is extant.' The ruins at Paharpur which have been excavated by Mr. K. N. Dikshit have been identified as remnants of Dharmapala's monastery.

P. 385.—*For* 'The Calukya dynasty of Anhilwada' *read* 'The Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilawad.'

P. 496.—The reference-list under the head 'Historical romances and other works' should include the up-to-date editions of Sandhyakaranandi's *Ramacharita* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerji (Rajshani, 1939) and of *Prthviraja-vijaya* by Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and Chandradhar Sharma Guleri (Ajmer, 1941) in place of the imperfect and out-of-date editions of H. P. Sastri and S. K. Belvalkar respectively. *For* 'Jayaratha's *Prithviraja-vijaya*' *read* 'Jayanaka's *Prthviraja vijaya*.'

P. 504.—*For* 'B. L. Barua, History of Kamarupa' *read* 'K. L. Barua,' etc.

P. 507.—Under the head 'Works on Polity,' the present writer's work *History of Political Theories* should be mentioned in its second edition (Calcutta, 1927) in place of the earlier edition (Calcutta, 1923).

Pp. 511-12. The reference list of works on Greater India which completely ignores even the standard French and Dutch authorities should at least include R. C. Majumdar's *Savarnadvipa*, Part II, Calcutta, 1939 and Sir Charles Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism* in three volumes. In the same list *read* 'Bijan Raj Chatterji' *for* 'Bijan Roy Chatterji.'

To the above list of shortcomings we may add a few more. The author's lists of classical and Chinese sources for ancient Indian history (p. 5) suffer from serious omissions. The accounts of Sunga, Pala and Hoysala art (pp. 188, 362-63, 437) are very scrappy. Equally incomplete is the description (p. 465) of the overseas conquests of Rajendra Chola. The title of Chapter VII ("*Contact with the outside world*") is a misnomer, since such contact can be traced back to the period of the Indus Civilisation. Mistakes of transliteration are not infrequent, *e.g.*, sat-yuga (p. 11), Armaic (p. 117), and Amarkosa (p. 272). The General Bibliography would not have suffered by the wholesale omission of works of third-rate or fourth rate importance including ordinary text-books for schools and colleges. The complete want of maps, in spite of the author's apology in his Preface, is very much to be regretted.

In spite of the above and other defects, the present work marks a distinct advance on the college text-books on ancient Indian history now in general use in this country.

U. N. Ghoshal

HARVEST FROM THE DESERT—The Life and Work of Sir Ganga Ram: *By Mr. B. P. L. Bedi. Published by Sir Ganga Ram Trust Society, Lahore. Pp. 301.*

This is the life of a great philanthropist, who was besides a great Engineer, a great Agriculturist, a great Educationist and a Social Reformer and finally a great man of action of the Punjab. He was born in 1851 and died in July, 1927 in England where he went as a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. He began as an Assistant Engineer in the Government Service in 1873 and retired as an Executive Engineer in 1903. He joined the Patiala State in the same year and worked upto 1910. As a reward of his loyal services to the Punjab Government, Sir Ganga Ram was given some three thousand acres of land which along with another eight thousand acres leased out, he scientifically developed into a flourishing agricultural colony known as Gangapur. Admirable hydraulic and agricultural work was carried on by Sir Ganga Ram to the surprise of even pessimists and to the lasting benefit of the people of the province. His bigger agricultural schemes on vast areas on lease-hold lands proved equally successful. But his association in other spheres of work, such as founding of Widows' Home and Asylum for the aged destitutes, Hospitals and other Charitable Institutions made his name a household word in the Punjab. His total gift in buildings and other properties amounts to Rs. 30,00,000 with an annual income of about Rs. 1,25,000. Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was the originator of the movement for the re-marriage of Hindu widows and Sir Ganga Ram gave the movement a practical turn by establishing the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha and financing it properly. Sir Ganga Ram's name will ever remain green in the history of social services of this country and the agricultural renovation of the Punjab will claim him as one of its pioneers.

The book is well-written and illustrated and the printing is good. The Publishers deserve congratulations for bringing out the biography of a great philanthropist although it appears well over a decade after his death.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA: *By Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the Calcutta University. Pp. xiii+160.*

The book contains five articles previously published in periodicals and deals with important topics in the History of the British in India in the eventful period 1757 to 1784. It was during this period that the East India Company laid the foundation of the British power in India particularly in Bengal. Nawab Nazimuddowla after the death of his father Mirzafar on the 5th February, 1765, was given the Musnud by the English and not formally by the Emperor of Delhi who was still the *de jure* sovereign and granting of the Diwani by Shah Alam on the 12th August, 1765, was only a formal matter as the English had already taken in hand the revenue administration of the province. The English were in power without responsibility between 1757 and 1772 and the result was inefficient administration in the country. There were quarrels among the high officials of the East India Company and it is very interesting to note from the Macartney papers at Satara that espionage was maintained by Lord Macartney and Warren Hastings on the doings of fellow Europeans. Regulating Act 1773 improved the administration, when the Company was left in charge of commercial and financial matters only. Pitt's India Act 1784 brought the administration definitely under the Ministers responsible to the Parliament.

The author has taken pains to collect materials from the original sources which are valuable. Students of the British Indian History will find the book interesting and useful.

A. B. Dutta

ANNUAL ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE SERICULTURAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE FASLI YEAR, 1996-97 (1941): *Printed at the Ranbir Government Press, Jammu.*

These few pages under review give a bird's-eye view of the sericultural activities of the Government of Kashmir and Jammu with many illustrative tables and figures. The international turmoil has created a very favourable situation for the silk industry of India as a whole. In Kashmir there has been a marked improvement in prices as well as keen demand for raw silk. It can be said that sericulture in Kashmir and Jammu is on a better footing compared with those of other provinces and states for the following reasons:

1. The mulberry leaves, the chief food of the silk worms, are grown from grafted trees and not from bushes as found in Bengal, Madras and Mysore. The cost of leaf production which is nearly 80% in Bengal and other provinces is much less in Kashmir and Jammu.

2. Government owns the reeling factories equipped with up-to-date machineries and thus it has been possible for them to manufacture standardised silk in bulk for export.

3. Climatic conditions, which are the most important in Sericulture, are very favourable as Kashmir is comparatively a colder country. Therefore, the incidence of the silk-worm diseases is less.

We are, indeed, glad to note in the report that His Highness's Government have taken up a vigorous campaign against illiteracy amongst the factory workers. This movement will not only benefit the workers concerned but will also benefit the Darbar as well. It is beyond any question that educated trained labour is more efficient than illiterate labour.

We find that the price of cocoons paid to the rearers was much less in Kashmir than in other provinces and states. The Darbar no doubt supplies the seed and leaf free to the rearers; still more liberal price would induce the rearers and the zemindars to take to the rearing of worms and the cultivation of mulberry trees more earnestly.

As regards the "seed supply," the industry has suffered a great deal due to difficulty in importing *seed* from foreign countries owing to the break-out of the war. What strikes us is that some scientific local arrangement for growing seed, equally good, should be made. If the Darbar can make arrangements with other provinces and states in the matter of exchange of improved "seeds," the policy would be beneficial to all concerned. It is very regrettable to note the absence of researches and experiments carried on in the state. For the development of the industry, researches and experiments are considered absolutely necessary. In this matter, Bengal is very much far ahead as the Department of Industries have already started researches on the silk-worms, the silk worm diseases, the manurial experiments and the mulberry. The Silk Conditioning House at Calcutta is the only one of its kind in India, and is doing very valuable work in connection with the parachute manufacture in India for the War. There is a move to extend the mulberry cultivation on the road-sides and embankments by the land-holders, etc. For the general benefit, the Government is requested to read "A Plea for the Extension of the Mulberry Tree Cultivation in the Forests and Districts of Bengal. *Science and Culture*, Vol. VII, pp. 808-80.., 1941."

Rorindra Mohon Datta

LENIN'S RUSSIA : *By Louis Fischer. Current Topics Series No. 5. Padma Publications Ltd., 53-55, Laxmi Building, Sir Phirojshah Mehta Road, Bombay.*

An American journalist, Louis Fischer has recently come to the public view on account of the revelations he has made in the American papers about the failure of the so-called Cripps' Mission in India. Mr. Fischer is also an author of repute. His autobiography gives the story not only of his own self, but is a fascinating study of men and things. He lived in the U. S. S. R. in the early years of the Russian Revolution and worked there as a foreign correspondent to some prominent American journals. His autobiography is replete with interesting accounts and annecdotes of the leading personalities and important events of the Revolution. Needless to add unlike his fellow foreign correspondents he viewed things with sympathy and mixed with the Russians freely. He could grasp the real meaning of things more easily than the others. So his accounts have been both interesting and informative. The enterprising publishers have collected them in this booklet *seriatim*. Here the busy reader will have a glimpse of Lenin's Russia.

BENGAL LIBRARY DIRECTORY, 1942 : *Bengal Library Association, Central Library, the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

The Bengal Library Association is to be congratulated on the publication of this very useful directory. It contains details regarding school, college, university and public libraries in Bengal. This will be useful not only to the library workers and others, but to publishers, book-sellers and authors as well. Get-up, binding and printing are satisfactory.

Jogesh C. Bagal

ALVAR SAINTS : *By Swami Shuddhananda Bharati. Published by Anbu Nilayam, Ramachandrapuram, Trichy District. Price Rs. 2.*

In this book, the author lays before the public the inner meaning enshrined in the Pasurams of the Alvars. The author who is a great yogi and mystic, expounds the message of the Vaishnavite devotees known as the Alvars. The Tamil expression 'Alvar' means one who has taken a deep plunge into the ocean of divine consciousness. An Alvar is a living Gita, a moving temple.

The Alvars are twelve in number. They are said to have lived between the seventh and the ninth century A. D. Though born in different castes, the Alvars are one holy family that live in the Divine, glorifying His Name. The lives of these saints are revelations of the Divine Grace.

To the English-knowing public, this book is really a boon.

Jitendra Nath Bose

THE MAN IN THE RED TIE AND OTHER STORIES : *By Prof. A. V. Rao. Published by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 3.*

There are as many as fifteen stories; 'The Man in the Red Tie' being the first, the book is titled after it. Of this collection some five stories have already been published in the *Sunday Standard*, and two in the *Orient Weekly*.

Prof. Rao has worked out his plots in at least three of his stories with the present political movement in the country as their background. He has endeavoured to cater his stories for different tastes by picking up characters and incidents from various communal, cultural and even provincial spheres.

'The Man in the Red Tie' is a comedy of errors committed by two spies, watching each other under the scheme of independent reports by men working unknown to themselves. 'The Last Chance' holds out the genuine sorrows of a human heart in the halo of national glory. 'Release' is tragic with amorous complications. Of the other stories, 'The Worm that turned' is a typical short-story, engaging and pschological, too. The story starts with a suspense, and its revelation is complete in the last sentence.

With some common things of life Prof. Rao begins to tell his stories; as he proceeds on he sheds on them a lustre of importance with his live characterisation, his queer irony, and his sparkling humour. But all his efforts end in lucky strokes of detached inspiration without having any lasting impression on the reader's mind.

After all, Prof. Rao is a loveable story-teller.

GURUDEVA TAGORE: *By H. S. Mordia, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), M.C.A.B. (Udaipur State), Sahitya Bhusan. Published from Mordia Book House, Udaipur (Rajputana). Price Rs. 2-8.*

When the son of Mewar pays his tributes to the memory of Rabindranath, and offers a garland of fifty-one poems at the altar of the Muses, we in Bengal feel elated for our association with the name of the great poet.

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, the Prime Minister of Mewar, Udaipur, has foreworded this publication, but this has not taken us far. We find the lawyer poet wandering through far-sought imageries, unpleasant repetitions, flimsy airiness, sheer improbabilities, diffused conceptions and faulty rhythms.

Of wailing, Mr. Mordia has done much; he loses sight of the joyous spirit of the poet, who always loved youth and green-ness.

In view of its size, contents and poetical merits, this lean work is almost fancifully priced at a time when the present Government control of 90% paper had no retrospective influence on!

SANTOS CHATTERJI

TO BEG I AM ASHAMED—THE AUTHENTIC AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A LONDON PROSTITUTE: *By Sheila Cousins. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. 1940. Pp. 282. Price Rs. 3.*

The account evinces a genuine touch of honest and forthright candour. It shows mastery in the delineation of episodes occurring in the life-history of a prostitute living in the environs of London, a decade ago. The beauty of the work lies in the concatination of almost all the types of incidents known to readers of older writers such as Havelock Ellis and those of कुट्टनीमतम् नवविविलास in the life of a single venal beauty. This together with a varnish of psychoanalytical knowledge and the intelligent way of putting things in chaste language places the work above the level of pornography and makes one doubt whether the work in the nom-de-plume is really from the pen of a prostitute. Be that as what it may, the work is really of abiding human and social interest for the young and the psychology-minded.

M. N. BANERJI

LIBRARY OF A REVOLUTIONARY: *By M. N. Roy. Published by the New Life Union, Lucknow. Price annas eight.*

One may or may not agree with Mr. M. N. Roy in the discussion of present-day political questions: but there cannot be any gain-saying that he has done a very useful service to all serious students of politics by this list of books on different subjects. If we remember aright it was Sir Pravash Ch. Mitter who first of all compiled such a list in 1918. That list has been out of print, and has become out of date. A fresh list had become a necessity; and Mr. Roy has our thanks for preparing it.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE UPAKHYANAMALA CONDENSED IN THE POETS' OWN WORDS: *By Pandit A. M. Srinivasachariar. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.*

This contains a selection of thirteen well-known episodes and stories made from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and a few of the Puranas like the Markandeya, Padma and Siva. The Sanskrit texts of the extracts are accompanied by English translations by V. Narayanan and also by short introductions which draw attention to special features of particular episodes and refer to their sources. It is true one small volume cannot be expected to do justice to the numerous interesting narratives scattered over different parts of the extensive Puranic literature, not to speak of the various aspects of its vast and varied contents. And it is really difficult to make a representative selection from this bewildering store of knowledge.

Making due concession for the above facts all lovers of the old literature of India must be thankful to the energetic publishers of the very useful and instructive series of condensation of old texts (two of which were reviewed by the undersigned in these pages in September 1938) for bringing into the easy access of the general reader a valuable portion of the old epic literature in Sanskrit. It may not be too much to hope that other portions of the literature will in course of time receive similar attention and some more volumes will be forthcoming in the near future.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RUBAIYAT-I-UMAR KHAYAM: *Translated by Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, M. A., B. L., Diplo-Phon., D. Litt. (Paris.) Published from the Provincial Library, Victoria Park, Dacca. Price Re. 1.*

Most of the recent Bengali versions of the Rubais of Umar Khayam are in translation from English. However agreeable they may be in their own way, they cannot be taken as perfectly faithful representations of the poet's original ideas. This volume consists of some characteristic poems of the great poet, carefully rendered into Bengali from original Persian, and as such deserves special attention. Not for niceties of style or metrical excellence but for the informations collected herein, the work will be appreciated. The introduction deals comprehensively with Umar's life, poetry and philosophy and the important editions of his works hitherto available.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BARTAMAN JAPAN (MODERN JAPAN): *By Digindra Chandra Banerjee. Published by the Gupta Prakashika, Guptapara, Dhakuria, 24-Parganas. Price Re. 1-4.*

To-day Japan has become a terror to humanity. Her power is felt not only in the East, but all the world over. How she has attained such immense power and that in a very short time, is a matter of fascinating study. This book is an attempt to place before the reader in a short compass the story of modern Japan and in this the author has been fairly successful. The book is written in an easy and attractive style.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

SILPASAMPAD BARSIKI, 1349-50: *Published from 15/1-C, Nirode Behari Mallik Road, Calcutta. Pp. 127. Price annas eight.*

This is a small directory of agriculture, industries and commerce for the use of persons who are engaged in business. As the first attempt, the publication has certain drawbacks, which the publisher promises to rectify in the next edition. This will be found useful by those for whom it is intended.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SHEKHAR—EK JEEVANI: *By "Agneya." Published by Saraswati Press, Benares. 1940. Pp. 364. Price Rs. 3.*

It is only in some supremely rare moments that we are privileged to have an entire glimpse of our life which would otherwise remain for us little more than a tale told by an idiot. To use the author's own words, "severe pain endows one with a vision and the sufferer becomes a seer. . . . 'Shekhar' is an attempt to express in words a vision seen within the short span of a single night of acutest mental anguish."

'Shekhar' is a biographical fiction—a real presentation of the development of what we pharisaically call a revolutionary character. At a crucial point in life, under the shadows of impending death, the hero reviews whole past in order to extract some meaning out of an apparent jumble of incidents wrought by the irrevocable hands of his 'personal destiny.' The result of this prying scrutiny unfolds itself to him gradually as the unescapable necessity of his nature. Nurture only accentuates the dominant note of his character. Shekhar is an unconventional and lonely child, sensitive and touchy but stubbornly adamantine. Fate has stigmatised him as rebel of which he is fully conscious. He suffers acutely from the aloofness which sustains him, feels an exile in the wilderness of his psychological isolation. Though unique, Shekhar yet makes us start and recollect how unjust we are to children in general, and, what is more, how we ourselves conceal a Shekhar somewhere within us.

Shekhar's life enables us to witness the drama of all the conflicting currents and cross-currents of our age. In the fragmentary narration of episodes there is an inner link of outstanding thought, the evaluation of emotions by a keen, sensitive and powerful intellect. This intellect being essentially analytical, is responsible for an occasional sophistication, but on the whole the writer was really attempting to produce a work of art.

'Shekhar' is an overpoweringly earnest novel, impassioned though restrained. The style and the expressions—the author has created entirely fresh for himself. Sex has been introduced subconsciously and plays its integral part in the development of the hero's personality. Sometimes one doubts if character can justly be conceived as being composed of psychological atoms only, since the unknown X figures recurrently in life. Yet within limits it actually *is* so composed. Within these limits the portrayal of the hero's character remains unchallenged. When the limits are slightly transgressed, the point of view tends to be exclusive, sharing Freudian ingenuities. However, the author is cautious enough to avoid complete indentification with particular isms. He repeats the emotion in order that he may master the inner significance and meaning of it.

'Shekhar' is a landmark in the history of contemporary Hindi fiction—a book which must win for its author unconcealed approbation or wrath as the case may be, keeping little room for a commonplace reader to express his flat opinions in a world of more dimensions than one.

M. Bajpai

TELUGU

PREMALATA : *By P. Ranganadha Rao, Journalist, Anakapalle. Published by Navya Sahitya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 48. Price annas eight only.*

This booklet contains a long poem adapted from Keats's 'Isabella.' The poem is rather a lengthy one compared with Keats's work. However, the sentiments are well expressed in easy verse. In its treatment the poet has given some original touches.

SRI ARAVINDA JEEVITAM : *Published by Sri T. Kodandaram Rao, B.A. Printed at Vavilla Press, Madras. Pp. 2?5. Price Rs. 2.*

The book under review is a biographical study of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. The various stages of the development of the life of this great spiritual teacher is shown vividly. The last chapter is exclusively devoted to the present life and teachings of Sri Aurobindo.

This biographical work is sure to be very popular in Andhradesa.

K. V. Subba Rao

GUJARATI

DASTUR DHALA, An Autobiography : *By Dastur Dr. Manekji Nasurvanji Dhala, Ph. D., Karachi. Printed at the Prabhat Press, Karachi. 1942. Cloth bound. Pp. 474.*

Dastur Dhala, the Head Priest of the Parsis for Sind and Baluchistan, now in his 67th year is a Parsi savant and scholar of many languages including Sanskrit. His autobiography shows how in spite of the poverty of his family and difficulty in getting even tolerably good education he was fortunate enough in securing his present high position in letters and priesthood. The book is full of pleasant and instructive incidents. His trips to America and England and the simplicity of life he has led all along, wherever he was, are some of the landmarks which stand out prominent in the narration. He has played a very important part in the reform of Parsi Society and the weight that his views and opinions carry amongst his co-religionists are very creditable to him. His life-companion, who has proved a great hold to him throughout his career, we regret to note, passed away only recently. The book will be read with interest by non-Parsis also.

SADBODHA SHATAKAN : *By D. B. Kalelkar. Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1942. Thick Card Board. Pp. 219. Price annas twelve.*

Kaka Kalelkar has selected one hundred best shlokas from the three shatakas of Bhartrihari and has translated them into Gujarati and given ample explanatory notes. The Introduction that he has written and this critical examination that he has made of the whole of the material available on the topic, are such that nothing like it has till now been published in Gujarati. It is really admirable work. The style is simple and typical of Kaka Kalelkar's writings. The script is Nagari and hence readable all over India.

GITA YOGARAHASYA : *By Rao Bahadur C. S. Pandya, B.A., Surat. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1942. Paper Cover. Pp. 114. Price annas eight.*

Rao Bahadur Pandya is steeped in Sanatani lore, and naturally wishes others to share it. He has written this small book, expanding the Rahasya (scent) of the Gita in such a way that students can from their very student life study it and follow the path of *Atma Kalyan.* As to how far the attempt would succeed, no one can tell, but in itself it deserves praise. He has studied the subject well.

HINDNUR NANAVATEEN : *By J. N. Mehta, B. Com. Printed at the Lokoeva Press, Baroda. 1942. Cloth Bound. Pp. 314. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is the first book of its kind in Gujarati. The history and present state of Indian Banking is narrated here from the pen of one who knows the subject firsthand and as such can state his propositions with authority. The subject is highly technical and complicated, and difficult to handle in such a way as to make it easy to understand. The writer has tried hard to overcome this handicap.

K. M. J.

MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By SASANK S. MUKERJEE

GENERALLY, the terms 'educated' and 'middle class' are used in the same sense, as the educated class in India is composed mainly of persons belonging to the middle class. The lower classes are too poor to be able to spend anything on education and besides, they have to earn their living from childhood and therefore cannot afford to spend any time in schools. As for the persons belonging to the higher class, in a poor country like India, their number is limited and they form only a small fraction of the educated class in India. The people we usually refer to when speaking of the middle class, are those who are compelled to earn their own living, are engaged in non-manual occupations and have received some form of secondary or higher education.

In recent years, the problem of middle class unemployment has become very acute. Some idea of the magnitude of the problem can be gathered from the following figures:

	1921-22	1931-32
Number of scholars receiving University education in Arts and Science Colleges	48,933	81,010
Number of scholars receiving University education in Professional Colleges	13,662	18,483
Number of students in High and Middle Schools	1,239,524	2,297,579
Number of students in special schools receiving technical and professional education	132,706	271,094*

This rapidly increasing number of persons belonging to the educated class find it more and more difficult to maintain the increased standard of living and to secure higher wages to meet the rise in the general level of prices. The Central and Provincial legislatures have been compelled to take note of the problem. Between 1924-28, specially appointed committees carried out investigations in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab and also in some of the Indian States like Travancore.

These inquiries serve a useful purpose in giving us a rough idea of the magnitude of the problem. After going through the reports of the various committees, one is left in no doubt as to the all-India character of the problem.

In Madras, the proportion of educated persons seeking employment to the demand for such men is two to one. In the Punjab, whereas the number of students in the anglo-vernacular schools and colleges had more than doubled during 1922-27, there had been no such corresponding increase in the number of posts in the Government departments and in commercial and business firms.

As for conditions in Bengal, the Bengal Inquiry Committee states:

"The evidence which has been placed before us to the effect that there is considerable unemployment among the Anglo-Indians of Bengal and among the educated middle-class Bengalis is overwhelming and we have been greatly impressed by the acuteness of the problem . . . ."

As the Matriculation or the School-leaving examination is considered to be the minimum qualification for securing government services, the non-matriculates suffer the most from unemployment. They consider it below their dignity to be farmers, they do not possess necessary qualifications to get employment in technical occupations and owing to lack of capital they are unable to undertake business activities.

"It is seen that 47.68 per cent. of the total had not passed the Matriculation examination. 13·60 per cent. of the unemployed had passed the Matriculation or an equivalent examination, and 7·02 per cent. were graduates. . . . ."†

Students receiving professional and technical education also suffer from unemployment. The legal profession is considerably over-crowded and 'many junior members of the bar find it difficult to earn their living.' There is a considerable amount of unemployment prevailing in the medical profession. The number of doctors in the large towns is more than what it should be, whereas in the rural areas people do not get adequate medical treatment because in such places the standard of living is low and the villagers cannot always afford to pay cash-fees for medical treatment.

Unemployment among the educated people leads to many evils. The number of educated men trained for clerical jobs has far surpassed the demand for them and this is bringing down their wages to a very low level. In the last decade of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the present century, matriculates earned about Rs. 50 per month. But now-a-days, even a graduate in the government clerical services has to begin at about Rs. 40 per month.

The educated people regard the State as the guardian of its citizens, hold it responsible for their suffering and nurture a sense of personal injury against it if their grievances are not re-

* Statistical Abstract.

† Report of the Enquiry into Middle Class Unemployment, Bombay.

dressed. Disappointment, lack of occupation, idleness and suffering demoralise the youths and a prolonged unemployment of successive generations of educated people may become a formidable threat to the very existence of ordered society.

Today the life of a student is overshadowed by the fear of the future. Blank hopelessness is to be seen in the eyes of those who have completed their education. They pay call after call, write letters after letters, but to no avail; society does not want them, there is no work for them. So they embrace communistic gospels. If society does not want them, then society must be changed. A new order must be created, an order in which they would not be uncared for, in which they would find work, position and happiness.

In Germany, the 40,000 or 50,000 unemployed educated people became in 1930-33, the spear-head of the national-socialist movement, led by Hitler, a man who personified hatred against the existing rules and promised them a new social order.

The danger of such a class to the stability of the State has been well expressed by the Sadler Commission :

"The existence and steady increase of a sort of intellectual proletariat, not without reasonable grievances, forms a menace to good government. . . . So long as the great mass of the nation's intelligent manhood is driven, in ever-increasing numbers, along the same, often unfruitful course of study, which creates expectations that cannot be fulfilled and actually unfits those who pursue it from undertaking many useful occupations necessary for the welfare of the country, any Government however it may be constituted, whether it be bureaucratic or popular, must find its work hampered by an unceasing stream of criticism and a natural demand for relief which cannot possibly be met."

Let us examine the causes which have brought about this acute problem of ever-increasing unemployment among the educated classes in India.

India like the rest of the world has been affected by the economic depression of the post-War period. The demand for intellectual labour is very elastic, that is, it diminishes rapidly when there is a decrease in the purchasing power of those who avail themselves of professional services, and often out of all proportion with the decrease in purchasing power. The post-War depression greatly reduced the demand for intellectual labour and the heavy axe of retrenchment fell in all directions. Many old establishments were forced to contract their activities and were compelled to reduce considerably the number of intellectual workmen employed.

In this war many educated persons have found employment in war services. But the posts are temporary and hence the relief is a temporary one and unless steps are now taken to make provisions for those who will have to pass out of the office-doors after the war, India may have to face another depression in the post-War period.

It cannot be denied that the pitiable plight in which the educated young men of India find themselves today is to some extent due to the faulty system of education in India. The present system of education does not meet the needs of industrial progress. It has been admitted by many eminent persons that the present educational system is such as to train persons almost exclusively for clerical occupations. Thus Mayhew states :

"Essentially practical and utilitarian, they (our high schools and colleges) have aimed at the production of Government officials, lawyers, doctors and commercial clerks."

The Government services fascinate the educated people of India and the student dreams of sitting under a fan and making tick-marks in huge account-books, with a red-blue pencil. The present educational system inculcates a false sense of dignity in youths and makes them look down upon any work which involves manual labour. They cannot dream of earning their living with their hands. They are 'Baboos' and not labourers ! It is below their dignity to strike the hammer or to drive a railway engine; besides, what is to become of their knowledge of Philosophy, Politics and French !

In pointing out the defects of the present educational system, it must however be mentioned that the present system only leads to an increase in the number of unemployed persons. But the system is not one of the chief causes of unemployment among the educated people. The decrease in the number of unemployed people would not be very substantial even if we had the most up-to-date, scientifically planned and regulated system in force. Because, the change in the system of education would not by itself open up new avenues of employment but would merely make people more qualified to be employed in the already existing occupations. Therefore, the present system of education is harmful in so far as it does not train people to become qualified to find employment in the comparatively less overcrowded occupations.

Then there are certain social causes which "operate powerfully though silently in determining as well as impeding economic ambitions

and fortunes of the educated men." The caste system is responsible for imposing limitations on the nature of work which a man belonging to a particular caste may perform. A Brahmin cannot be a goldsmith, and a Kshatriya hesitates to start a laundry for washing clothes. Early marriages interfere with adequate training for particular occupations and also make young men responsible for maintaining a family too early in life.

Immobility of intellectual labour is held to be another cause of unemployment among educated people. As an Indian is brought up under the joint-family system, he has very little initiative of his own and does not like to lose the strong protection which he secures from his guardian.

But the most important cause of middle class unemployment is the backwardness of the country and the poor development of capitalistic enterprise in India. Though the population has increased rapidly, the avenues of employment for the growing population have not increased to any appreciable extent. England has about 16,000 occupations, whereas India, with a population of more than 340,000,000 has to offer only about 40 occupations !‡ The acute scarcity of demand for intellectual and industrial labour is the ultimate cause of the unemployment figures being the highest in India.

Demand for labour is practically stationary (excepting the fact that demand increases slightly with increase in population necessitating increased supply of commodities), the condition of the people is deteriorating from bad to worse. As the Bengal Committee aptly put it:

> "In an ideally balanced development technical training and economic progress should proceed forward together, each being stimulated in turn by the other. When one lags it should receive a stimulus and vice versa."

Unemployment in India, whether amongst educated people or among manual workers, is due to the under-development of economic resources. If handsome wages are offered, people would be willing to do any kind of work (subject to a few exceptions). It is because remuneration is low in all occupations that people are not tempted to do away with caste restrictions and other social evils which intensify the problem of unemployment. But if there are prospects of good profits in a particular occupation, the restrictions imposed by out-of-date social customs and orthodoxy are bound to be set aside. To some extent, it is because the economic organisation of the country is out-of-date that out-of-date customs still prevail among the people of India.

We have described the extent and the effects, and pointed out the chief causes of unemployment of the educated people of India. Now, we are expected to suggest remedies for unemployment. Let us first consider some of the palliatives put forward by the various Provincial Committees of Enquiry.

New avenues of employment like cottage industries, fruit-culture and dairy farming have been suggested. But very few of the cottage industries can survive in the face of foreign competition of machine-made goods. And even those few have to be thoroughly reorganised and their products must be standardized on mass production lines. As regards fruit culture and dairy farming, it must not be forgotten, that the educated young men will have to face the competition of those people who have a very low standard of living and are consequently satisfied with low prices. Besides, under the prevailing circumstances, the opportunities are greatly restricted and in the absence of modern methods of production, the educated people would have to do almost all the manual work with their own hands.

Changes in the system of education have been advocated by many. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a convocation address in 1929 said:

> "... A sound system of secondary education with attractive vocational course must be adopted. This way lies the remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things."

In March, 1934, the Third Quinquennial Conference of the Universities in India passed the following resolution:

> "... . A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to professions or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the Universities to improve their standards of admissions."

A readjustment of the present system will no doubt enable young men to find employment in the occupations which are not overcrowded. Vocational training will check the enormous increase in the number of persons seeking clerical jobs. But it can only equalize the intensity of the problem in all kinds of occupations, for a change, however sound and far-reaching in the system of education cannot by itself open up new avenues of employment.

The Madras Committee recommended that

‡ *Indian Economics*, Vol. II. Jathar and Beri.

the principal remedy for unemployment should be the diversion of educated people to agriculture. This view in recent years has gained much favour with the public and the slogan of 'Back to the Land' is heard everywhere. To many, the only solution of the unemployment problem seems to lie in the complete ruralisation of India.

People speak of the 'good old days' when India was supposed to have been purely an agricultural country with prosperous farmers and fat cows! But this popular belief is not borne out by history. Before the coming of the English, Indian industries were in a very prosperous condition and we make bold to state that Indian finished products were in no way inferior to those of Europe. So the belief that India in the past has been a purely agricultural country is baseless.

But coming back to present-day problems, it cannot and should not be forgotten that land is limited in quantity, whereas population increases by leaps and bounds. Even today, subdivision of holdings in India is a very serious evil and if more and more people are to take up agriculture, the individual holdings are sure to become smaller and smaller leading to ridiculously low returns.

If it be argued that better methods of cultivation would increase the returns from land, it may reasonably be asked, how are we going to adopt better methods of cultivation? It is universally admitted that the returns from land in India are very poor owing to out-of-date methods of cultivation. Agriculture must be revolutionised and that cannot be done unless there is an industrial revolution in India. In almost all the prosperous countries of today, industrial revolution has preceded and given an impetus to agrarian revolution.

Lastly, complete ruralisation will not be beneficial to the country. India depends mainly on the monsoons for the supply of water for agriculture and in an agricultural India, the vagaries of nature would unsettle the economic stability of the country by a quick succession of booms and depressions.

Changes in the system of education and improvements in agriculture can only yield limited results and would not remedy the problem effectively. India is probably the most economically backward country in the world. She pays the lowest wages to labour, she has the lowest yield in agriculture and her number of unemployed men are perhaps the highest in the world.

No half-measures can effectively cope with the problem. The situation is desperate and it needs drastic measures.

"Behind the dry figures of statistical tables, behind the dispassionate analysis of cause and effect there lies the misery of a whole generation. The utter despair of thousands of parents who saved and slaved a lifetime to give their children an education, only to see them in the end unemployed, very often broken in body and in spirit, the impotent wrath and the slow demoralization of promising young men and women loaded with degrees and certificates to whom society denies the opportunity to put to any use their gifts and their knowledge"§ can never be adequately expressed in words.

India is a country rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities, but poor in manufacturing accomplishment. The deficiencies in her industrial system are such as to render her liable to foreign penetration in time of peace and to serious dangers in time of war. Her stores of money lie inert and idle. The people cannot secure the economic security and development of the country without the co-operation and stimulation of Government impose. But Government has clung long to the tradition of *laissez faire* in industrial matters. It has left the problem in the hands of the Provincial Governments. But the resources and credit of Provincial Governments are limited.

Economic planning on a national scale undertaken by Government can alone tackle the problem facing India today. We have had enough of suggestions and recommendations and innumerable remedies have been put forward. But of what use are they when there is no one to put them into practice! The question is that of determination by Government to solve the problem. Once Government decides to tackle the problem it will not be in want of remedies. 'Practicability' is nothing more than a relative term dependent upon the urgency with which a thing is desired. Government will not be able to solve the problem unless it is prepared to submit to some change of industrial methods and customs.

In conclusion, we can do nothing better than reproduce the opinion of so eminent an economist as Lord Beveridge. In his book, *Unemployment,* he asserts:

"The problem of unemployment needs not money so much as thought and organisation. It needs above all to be taken seriously. A problem of industrial organisation is not taken seriously so long as it is left to 'Distress' committees, so long as it is forgotten with every temporary improvement of trade, so long as it is made a peg on which to hang all other projects of social or political change."

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§ Kotshing: *Unemployment in the Learned Professions.*

EVOLUTION OF CRIME AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

By J. P. GUPTA, B.A., LL.B., Dip. S.S.A.

Crime as a social problem is new to the people although they have been conscious of crime from very early times. Each succeeding decade had its own theory of crime causation which became the basis of community action. As the popular notion of a juvenile offender lags considerably behind the facts of recent study and research it is thought proper to give a short sketch of the evolution of crime as a social problem.

Primitive Conception.—During the medieval period crime was attributed to the working of the devil who operated in some mysterious way upon an innate weakness of man and so severe punishment and foul confinement was the rule. Death punishment was very common and the ways through which this death punishment was inflicted were most inhuman, such as burning alive, boiling in oil, quartering, breaking on the rock, etc. Moreover, no difference or distinction between individual and individual was made with the consequence that the whole tribe was punished for the crime of one of its members.

Classical School.—Under Bentham, Rousseau and Baccaria the classical school protested against the arbitrary and unequal sentences, and eliminated the supernatural as the causative factor of crime. Bentham maintained that the man is a free moral agent and chooses on the principle of pain and pleasure. A man would do things which give him pleasure and seek to avoid the things which gave him pain. Baccaria established the principle of individual responsibility for crime and maintained that there should be the same punishment for the same offence and that the punishment should be deterrent. According to Baccaria :

> "Retribution may not be an act of violence of one or may be against the private members of society. But it must be public, necessary and immediate and in proportion to the crime and determined by law."

This school thus left the criminal out of consideration thinking that all criminals are alike and that the punishment should fit the crime. It also ignored the causes of crime, and the influence of environment and heredity in a man's behaviour.

Theory of Lumbroso.—Eventually the theory of individual responsibility for crime gave way for a newer theory propounded by Lumbroso that heredity rather than free-will was the cause of crime. He was thus the first criminologist who sought the cause of crime in the offender. Lumbroso regarded the criminal as a special physical type with signs of criminal predisposition such as long lower jaw, flat nose, scanty beard distinguishing him from a normal man; and that those types were a reversion to the earlier tribes, *i.e.*, pre-human ancestors.

Theological Theory.—During this time religious ideas dominated all thoughts and actions, and so men were punished for sins against society and God.

Metaphysical Theory.—A group of people carried on research on Lumbroso's theory and discarded it but they enunciated that a criminal was a biological type. They found that a criminal was mentally deficient, shorter in height and shorter in weight, and maintained that the delinquent was of a special category of human beings, different in physique, physiognomy and mentality from the law-abiding citizens. In spite of its weaknesses the main contribution of this school was that it diverted the attention of the people from the crime to the criminal.

Moral Insanity Theory.—This school led by Garport held that the delinquent was moron or feeble-minded. It was believed that a much higher rate of mental deficiency prevailed among the criminal population. Garport differentiated between mental and moral delinquency and held that one intellectually sound but morally deficient may not be able to differentiate between social and anti-social acts. Such a man he called morally insane who was later on called moral imbecile. A moral imbecile is one above the feeble-minded but he has some permanent defects coupled with strong wishes or criminal propensities over which punishment has little deterrent effect. The delinquent was regarded as a moral imbecile with a predisposed character and lacking a sense of discrimination to distinguish between right and wrong. Though many looked upon feeble-mindedness as the major explanation of delinquency yet this, in certain cases, cannot be explained.

Environmental School.—This school led by Herbert Spencer, E. Farrie and Garport exploded the theory of Lumbroso and the metaphysical theory by comparison of physical traits between criminals and non-criminals. Herbert Spencer held that all human qualities were owing to environment and heredity and that the criminal as such was not a born type. The causative factors might lie in poverty, heredity, unhealthy home and uncongenial environment or any one of these factors. Robert Owens supported this view in these words: 'It is not man himself, it is his circumstances that make his character : unfortunate ones produce a bad man, fortunate ones a good man.' Ferrie, the Italian criminologist, also stressed the same thing when he said that social factors lie at the root of delinquency.

Newer Conception.—Delinquency, according to the modern theory, is a problem in adjustment of the child's personality. Each individual is born with a certain psychophysical equipment. He is at once acted upon by his environment and reacts to his environment; individual and environment—each influences the other continuously and as a result emerges the quality of conduct or misconduct. Dr. Healey holds that delinquency results from the interplay of the person in his particular setting—in other words, from the total situation of which he is a part. According to Dr. Mirriam Van Waters, the offending child is in conflict with the behaviour codes of normal home, school, neighbourhood and community. Dr. Manshardt says :

> "The roots of crime go back into heredity. They extend to the home and are nourished by parental quarrelling, immorality, cruelty, defective discipline, and neglect. They find their way into the school, the workshop, in the use or misuse of leisure time."

Thus we have seen above how the crime causation from evil spirit has come down to be regarded as social pattern. The act of a delinquent is not regarded today as an isolated act but in relation to the mental and physical conditions of the offender, the whole sequence of events in his life, and the social and cultural situations in which his criminal behaviour takes place. In other words, sociologically juvenile delinquency is the culmination of a complex series of inevitable forces at work in the physical and social environment of the child or the young offender as the case may be. The theory of punishment too has come to be based on the principle of the protection of the society and the child, travelling a long way from expiation, retaliation, deterrence and reformation. Earlier methods of disposing of offenders both young and old were death, banishment, deprivation of property, slavery, physical mutilation and torture, and transportation to colonies. None of these methods created the problem which was immediately created when society, in its search for ways of disposing of criminals, turned to the prison.

When you have killed a criminal, the incident is closed. When you have banished him, your main concern is to keep him from returning. When you have enslaved him, your problem is that of maintenance and control of slaves. When you have taken away his property, you have left him with the problem of acquiring more property, if he can. When you have branded him, tortured him or mutilated him, you have inflicted your punishment and the incident is closed, since physical torture is usually an end in itself. When you have transported him to a colony, you have transported the problem along with him, for remote colonies of criminals give little concern to the people and the Government at home. But when you have imprisoned him for a shorter or longer period, they come back to the new surroundings when the period is over. This was entirely a new situation, as never before the method of punishment was to send people back to their home. Then the question of their treatment, protection of the society and the like propped in. The mere housing and feeding of prisoners gave way to their reformation so as to make them fit as useful and normal members of society on their return. The development of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, child guidance clinic, juvenile court, probation work, detention home, all have helped in the realization of this aim.

We have begun to realise that we can no more leave such problems for commonsense, as

> "these commonsense accumulations of information concerning human relations, like the old commonsense conception of physical and biological world, have their limitations. They are founded upon relatively superficial and disconnected observation of experience, while the interpretations derived from them are colored by our individual prejudices and our particular doctrines concerning life. Too often acts based upon them fail to bring the desired results. For this reason scientific investigation is being gradually extended into the realms of group relationship and sociologists are endeavouring to construct a knowledge of group life which is grounded upon exhaustive researches that pierce through commonsense, customary explanations to reach the bedrock of natural laws."

For better attack of the problem of juvenile delinquency, the forerunner of adult crime, we need scientific, disciplined and persistent enquiry under scientific methods, as Cyril Burt appro-

priately sums up "the whole attitude is not so much for legal or moral code, but in the last resort for scientific investigation." The establishment of a juvenile court for the treatment of juvenile delinquents is the only solution.

The purpose of the juvenile court is protection, care and guardianship and not punishment; and so in dealing with the child it ascertains not only what the facts are in respect to the specific act or incident which brought the child into the court, but also to find out the causes which are responsible for such conduct of the child, whether these causes are physical, mental or emotional handicaps, difficulties or deficiencies, or whether they are environmental influences such as parents, homes, schools, associates, neighbourhood conditions or other causes, and having ascertained these causes, to work out a solution for the correction of those situations. Thus it is an assertion on the part of the state of its right to exercise its power as *paren patriæ* for the welfare of such of its minor citizens as are deprived of their proper parental control or have gone astray.

A CALL TO HINDU WORKERS IN CHHOTA-NAGPORE

By Pt. VISHWA NATH SHASTRI,
All-India Hindu (Arya) Dharma Seva Sangha

During my recent tour in Chhota-Nagpore on behalf of the All-India Hindu (Arya) Dharma Seva Sangha, I had an opportunity of studying the condition of the aboriginal tribes. Although various social and religious organizations are in existence nowadays among the Hindus still to my disappointment I found no proper organized Hindu social and religious activities in this district among the aboriginals. Christian missionaries are doing good work among these people even in these hard days. Christian missions, of course, get pecuniary help from the Government of Bihar. The Hindu organizations, get no such help. The local zamindars are indifferent. I had occasions to hold conversations with some of them. I gathered from their talk that they were under the impression that they would be incurring the displeasure of the Government if they were to help any indigenous social or religious movement. The Hindu Dharma Seva Sangha is contributing its mite towards helping some Hindu organizations, but without the sympathy and support of the local zamindars they can not make much progress. The following facts and figures will give the reader some ideas about the aboriginals :

(1) Ranchi District—
Total Aboriginals—9,81,600.
Indian Christians—2,61,773.
Hindu Aboriginals—7,19,827.

(2) In Whole Bihar—
Aboriginals—32,88,600.
Christians—3,19,726.

Thus 9·7% are Christians and 90·3% are non-Christians or Hindu and Tribal.

(3) Education :—	Christian	Non-Christian
Ho	35·6%	0·7%
Santhal	24·6%	0·5%
Munda	8·4%	1·0%
Uraon	8·0%	1·0%

(4) The District Board of Ranchi gives a grant of about Rs. 24,000 to Roman Catholic Mission for (primary) schools.

(5) Since no help is coming from Belgium, France, etc., due to war, Bihar Government gave Rs. 55,000 to R. C. Mission, Ranchi for primary schools for 1940-41 and 1941-42, as also for 1942-43.

(6) Ranchi has got 30 thanas and 4 sub-divisions. Sinbega sub-division has got 30% of total population as converted Christians and 80% of aboriginal population as Christian.

(7) Chainpur thana in Gumb sub-division has got 55% of total population converted Christians—and there are 51 churches of R. C. Mission and 11 churches of German Mission alone.

(8) The Primary schools are converted into churches in many places on Sundays and Christianity is preached therefrom.

(9) The problem of girls' education has not been taken up by any Hindu organization. On the other hand, Missionaries have been turning out every year hundreds of Christian girls as Matrics and Graduates. No high school in Ranchi has got any non-Christian aboriginal girls in class IX or X or XI. There is only one school at Jagannathpur in Singhbhum district where 35 Hindu girls are students in the high school together with boys there; and a hostel has been started by Thakkar Baba for the girls there. He has to spend Rs. 15 p.m. for house rent, Rs. 15 as pay to the Lady Superintendent, and Rs. 10 for help to girls, etc. He has been paying from January, 1942 but his funds are running short and it will be closed soon.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA AND DR. CYRIL S. FOX

By D. J. B.

The establishment of a Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India marks an important stage in the development of India's mineral resources. The Geological Survey of India had so long been engaged in the discovery of the mineral resources. Since the formation of the Utilisation Branch, it will be able to carry the work a stage further and show the ways in which the less known of India's mineral resources can be utilised to the full. This new Branch will demonstrate the practicability of commercially establishing the production of minerals, ores, metals, etc., which have not previously been fully utilised in India. The exploratory work already done by the Geological Survey of India shows that the Utilisation Branch will in time lead to the fullest possible utilisation of India's mineral wealth. This Branch will be concerned with proving deposits and with small-scale mining operations, and the construction and operation of experimental and even pilot plants for smelting, etc. These experiments will be continued till it is clear that large-scale production can be undertaken by an ordnance factory or by a commercial firm. This assurance was contained in a Government of India Press Note issued in May 15, 1942. Dr. Cyril Fox, Director of the Geological Survey of India, was mainly instrumental in bringing about the establishment of this Utilisation Branch.

Dr. Fox took Mining Engineering at the University of Birmingham and studied Geology as an extra-curricular subject under the eminent scientist Prof. Lapworth, F.R.S. In 1914, he volunteered for war service and served meritoriously in France. In 1917, he was recalled and placed in charge of the Government Mica Mines for mica production for the Ministry of Munitions, London. In 1921, he was deputed to assist the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau and later became Mineral Advisor to the High Commissioner for India for a term of two years.

Dr. Fox returned to India in 1923 to commence an elaborate survey of the coalfields of Bengal and Bihar. In 1931, Dr. Fox extended his surveys to Assam where he discovered the wide extent of the Tertiary coalfields. In 1934, he was engaged in an investigation of the mineral springs in Ethiopia on behalf of the Emperor Haile Selassie. In 1936, he was deputed to Afghanistan in a search for coal where due to his recommendations of a three years' scheme, operations were later commenced and are being conducted under Mr. W. D. West, G.S.I. In 1937, Dr. Fox represented the Government of India as a delegate to the International Geological Congress held at Moscow. Dr. Fox made the fullest use of this opportunity and studied in great detail the procedure and practice adopted by the U. S. S. R. Geological Survey (Committee) in relaying their scientific and geological knowledge to the organisation of mineral production leading to widespread industrial development of the country.

In 1939, Dr. Fox was appointed the Director of the Geological Survey of India. Dr. Fox was always against the policy of a silent and secluded existence of the Geological Survey of India and set forth on a campaign of making the Government of India conscious of the almost unused machinery of the Geological Survey and the vast potentialities there are in the correct utilisation of the geological knowledge of our mineral wealth and its scientific exploitation. To him therefore goes the credit of shaking off this attitude of seclusion for one of vigorous and effective action.

Dr. Fox considers mineral wealth as an irreplaceable national asset to be conserved and utilised on sound economic basis. To convince and move the Government of India to action required a gigantic effort. Dr. Fox has succeeded eventually and his greatest achievement as also his most valuable service to India is the foundation of the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India for carrying out investigations which aim at bringing the mineral deposits from an exploratory stage through demonstrational evidence to a stage of exploitation, subsequent to which they could be taken over by responsible public bodies. Operations of this nature have already commenced at Koh-i-Sultan, Baluchistan for sulphur, Zawar in Rajputana for zinc and lead, in Bengal for wolfram, and other places for copper and tin. Besides this, a detailed investigation of the extent of mineral deposits all over the country including the Indian States is being carried out.

Dr. Fox was President of the Mining Metallurgical and Geological Institute of India in 1936, and was President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1942.

In the post-war reconstruction in India, Dr. Fox's magnificent contribution to the co-ordination of scientific knowledge and mineral production will lead to widespread industrial development on sound, rational and well-planned economic foundations.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Reminiscences of Sister Nivedita

Nivedita contributed to the cause of India's regeneration by her penetrative power of interpretation of our culture, her lucid exposition, her insistence on an active energetic, proselytizing, and reforming Hinduism, her call for true manhood and sincerity in our public life, and her deep appreciation of Indian art. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

I had the good fortune of meeting Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret E. Noble) for the second time in October, 1904. She was at Buddha Gaya with Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. We were struck by her penetrative interpretation of the Indian scriptures, art, and folk-lore, which fact was highly appreciated by Dr. Tagore. The poet had his own beautiful way of expression of course, but he said that Nivedita had the power of going into the very heart of things and she was a marvellous exponent of them. In the dusk we used to meditate under the Bodhi tree. The Bodhi tree was the direct descendant of the descendants of descendants of the tree under which Buddha had attained Nirvana twenty-five centuries ago. As you all know, a branch of that tree was taken to Ceylon during the reign of Asoka and planted there by King Tissa of that island. A short distance off, there was a big circular stone slab with the marks of the Vajra or thunderbolt, which is said to have been supplied by Indra to Buddhna. Many of you might have seen that emblem or figure of the thunderbolt in the books of Sister Nivedita.

Seeing that mark, Nivedita remarked, this sign of thunder should be adopted as the national emblem of India.

Its sign significance is that when a man gives up his all for the good of humanity, he becomes as powerful as the thunderbolt for the work of the gods. Nivedita emphasized the bold and courageous implications of this symbol. This symbol has now been practically banished from India but is used by the Tibetan followers of Bhuddha.

We generally had some evening walk at that period with Nivedita and Rabindranath. You know, perhaps, Sujata, the daughter of the headman of the village of Urubela. She offered food to Buddha in a golden bowl when he was sitting under a tree in a famished condition. During our walks, we reached a village now called Urbil. Nivedita said that that was Urubelia. She began to praise Sujata and said that she was the ideal of a householder, who should supply necessaries to true recluses. In the fervour of her zeal, Nivedita took up a clod of earth and exclaimed, 'This, the home of Sujata, was sacred soil.'

The movement which is now called Agressive Hinduism, was so named by Nivedita.

I do not like the word aggressive. I prefer to call it active, Active Hinduism. . . There used to be no conversion to Hinduism. Brother Douglas of the Oxford Mission who is a devoted missionary sent out by the Oxford University, once remarked to me : 'Well, Jadu Babu, the extinction of the Hindu race is a question of arithmetic, as you cannot bring new members within your fold.' Yes, if no conversions are made and if Hinduism is not made active, the extinction of the Hindu race is a question of a hundred years or a century and a half. But Sister Nivedita urged Hinduism to be aggressive or active. She considered the Buddha as a reformer of Hinduism, and not the founder of a sect distinct from and antagonistic to Hinduism. It was the aim of Buddhism in its origin to purify Hindu society and life. Buddhist missionaries went to Europe, China, Japan, and other parts of the world to convert the people and to spread a reformed Hindu religion. I use the word Hinduism not in a limited sense, but in a comprehensive sense.

Nivedita wanted to say that the principles of Hinduism, which do not force us to believe any set of rigid dogmas, have many things to give to the world at large.

This Dharma is not a dogma or creed, and it can be practised by Christians and others also. Sister Nivedita explained many rituals and customs of Hinduism in a new and noble way by entering into their spirit. She had a living sympathy with and wonderful power of interpreting the things and thoughts of India of the past.

Sister Nivedita was deeply grieved to contemplate India's present degradation and weakness; she wanted that Indians should take their stand boldly and honourably in the comity of nations. They should conduct original researches. . . . So whenever any Indian made any original researches in any cultural field, she was overjoyed. For that reason she adored Sir J. C. Bose, whom she considered to be one of her personal friends. . . . . The present speaker for his original researches in Indian history based on Persian Manuscripts, was much encouraged by her.

She visited many sacred places of India undergoing privation and hardship like any Hindu pilgrim, and explained the inner significance of the Tirthas in her own novel way.

Sister Nivedita had a wonderful, sympathetic, and penetrative power of going to the very heart of things.

The rituals, the customs, and the traditions, some of which we have forgotten and some of which we follow blindly or as explained by the priests, were restored to their original colour, their true meaning, by the novel and critical exposition of the Sister. First she wrote *The Web of Indian Life* in which she threw new light on various Hindu systems. She wrote many other books in the same spirit.

She was a great supporter of Indian art.

Any original contribution by an Indian was encouraged by Nivedita. She used to write art notes in *The Modern Review* and wrote also a large number of essays in that journal till her death (1908-11).

When Abanindranath's picture of Mother India was published in *The Modern Review*, she was overjoyed. She wrote criticisms and pointed out the defects of our young artists. She was a good critic of art and had studied European art thoroughly. Indian art of the Bengal school owes much to her wise guidance.

Passionately loving the independence of India, she remarked that the right place of Raja Rammohun Roy was by the side of Ranjit Singh of Lahore. That is to say, the intellect of Bengal and the valour of the Punjab should act side by side for the political regeneration of India. She was a nationalist of nationalists. She loved her adopted land and admired all that is great and good in Mother India.

War News

The New Review observes :

Much space could be saved by sparing the reader what are evidently eructations of the Father of Lies ; as f. i. the announcement that the enemy had lost eight million dead on the Russian front ; eight million dead suppose a minimum of sixteen million wounded ; and with twenty-four million casualties in the last two years, they would keep up a front of over one thousand miles, and have men to spare to occupy the greater part of Europe ! It is well to remember that the total casualties of both sides on all fronts in the last war amounted to ten million killed, twenty million wounded and six million prisoners and missing ; Germany sued for an armistice when her casualties reached one-half of her numbers on the field. It is hard to campare one war with another ; but if mechanization is the great novelty in this war, it has greatly reduced numbers on the front line.

One must confess that war conditions in Russia gives the Father of Lies a fine chance of disporting himself at ease ; it is very difficut to make out what really happens on that front. With the winter campaign, we have a crop of news as bewildering as last year : successes on both sides, mutual annihilation and the rest. An elementary precaution is to be taken ; all Russian news must be reduced to their winter proportions. In Russia, a winter front can be maintained with one-third the number of troops needed in summer; again snow and blizzard hamper transport and operations in both sides and the day is equally short for both armies.

The front differs from the front line in the last war; there is no continuous line of trenches as ran from the North Sea to Switzerland, but a series of points fortified in various ways : machinegun posts, mine-fields, block-houses in concrete spread in quincuxlike arrangement so as to allow cross-fire, occasionally segments of the Maginot line type with redoubts and barracks underground. Such a system of defence can be penetrated at any point, and every forward position can be turned and encircled ; then reserves are brought for counter-attack ; they often re-establish the line, and even if they fail, they prevent any deep indentation. Local advances of several miles can be claimed by both sides ; but only prolonged nibbling or a large-scale offensive can achieve major results. The encircling of Nazi divisions in the Don-Volga districts did not imply an early reducing of the Stalingrad bulge ; the break-through in the Middle Don is much more gratifying.

What is most significant in Russia is that the Nazi armies are immobilized in a *guerre d'usure* and that attrition should wear them out sooner than the Russians.

Fighting for What ?

The question at the head of this article is the title of a book which has recently appeared in England and is from the pen of Sir John Orr, F.R.S., a distinguished scientific authority on the question of nutrition. This question has been made the theme of an article in *Science and Culture* :

For, what has come to pass ? Why should millions of men in the flower of their youth be hurled to death and destruction when modern science has brought the dream of universal plenty within the range of practical possibility ? Why should billions worth of goods—products of human labour and human brain—be sent to the bottom of the sea or be burnt to ashes ? Such are the questions which surge in the breast of the common man. For this is no mere political question. It concerns every one of us, as Sir John Orr recognises. not the least the scientist.

To such urgent questions the answer so far supplied by those in power are only in the form of the vaguest generalities.

Mr. Roosevelt has enunciated the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear—as the aim of the United Nations. He and Mr. Churchill have found the solution of the problem of human freedom in the Atlantic Charter, which seeks, in the main, to restore the territorial integrity of the European nations. Self-satisfied Pundits like H. G. Wells have found the panacea in a new "Declaration of the Rights of Man."

Such declarations have an uncannily familiar ring. Variants of these were heard in profusion during the last Great War.

The British Prime Minister has definitely said that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to four hundred millions of Indians. Can there be a World Order, or Universal Peace in a system where the psychology and needs of one-fifth of the human race. proud in their traditions of the oldest surviving civilisation of the world, are left out ?

In the spring of 1939, Hitler, it may be remembered, was asked by Roosevelt to give a guarantee regarding the independence of certain States (European). Hitler retorted by saying that the whole of Africa and nearly the whole of Asia was under foreign yoke and that yoke did not carry the inscription "Made in Germany." In the eyes of the people of Asia, the mother of all ancient cultures, the present struggle would be raised to higher moral levels, if there were an immediate declaration of the emancipation of the colonial peoples, and the bottom was taken out of such Hitlerian taunts.

The categorical exclusion of Asia from the provisions of the Atlantic Charter and the recent declaration of Mr. Churchill saying that "he had not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire" appears to indicate a contrary direction. British statesmen have openly declared their resolution to re-absorb Hong Kong in the British Empire, which Britain annexed from China a century ago. The Empire idea is being extolled even more vociferously than before. The slogan of world

freedom ill accords with this trend to the maintenance of the *status quo*.

This is particularly tragic, for the continuation of the *status quo* or any slight variant of it is bound to carry within it the seeds of imperial rivalries and of future wars, as the faults and folds within the earth lead to periodic earth convulsions. Future generations would then have to ask the same seemingly eternal question again, "Fighting for What ?"

Sir John Orr in his discussion of the roots of the present evil system and remedial measures, has come near enough but has not been able to hit the bull's eye of truth.

He realises that "the economic system is more important than the political system," that capitalism has developed into monopolistic capitalism, which operates in its own interest as distinguished from that of the community. He also realises that these big business concerns have great influence over Governments.

In their supposed interest, the monopolists would limit production or even destroy goods in order to keep up prices while millions would go without these goods, which may be esential. Sir John says :

"The defects of the system were most glaring in the case of food. While many millions of people in the world did not have sufficient food for their needs an International Wheat Committee devised measures to r duce the production of wheat. These measures were approved by Governments. They were approved by the British Government at a time when, in India and in other parts of the Empire, people for whose welfare the Government was responsible were suffering from lack of food.

The intention was to adjust supply to the economic demand, even though it was well known that millions of the population were suffering in health from the lack of the foods which these measures prevented being produced or imported in greater amounts.

Hungry people, to whom theories of adjusting supply to economic demand brought little satisfaction, would have eaten the food had they got their hands on it. So we had to resort to the further measures of destroying 'surplus' food. We treated wheat with chemicals to make it unfit for human consumption.

The stability of Great Britain in a rapidly changing world may be an actual danger. Britain cannot remain unchanged, retaining an outworn system which other nations are changing, *unless we are content to suffer the fate of Rome, of Spain and all the other great empires which settled down to live on their fat. A ruling class living on dividends, masses of the people on the dole and a Government trying merely to maintain an uneasy status quo is a picture which fills thinking men with despair...The dole and the cinemas in Britain were too reminiscent of the bread and circuses in Rome when that great empire began to decline.*" (Italics are ours).

And we in India can rightly ask the question. "Are Sir John Orr's theories only for internal consumption, or for export to colonies and dependencies ?"

Like most British intellectuals he prefers not to dilate on the point, and herein lies the particular weakness of Sir John's thesis. It should be clear that there can be no stability in the world unless there be freedom from want *for every body in the world* and not for the citizens of British Isles alone, and this cannot take place so long as the Imperial system survives. The Imperial system *requires* that the colonial countries should remain industrially undeveloped, so that they might for ever be the markets for the finished products of the Imperial powers and supplies of raw materials. If British scientists are not prepared to break finally and irrevocably with the Imperial system, they cannot be planners for world peace and prosperity. They can only delude themselves.

A Captain of Industry

To celebrate the 60th birthday of Mr. Walchand Hirachand, the Directors of the Scindia Seteam Navigation Company and its associated companies gave a dinner at the Taj Mahal Hotel when a large number of prominent citizens of Bombay were present. We quote from *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

In congratulating Mr. Walchand on the attainment of his 60th birthday Sir Chunilal B. Mehta referred to the services rendered by Mr. Walchand to the development of Indian industries, particularly the shipping industry. Efficiency was the secret of the success of the enterprizes of Mr. Walchand, Sir Chunilal Mehta on behalf of the Directors of the Scindia Company presented a silver plate to Mr. Walchand who in the course of his reply said :

" Modern conditions have amplified the basic fundamentals of orthodox economies defined in land, labour and capital as the three basis of economic activities. Scientific knowledge and political power are today as important as the three standardised factor and as every day passes they are becoming more and more important. The economic facet of political power is as essential as any other and its immediate realisation should be our main concern.

The political subjection of India has, however, prevented the utilisation of science and politics so patent in recent economic developments throughout the world. Moreover, a foreign Government has certain inevitable concomitants at home as a result of which the national effort of the subject nation are being frustrated. Foreign vested interests are able to maintain and add to their monopolies with the help of the Government with the result that, for example, in the overseas trade of India, though Britishers were, before this war, actively associated with the nationals of the enemy countries of today, they have so far shown no inclination to facilitate participation therein of India's mercantile marine.

In spite of the obstacles enumerated above, it is a matter for congratulation, howsoever qualified, that during the last twenty years the Scindia and its Associated Companies have been able to reclaim a small portion of at least the coastal trade of India. The Scindia Company which stood alone in 1919 is now supported by over a dozen Associated Companies and the paid-up capital of the Company which had, unfortunately, to be reduced as a result of the staggering losses incurred in fighting the foreigner in our own trades, has not only been restored but actually exceeds the original figure."

Turkey

Some time ago was celebrated thoughout Turkey the 19th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic which was proclaimed on the 29th October, 1923. In the course of an article on Turkey in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy observes :

Born in 1880 in Salonika, Mustafa Kemal entered a military academy early in life and turned out to be both a dashing and vigorous soldier and an effective political revolutionary. When the War was over and the Allies had the Sultan and his government at Constantinople completely in their clutches, Kemal managed to get himself appointed as the Inspector-General of Turkish forces in Anatolia. This provided an opportunity which he exploited in full measure. Sultan Muhammad VI had made himself a willing tool in the hands of the Allies. The latter had plans ready not only to maintain the Sultan only as a puppet at Constantinople but to slice off Turkish territories in Asia and distribute them among themselves. Kemal and his associates saw the possibility of complete effacement of Turkey as an independent state The danger stimulated his patriotism and brought his organisational ability into full play. In Anatolia his national and patriotic ardour proved infectious and people rallied to his banner. An assembly was convoked and a document called the National Pact was issued.

Meanwhile, a considerable Greek army had entered Asia. Minor and was proceeding against the capital which Mustafa Kemal had organised at Ankhara in the heart of Anatolia. Italy, when it entered the War on the Allied side in 1815, had looked forward to a large accession of territory. In fact she was promised such accession in Asia Minor. But Britain and France had no intention of fulfilling the promise which they had made and Britain egged on Greece in Asia Minor so that Italian adventure in that quarter might be forestalled. So the Turks under Kemal had to fight and defeat the Greeks before they could achieve their object.

The possibility of the dismemberment of the Turkish State had stimulated the Kemalist opposition.

The occupation of Smyrna by Greek troops created that wave of patriotic feeling among the Turks of Anatolia which made it possible for Mustafa Kemal to organise his national movement on a solid basis and create a national Government at Ankhara which could again stimulate the active co-operation of the Turkish people. The war against the Greeks turned out to be a long drawn-out affair. It was not till the autumn of 1922 that the Kemalist forces found it possible to defeat the Greek army finally and drive it out from Asia Minor. During this period of arduous struggle a Turkish national army grew from strength to strength and the determination of the Turks to maintain the independence of their homeland was increased correspondingly.

When the War was at last over the problem arose as to how the outstanding diplomatic questions should be solved.

To this end a conference was called to meet at Lausanne, which, after one breakdown, made a final settlement of the outstanding issues. Ismet Pasha, the present President of the Turkish Republic, was the Turkish plenipotentiary. He knew the Turkish mind very clearly. Lord Curzon that superior person, who represented Britain in the first conference, tried to maintain imperialist privileges in Turkey by his blustering tactics. He even staged a break down and left Lausanne in a huff. But the bluster proved ineffective. Ismet Pasha (now Ineunu) stuck to his gun. So ultimately the Kemalist Government won its points.

As a result of the treaty now signed, Turkey became a full-fledged independent national state as it never had been before. The capitulations which were not only a badge of political inferiority but which had shackled so much Turkish industry and trade were at last abolished.

Ankhara continued to be the capital of the Turkish State but not only Constantinople but a good portion of territory in Thrace remained in Turkish hands. This was certainly a severe disappointment to those Europeans who had demanded for half a century the expulsion of the sick man bag and baggage from the continent. Apart from this foot-hold in Europe, Turkey became essentially a nationalist state in Asia Minor with an almost homogeneous population. This homogeneity was considerably augmented by the interchange of populations allowed by the Lausanne Treaty.

In October, 1923. Turkey was declared a republic. Under the constitution all legislative and executive powers of the State are vested in the Grand National Assembly which is chosen by the people.

The Assembly in its turn is responsible for electing the President of the republic from among its own members. The President is given only a suspensory veto over the laws passed by the Assembly. It is also to be mentioned that the Ministers of the President are responsible to the Assembly. From this description of the constitutional mechanism it may appear to the unwary reader that Turkey is not only a republic but a full-fledged democracy. But actually during the last two decades the new State has been essentially a dictatorship temperd by public opinion which is alert and active. How could this have been ? Simply because the Assembly is elected by the people it should not be taken for granted that it is the symbol of democracy. It should be noted that in Turkey all members of the Assembly have to belong to one party, *e.g.*, The Republican People's Party. By statute Mustafa Kemal was until his death the President of this Party. President Ineunu has succeeded Kemal to this office. The President of the Party is empowered to appoint its Vice-President and General Secretary. These three together constitute a Council which selects the candidates for elections to the Assembly. So ultimately the Assembly consists of persons in whom the President has confidence and upon whose support he can always count.

What is Health ?

In the course of an article under the above caption in *The Calcutta Homœopathic Medical College Magazine* Dr. D. K. De observes :

A student of medical science is puzzled by the attempt on the part of expositors to explain health by the expression—freedom from disease, and disease by the expression—disorder of health.

Closely scrutinising the current ideas and definitions of health one comes to the conclusion that the various statements are incomplete and vague in every respect.

In Physiology I find big gaps in our study which should not have occurred if the physiologists considered the influences of the outside world on the body. Physiology deals with the functions of an organ or organs, a part or parts of the body and one system or two separately or conjointly, without considering the influences of the outside world. It does not consider the effects of environments on the body. It does not consider the relations of all the organs or systems to one another. It does not consider the alteration of functions of other systems when one of the system is affected by the physical agencies of the world. It does not consider functions of different organs or systems in different attitudes and positions of the body.

The term health is constantly and commonly used to indicate the condition of the body of an individual.

Health is that quality of the body which makes the body adapt itselft to the constantly changing circumstances.

Health is immensely elastic controlled by its life force under the altered and variable circumstances. When the body is influenced by the disturbing agencies under various circumstances the life force or the vital force prepares the body accordingly for the preservation of its inherent quality or property, the life force itself being kept intact and unimpaired. We may go further to make it clear to our mind that the body attacked by various agencies undergo changes to preserve its properties for the maintenance of the body.

Also the changes in the body under various circumstances and influenced by various agencies of the world are manifested by symptoms. The totality of those symptoms represent the health of the body. It is now evident that disease is nothing but the state of health under particular circumstances and the body is never free from disturbances. Causative factors are the external and internal agencies influencing the body.

Thus health indicates the changes of the body in a general sense. Hence it becomes difficult to differentiate health from disease in relation to changes in the body and feelings. A chill on the body, a few sneezes, etc., may either indicate the first symptoms of disease or may indicate the signs of one's health. So we come to the conclusion that so long as the changes in the body as observed by a careful and unprejudiced medical man, are temporary, for the good of the body and for its preservation, the body is said to be healthy; when those changes are for the destruction of the body, it is said to be diseased.

How do You Manage Your Kidneys?

Dr. A. J. Haworth writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

The kidneys take from the blood body waste, such as inorganic salts, various compounds of nitrogen, and water. Ordinarily this waste amounts to about two quarts per day. It passes from the kidneys through tubes called "ureters" to the bladder, from which it is voided from time to time.

Inflammation of kidneys or bladder is common. It may be caused by infection or by irritating substances in the food or drink. It is often aggravated by too concentrated urine, which in turn is due to drinking too little water.

Kidney stones are exceedingly painful, especially when they are passing through, or are caught in, a ureter. They are formed by the precipitation of inorganic minerals or other substances in the urine. The neck of the bladder may become obstructed by a stone, and the distension caused by the retention of the urine injures the kidneys, due to back pressure.

The market is glutted with quick "cures" for "kidney trouble" or "bladder trouble."

At the first signs of trouble go to a reliable physician and get a complete examination. An X-ray will disclose stones if they are present. Surgical attention may be necessary. If this is the case, there is not as much to fear as some think, for during the past few years kidney and bladder surgery has been developed to a high degree of efficiency and safety.

The importance of urinalysis cannot be overestimated. It not only helps in the diagnosis of kidney and bladder disease, but reveals other afflictions, such as diabetes. Some of these disorders are not painful, and may be making insidious inroads unknown to the victim.

Once your trouble has been accurately determined, the first logical step toward cure has been taken.

The Work of Indian Universities

When passing judgment on modern Indian universities it is well to remember that the earliest of them were established just eighty-five years ago. Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, one of the Advisers to the Secretary of State for India, and formerly Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University, and of Madras University, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

A careful survey of the work done by them during these years will show that, in spite of early mistakes both in regard to policy and methods, the great strides which the universities have made within the past quarter of a century give ground for confidence that their contribution to the well-being and progress of the country will be far more vital and fruitful in the coming years than in the past. The history of Indian universities may be broadly divided into two periods—the first, a period of 60 years from 1857 to 1917, and the second from 1917 up to the present day.

The Period from 1857 to 1917.—I think it would be correct to say that the main function of Indian universities during the sixty years between 1857 and 1917 was to hold examinations and to confer degrees on the successful candidates. The Indian Universities Acts of 1857, which led to the establishment of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, laid down that the purpose of these universities was "to ascertain by means of examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of literature, science and art, and of rewarding them by academical degrees as evidence of their respective attainments." To these universities were added the Punjab University in 1882 and the University of Allahabad in 1887. These five universities were thus purely examining and degree conferring bodies.

The Period from 1917 to 1942.—The ground for the important developments which took place during this period was prepared by the new educational policy enunciated by the Government of India in 1913. In 1910, a Department of Education was created in the Government of India, and in 1913 a Resolution was published in this department laying down an extensive policy in all branches of education. It drew attention not only to the need for additional universities in India, but also for university organisations of a better type. "At present," the Resolution stated, "there are only five Indian universities for 185 Arts and Professional Colleges in British India, besides several institutions in the Indian States. The day is probably far distant when India will be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating university. But it is necessary to restrict the area over which affiliating universities have control by securing, in the first instance a separate university for each of the leading provinces in India, and secondly to create new local teaching and residential universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the road to educational efficiency." This pronouncement was followed four years later by the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission, presided over by Sir Michael Sadler and with our distinguished chairman Sir Philip Hartog, as a member, which issued an exhaustive report. The new policy laid down by the Government of India in 1913 and the recommendations of this Commission have guided university reforms all over the country.

The Commission endorsed the policy of the Government of India regarding unitary and residential universities, emphasised the importance of research work being undertaken by university teachers, and recommended the appointment of Academic Councils consisting mainly of university and college teachers, who should be the final authority in all purely academic matters.

The effect of the new policy of the Government of India and of the report of the Sadler Commission was the creation of a number of new universities of the unitary, teaching and residential type and the modification of the older universities into both teaching and affiliating universities. The new unitary, teaching and residential universities are those of Benares (1915), Osmania in Hyderabad (1918), Aligarh (1920), Dacca (1920), Lucknow (1922), Allahabad (1927) and Annamalai (1929).

The University of Mysore (1916), the first university to be founded in the Indian States, aims at the unitary type, but there are two university centres, Mysore and Bangalore.

The University of Travancore (1937) is primarily a teaching university established at Trivandrum, but has some private colleges within the State admitted to the privileges of the university.

The Universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and the Punjab are now teaching and affiliating universities. So are the new universities of Patna (1917), Nagpur (1923) and Andhra (1926).

The Delhi University created in 1922 is likely to develop into a teaching university of the federal type with a number of constituent colleges sharing in the work of the university.

The Agra University, which came into existence in 1927, still remains a purely affiliating university. Thus of the eighteen universities in India, with the single exception of Agra, the remaining seventeen universities are either wholly teaching and residential universities or universities of the teaching and affiliating type. Of these, two are All-India institutions of an essentially denominational character, the Benares Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University. It is worth noting that among the Indian universities, Osmania University in Hyderabad State is the only university which uses Urdu as the medium of instruction and examination, though English is studied as a compulsory second language. Several of the universities have professional courses in law, medicine, engineering, teaching and agriculture, while almost all of them are making increased provision

for higher work leading to research degrees in particular fields of knowledge.

Research Work.—The standard of research in Indian universities does not yet bear comparison with that of the work of British and American scholars, but that is largely due to the pressure of routine teaching duties on the university staffs in India and the lack of adequate laboratory and library equipment which are indispensable for research.

It is encouraging to note, however, that research work is being directed more and more towards things which have a direct bearing on the social and economic life of the country.

The lack of correlation between school and college curricula and the life of the people has often been pointed out as one of the most serious defects in the Indian educational system. The student absorbs a certain amount of knowledge from books, but it has no relation either to his own environment or to the practical problems which would confront him in later life.

It is necessary that the subjects of study should, as far as possible, be brought into vital relationship with present-day realities, and that emphasis should be given to those aspects of knowledge which have a special contemporary value.

Attempts are being made to remedy this defect in university education, and greater attention is beginning to be devoted to subjects of Indian interest. If the scientific work of Indian universities could be more fully directed to the many problems connected with the development of the vast resources of the country, the universities would make a contribution of inestimable value towards promoting the prosperity of the people.

The Problem of Numbers

One of the things which tends to impair the quality of the work done by universities is undoubtedly the presence in them of a large number of students who are not fitted to receive higher education.

Universities and colleges are so crowded with students that there is little scope for proper intellectual and moral training. The education of the average student is consequently of a very narrow type, and is measured mainly by success in examinations. The problem cannot be solved, as has been pointed out, by the mere imposition of more stringent standards of affiliation and examination, though this is necessary. Some of the universities and colleges have in recent years introduced the system of tutorial work, but in view of the numbers to be dealt with and the inadequacy of the staff, this work frequently takes on the character of merely supplementary lectures to those given in the class-room. Little or no attempt is made at throwing the student on his own intellectual resources and stimulating his independent thinking. The real solution can only come, as has often been pointed out, with the reorganisation of the school system in such a way that the great majority of the pupils could be diverted at appropriate stages either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. But along with the extension of vocational and technical education there is need for the expansion of industry and commerce if the men who are trained for these callings are to find suitable employment. Doubts have been expressed whether Indian boys are industrially minded at all, and would overcome the habit and tradition of centuries in order to take to

technical training. The great war effort of India at present has shown that these doubts and fears are groundless.

Need for Co-ordination of University Work.—In spite of the progress which has been made in the field of advanced study and research, the best results have not been achieved owing to the lack of co-operation either among the universities or between them and the research institutes in the country.

There is a need for collaboration between the universities and the various research institutions in the country. There are a number of central institutes which function as common federal institutions for advanced technical training and research Among these may be mentioned the Agricultural Research Institute at Delhi, the Industrial Research Bureau, the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, the School of Tropical Medicine, the Dhanbad School of Mines, the Lac Research Institute at Ranchi, the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute at Cawnpore, the Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay, and the Indian Institute of Science founded by J. N. Tata at Bangalore.

Old and New Delhi

From India, where he is special correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, Victor Thompson send this background report. It is reproduced in the *News Review*, September, 1942 :

The Sahib remains aloofly in his clubs and the Indian sees in this not merely British reserve but British contempt. Segregation is neatly if accidentally symbolised here in Delhi, the capital and G. H. Q. of India. For Indians there is Old Delhi, picturesque and smelly, dominated by a mosque that takes your breath away and a walled fort from which you expect to see Akbar the Great ride out at the head of the Mogul army. Fortune-tellers and vendors of tawdry trifles importune you as you tack your way through the brightly dressed throng. Beggars, working for a beggar master who pays them a flat rate, good days and bad days alike, thrust deformed limbs under your eyes to try to waken your compassion.

But now let us take a taxi, if we can afford extortionate rates, and go a couple of miles to New Delhi, that imposing city of handsome buildings and long lawns and carefully measured vistas that stand as proud monuments to the majesty of the British Raj. It is all very new. You feel you want to take it and rub it in the dust, to take off a little of the shine All the same, you cannot deny its dignity, any more than you can deny the Roman virtues of the Britons who rules there.

What a contrast to Old Delhi ! And how carefully it is separated from the former Indian capital !

Corridors of the secretariat are full now of gleaming staff officers. Everybody is "in conference;" there really is activity and no more than the inevitable amount of boring delays.

For a newspaper man back from the torrid airfields of Assam or the steaming jungle of Bengal, however, it is all a little too polished. If New Delhi knows all about the war, it is too well bred to betray its knowledge. It retains its proconsular calm even in face of the invasion of long-striding, free-talking American officers, who are housed in a big hotel and have raised the tipping standard to a point where it would almost be worth my while to work my way through Delhi as a waiter.

But behind the calm great decisions have been and must be taken. Here it was decided to meet Congress Party defiance with the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders. Here more than in London will originate any new approach to the Indian crisis. Is any new approach imminent ? There is no outward sign of it. But the position is not one which can be tolerated indefinitely. So the discussions in and around the Viceroy's palace are grave and prolonged.

I hope, though, that the discussers will be able mentally to leap the distance between New Delhi and Old Delhi. After all, the fate of 400,000,000 Indians is in the balance- one fifth of the earth's population.

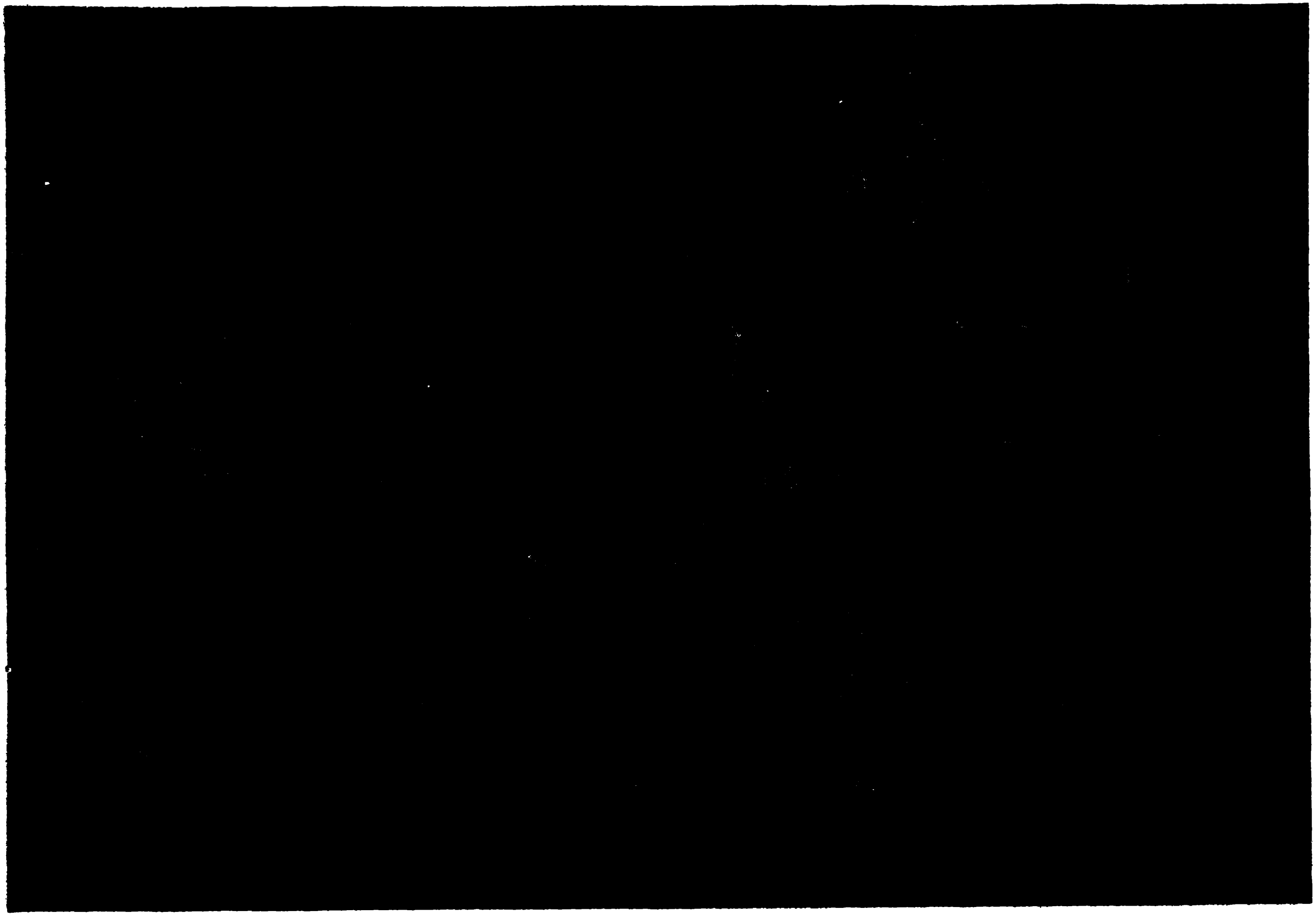
The Taj Mahal by Moonlight

In an article entitled "In the Land of the Great Mogul" in *The Catholic World*, Richard A. Welfle thus describes the Taj by moonlight :

It so often happens that the things we hear people rhapsodize about turn out to be the most disappointing. But I am prepared to swear by all that is fair in the land of the Great Mogul that the Taj by moonlight will not let you down. It is absolutely superb, positively charming, simply. . . . .

Perhaps a suppressed sigh of wonderment escaped my lips, but nothing more. For there at the far end of the basins, silhouetted against the satin starlit sky, and with its perfect image reflected in the water as in a mirror, rose up before me that pale apparition of bewitching beauty that is the Taj Mahal by moonlight. One really wonders if it isn't only an apparition. For it seems to be floating in space, a part of the moonlight, unsubstantial as a dream. The only word that comes close to describing it is enchanting ! But it is too ethereal, too elusive to be captured by mere words. Samuel Smith attempts it in his book, but after all he can only say that : "It hardly seems of the earth, earthy. . . . No such effect is produced by the first view of St. Peter's or Milan or Cologne Cathedrals ; they are all majestic, but this is enchantment itself."

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THE GANAPATI FESTIVAL
By Jyotirindra Roy

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NOTES

Immediate Enquiry Needed

An adjournment motion was tabled on February 15 last in the Bengal Legislative Assembly to discuss "the repression carried out in Contai and Tamluk subdivisions of Midnapore district, including the arrests of innocent persons, destruction of properties, burning of houses and assaults of men and women." The mover of the motion, Dr. Sanyal, said that in levelling the above charges against the Government, he took the entire responsibility of what he was stating and asserted that if an impartial enquiry was instituted, he would be in a position to substantiate those charges. He also said that long after the disaster people could not move from Contai without permits and that there was restriction imposed on the movement of even a member of the House representing the constituency and thus he was prevented from rendering relief.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee gave a graphic account of the happenings in Midnapore from his own personal knowledge and experience. The substance of his speech, as published in the Press, is given below:

Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee said, within the time at his disposal it was impossible to give a true picture of Midnapore. He would only give, as briefly as possible, a picture of Midnapore before and after the cyclone.

The House would recall that before the "Civil Disobedience" started the denial policy was enforced by Government in many parts of Bengal. So far as Midnapore was concerned, the policy of removal of boats and other conveyances, especially bicycles, went on unabated. Nearly ten thousand bicycles were taken away from the district, a large number of boats were ordered to be surrendered at a very short notice and a few hundreds were destroyed, because people failed to surrender them in time. How these acts should arouse strong feelings in the minds of the local inhabitants could be comprehended.

Continuing Dr. Mookerjee said that then came the Civil Disobedience Movement. Dr. Mookerjee would not go into details how that movement went on. He would accept for his present purpose the statement made by the authorities that the movement took a serious turn, and there was a deliberate challenge thrown out to Government. He also assumed that the situation took a bad turn. But, the fact remained that men who were carrying on these 'subversive' activities were doing them non-violently. When the Chief Minister would make his statement, Dr. Mookerjee could dare say that the Chief Minister would say that there was not a single allegation of violence used by the workers until the situation worsened by the 'extraordinary' repressive policy of Government went on. *Arrests went on; burning of houses and looting went on.* This was how the district fared.

"Now, *under what authority the burning of people's houses was being carried on, I do not know.* I do not know if the Chief Minister will be able to say under whose orders these acts of violence were committed. Dr. Mookerjee said that it might be assumed that before the 16th of October, the movement had assumed an extraordinary character. Any legitimate steps taken by the local officers for curtailing the activities of the workers or for re-establishment of law must be supported by any Government." "*But Government officers overstepped this and carried on,*" Dr. Mookerjee alleged, "*a deliberate policy of destruction.*"

SUPPRESSION OF NEWS

Continuing he said that the cyclone came.

And the first charge he would level against Government was the suppression of news until the Minister had visited the district.

He hoped that the Chief Minister would deal with this question. The *communique* was issued, Dr. Mookerjee said, only after the return of the Ministers on the

4th November. Not one single item of news was allowed to be published. News was published about certain other parts of Bengal, about Noakhali, Faridpur, etc., and that a storm of a severe character had passed through certain areas of Bengal.

When a Bengali daily merely asked about happenings in Midnapore, there went a warning from the Secretariat that it must not refer in any way to the happenings in that district.

Nobody knew anything about the extent of disaster in Midnapore. Did the Chief Minister who is also the Home Minister know? *Not a single Minister knew anything about it.* When the Ministers demanded an answer from the Home Department, the reply was "military consideration prevented the circulation of the news." The Defence of India Rules prohibited the circulation of news which gave information to the enemy about the weather of any particular area, and that no news should be circulated which would disclose information to the enemy about the breakdown of communications. It was news of this description the circulation of which had been prohibited by the Government of India. In fact, the Ministers reminded some of the officers that they were not giving information to the enemy, but the Japanese were broadcasting that a lakh of Bengalees were killed by the cyclone. *"This was a criminal neglect on the part of the Home Department."* In fact, the Government *communique* was issued when the Chief Minister and other Ministers stated, after their visit to Midnapore, that they would issue *communique* on their own responsibilities.

Situation Bungled

The report came from the district officer, minimising the gravity of the situation. Did that report suggest that relief should be withheld for the purpose of teaching the people a permanent lesson? (Cries of shame, shame). The district officer reported that not a single person came forward to receive relief. But shortly report came that thousands of persons were coming to receive doles. The whole situation was bungled. There was practically one man; there was no organised relief. The Revenue Department tried to do certain things, but on account of the obstructive attitude taken up by the Home Department it could do little. *There was relief by day and raid at night.* Dr. Mookerjee challenged Government to produce reports of some responsible officers of the district which, he said, would bear out his allegations (shame, shame). Government said that they wanted peace. All the Ministers tried to release political prisoners of Midnapore who gave undertaking that the political movement would cease. The prisoners pleaded for seven days' release. But that was not given. Some of the Ministers found themselves helpless in the matter. This was the true picture of Midnapore. "We demand an enquiry. There must be an open independent judicial inquiry. We know the Chief Minister feels in his heart the necessity of this inquiry. Let him say what prevents him from doing so. He must take the House and the public in the fullest confidence and tell us who are preventing the Chief Minister from accepting our request and setting up an inquiry." (Italics ours Ed., *M. R.*).

No reply has been given to the serious allegations Dr. Mookerjee has made on the floor of the House. The public has every right to know whether Dr. Mookerjee had handed over any lists of houses that were raided or burnt by or under the direction of the police, and if he did so what action was taken on them. Will the Premier throw any light on it? Did he submit to the Government the names of persons who were raided, robbed and humiliated before and after the cyclone. Is it a fact that grave allegations of oppression were made to the ministers, in the presence of local officers, when they visited Midnapore? Dr. Mookerjee has made allegations of dishonouring of women. Did the Government make any inquiry into it?

The Premier Mr. Fazlul Huq said that if the tales of Dr. Sanyal and Dr. Mookerjee were true there was no doubt that horrible atrocities had been committed on the people by persons who were charged with the duty of maintaining law and order. In the circumstances when very serious allegations had been made against the local officials, the Premier said that the Government had agreed that there should be an impartial and independent enquiry to be conducted by men of the highest judicial integrity belonging to the status of High Court Judges.

The personnel of the Enquiry Committee ought to have been announced by this time. There are ample reasons for apprehending that the proposal to set up the enquiry committee will not be tasteful to the Civil Servants and their supporters in the Bengal Assembly, the European Group. On the day when the adjournment motion was discussed and the acceptance of the proposal for an enquiry committee was announced, the European Group remained silent. The Premier himself made an attempt to stand by the services, but in face of the serious charges it was apparent that he felt himself too weak to defend them. He could not give a simple reply to Dr. Mookerjee's specific charges. A *prima facie* case for enquiry was thoroughly established.

Nine days after this discussion and declaration, the Leader of the European Group in the Assembly, in his speech criticising the budget, returned to that subject and said, "By agreeing to such an enquiry the ministry has practically admitted that there is a *prima facie* case against these officers, whereas in the debate no *prima facie* case was made against them at all." Not only the European Group in the Assembly, but also the Civil Services, might have spoken through Mr. Hendry in expressing the view quoted above. This is a clear tendency to sabotage the proposal for enquiry. Mr. Huq should not make any more delay in announcing the personnel of the Committee.

Who Is Responsible For Quinine Shortage ?

Science and Culture in its January number writes :

In a malaria-ridden province like Bengal quinine is as essential as food and drink. The problem of the supply of quinine has during recent months, assumed gigantic proportions though we have been watching with great anxiety and uneasiness the rapid worsening of the quinine situation in India ever since the outbreak of the present war. The sudden intensification of the quinine problem in India has been in the main brought about by the Allied reverses in the Far East resulting in the removal of Java from the list of supplier countries in quinine and partly by the hoarding and profiteering mentality of dealers and middle-men eagerly biding their time for a like opportunity.

From the record of past consumption we find that about 210,000 lbs. of quinine are required annually to meet the civic needs of which the indigenous production is responsible for only 70,000 lbs., the remaining supplies of 140,000 lbs. being obtained from Java alone prior to its capitulation to the Japanese. Even then the total consumption of 210,000 lbs. falls far short of the real demand of quinine in this country, as much as two-thirds of this demand being left unsatisfied. This unfortunate state of affairs is largely due to the high price of quinine even in times of peace, dictated by the Kina Bureau of Java on the strength of their monopoly of quinine supply and humble acceptance of the same by the Indian producers for want of any Government protection against Javanese dumping.

It may be recalled that, in 1939, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research carried on an investigation to explore the possibilities of increased cultivation of cinchona in Bengal. As a matter of fact, Bengal alone can score a maximum production of 50 to 60 thousand pounds. *The report of the investigation, prepared by Mr. Wilson, revealed the existence of sufficient lands in various parts of India, suitable for cinchona cultivation and a promise for future self-sufficiency with regard to quinine supply. But this far-reaching suggestion of the report was neglected by the Government* which insisted on the short-sighted policy of obtaining an easy supply from Java with the bitter consequences that we are now experiencing.

The Government appears to have realised, of late, the importance of quinine problem in India fully in keeping with its old tradition of belated consciousness of Indian problems and have concentrated on the improvement in the methods of cultivation and an extension of acreage under cinchona. We, however, appreciate the Government measure to follow the Russian methods of cultivation, which guarantee substantial yields of quinine from two and half-year old plants. Already about 700 acres of land in Bengal are undergoing this new experiment in the Russian methods of cultivation. Also we note with satisfaction that by introducing a system of rationing of quinine in this province the Government of Bengal has recently decided to control the situation. Furthermore, a five-year rationing scheme has been adopted, whose successful execution, it is understood, will effect the distribution of the total stock at the hands of the Central Government together with the annual production of Bengal and Madras all over India for the said period and will make 75 per cent. of the past consumption available for each unit of distribution. While some such rationing scheme is doubtless indispensable under the present circumstances, we wish if Providence could only temporarily ration the incidence of malaria out of consideration for the people of this wretched province. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

The acute shortage of quinine felt by the malaria-ridden provinces is entirely due to the short-sighted policy of the Government in extending their unqualified patronage to the Dutch Kina Bureau and the consequent neglect of cinchona cultivation in India. Had they acted on the Wilson Report in time the quinine position today might have been a little easier. The price of quinine has always been maintained at an artificially high level by the Kina Bureau and the Government have continued to support them. The result has been that two-thirds of the potential consumers have been shut off. From the humanitarian point of view, it was the moral duty of the Government to undertake extensive plantation of cinchona with a view to supply quinine at a cheap price. When the shortage had become acute due to their own short-sightedness, the Commerce Member of the Government of India had declared that they had a stock of quinine which would be available for three years. It was not however disclosed on what basis this stock was calculated. Reports are coming from the malaria-ridden districts that supply of quinine is not even 5 per cent of what is required.

U. K. C. C. Spreading Out

LONDON, Feb. 2.

Asked about the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation's recent formation of subsidiary companies the President of the Board of Trade, Dr. Dalton states that the Corporation has registered nine subsidiaries in the Middle East and East Africa in December and had previously registered subsidiaries for Argentina, Spain and Portugal. The reason always is commercial convenience.

NO MONOPOLY IN TRADE

The Corporation has not a monopoly of trade in any of the areas concerned nor does it determine what goods shall be shipped though *it allocates ship-space to certain Middle East destinations on behalf of the War Transport Ministry.* The Corporation is doing most valuable work in many parts of the world and is regarded by the British Government as essential to the war effort.

Dr. Dalton firmly refused to give any assurance that the Corporation's activities will be terminated at the end of the war. To suggestions that the Corporation forcibly takes orders away from merchants and uses the licensing system to prevent merchants continuing their proper business, Dr. Dalton replied that the Corporation on the whole was very helpful to many traders in various parts of the world but the *war necessitates some departures from peacetime especially in the Middle East.* In allocating ship-space the Corporation is the Agent of the British Government.—*Reuter.* (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

Dr. Dalton tried to make out that the U. K. C. C. is a commercial corporation and nothing beyond that but he could not conceal the fact that it allocates ship-space on behalf of the War Transport Ministry. He had to admit under pressure that 'the war necessitates some departures from peacetime especially in the Middle East' in trade and commerce and Middle East may very possibly include India. It is no use denying that U. K. C. C. is a pseudo-political monopoly organisation.

White Soldiers Not To Take Orders From Coloured Officer

Mr. B. Persaud, an Indian student in England desirous of getting a King's commission, is reported to have stated in a letter to the *Spectator* of London that the Commanding Officer of a Casualty Clearing station with whom Mr. Persaud had an interview, informed him that "the authorities did not wish to have white soldiers taking orders from a coloured soldier." The Officer Commanding of a Radio Section, is reported to have said : "It is no use blinking the fact there does exist a colour prejudice in the British army and there is no chance of promotion for you." We should like to know if the facts are as stated. If they are, not many in India will be surprised.—*Bombay Chronicle.*

Government Established By Law !

Why the Government of India lay emphasis on the fact that it is a Government established by law, we have never been able to understand. Even its worst detractors have never suggested that it consists of a body of men who have installed themselves in power as the result of a *coup de etat*. It is a Government established by law; but there is a difference between a Government established by law in Britain and a Government established by law in India. The former is a Government established by the law of the people of Britain. The Government of India, on the other hand, has been established not as the result of any Act passed by the people of India but as the result of an Act of the British Parliament. It would be more in consonance with the demands of truth to say that it is a Government established by the laws of Britain. But what is of importance today is not the question whether the Government is or is not established by law; but whether it rests on the will of the people and draws its powers from them. The Government of India will not be able to claim that it is a Government that draws its power from the people of India and is responsible to them. Unless it becomes a Government responsible to the people the fact that it is a Government established by law cannot satisfy those who believe in freedom and democracy.—*Tribune.*

Translate Atlantic Charter Into Law

The New Zealand Minister to Washington Mr. Walter Nash has suggested that the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms should be passed by the legislatures of all the United Nations as being the corner-stone of their foreign policy. The Chief exponent of the Charter, President Roosevelt has declared that it applies to all humanity but even this unequivocal declaration has failed to remove doubts about its application to India. The other signatory Mr. Churchill is unwilling to extend the application of the Charter to India. This misgiving can be removed if Mr. Nash's suggestion is translated into action.

Indian Freedom Of Press Through Turkish Eyes

Before they left India, Mr. Atay, leader of the Turkish Press Delegation, told the Press Representatives in Madras that the freedom of speech and the liberty of the Press appeared to him to exist in a high standard in India. Except in Switzerland and Sweden, in no country in Europe did freedom of expression exist to the extent it did in India. He did not think that the articles published and the questions asked of the Turkish Press Delegation in India since their arrival here could be published or discussed even in Spain and Portugal, two countries now not in War.

The Delegation had received a number of receptions in this country, but was there nobody among the organisers to tell them about the real conditions of Press in India ?

Fourth Estate Or Sudra Rule ?

In explaining the reasons for his resignation from the Ministry, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee said in the Bengal Legislative Assembly :

> During my experience as a Minister I found to my utter surprise that in many vital matters affecting the rights and liberty of the people, the advice tendered by the Ministers was invariably subject to revision in the light of the counsel tendered by the more trusted members of the services whose omnicompetence was almost of a divine character. Let me make it clear beyond dispute that I do not charge public servants as a class with having failed to respect the spirit of provincial autonomy in this province. I know of officers, British and Indian, whose services have been of inestimable value to the province. My charge is directed against a coterie of officials forming the Fourth Estate or the Real Estate who today exercise a malign influence over the affairs of the province, and according to the language of the Defence of India Rules are dangerous men. I cannot possibily discuss all the details of the provincial administration in respect of which the farcical state of a Government within a Government has been the main characteristic. But such matters related not only to the department of Law and Order but also to other departments. The keynote of the policy of interference was that people of the land were not to be trusted and power, whenever possible, must remain in the hands of chosen British officials enjoying the confidence of the Governor and his coterie.

The popular idea in India was that with the rise to power of the British traders, a *Vaishya*

rule had been established in this country. But the result of a Minister's experience quoted above proves that the stage of *Vaishya* rule has passed and we are now in the middle of a *Sudra* regime. Servants of the public, known as the Civil Servants, have become all powerful and a coterie of them, as it appears from the statement quoted, form the oligarchy of today. They might hold high positions in society and the Government but they are nothing but servants of the public morally and legally. Trade and commerce in India have been chained all over the country and the ends of those chains are in the hands of the I. C. S. On the nation-building departments like education and public health, the grip of the service men is now rigid and tight. People's representatives in the Legislatures and popularly elected ministers are absolutely helpless against the Civil Service. Does it indicate that the end of *Kalijuga* is now within sight ?

Railway Prosperity amidst Retrenchment of Transport Services

We regret it is not possible for want of adequate space to examine in a proper manner the various aspects of the Railway Budget and the speeches made in presenting it by Sir Edward Benthall in the Central Assembly and Sir Leonard Wilson in the Council of State. But certain facts and statements call for comment. The current year's revised estimates anticipate a record traffic receipt of 149·25 crores of rupees. What is the explanation of this increase in the face of overwhelming evidence of reduction not only of civilian transport services but also of transport services generally ? First, there has been an increase in transportation charges. According to the Chief Commissioner of Railways, compared to the charges prevailing on the eve of the war (which by the way, were regarded as burdensome to many of our industries and as comparatively heavy if account were taken of passengers' convenience and comfort), there has been the following notable increases :—12½% on food-grains in small consignments, 12½% on commodities other than food-grains in wagon loads, fodder, manures and railway and military traffic; 25% on parcels and 6¼% on passenger fares over one rupee. Secondly, goods earnings improved remarkably due to the priority given to "essential" traffic which "is on the whole higher rated than the less essential traffic which has been squeezed out." This, in spite of the fact, that the number of wagons loaded this year is less by 15% on the broad gauge and 17% on the metre gauge, compared to last year.

It is noteworthy that there has been a reduction in the passenger train services to the extent of 37% measured in train miles. This has been found necessary, we are told, "to provide for military and goods traffic and to conserve coal stocks." Sir Edward in replying to the complaint that charges for military traffic had remained unaltered is reported to have recalled Sir Andrew Clow's statement two years' ago that military traffic would not be subject to enhanced rates. Is it not pertinent to suggest that the war-time harvest of the Railways should have offered opportunities for finding other ways of serviceability to the users of India's State-owned railways, than the *negative* method of enhanced charges, increasing travelling discomfort, withdrawal of concessions and harassment of the passengers, traders and expectant consumers of essential commodities in all parts of the country ? A member of the Assembly gave his estimate that the "tax on Transport" was responsible for about 10 crores of the surplus, as this was due to increased burdens on the poor in the shape of increased freights and rates.

Sir A. H. Ghuznavi also drew attention to the financial loss which would result at the time of the allocation of war-time expenditure, because rates for military traffic had not been enhanced. He interpreted this as "a clever attempt to conceal what India was incurring owing to the war." He also wondered why rolling stock and railway lines to the value of Rs. 160 lakhs and Rs. 42 lakhs respectively had been taken out of India and fresh imports were being arranged at a cost several times higher. Further he said the cost of militarisation of certain railways in eastern and southern India should have been borne by the War Department alone and not shared equally by the Railway Administration and the War Department as at present.

These are not mere debating points and, in view of these facts, the public would naturally look askance at the Transport Member's reluctance to go back to the rates of 1936, in view of the favourable position of the Railways. There is hardly any fairness in placing all the difficulties and burdens of the war-situation on the consumers of the services offered by the Railways.

S. K. L.

Loco Construction In India

The lessons of the last war notwithstanding, there has been very little progress towards the

construction of locomotives in India. The Railway Budget serves again as a reminder of this serious omission of the authorities in the past. This is not a little responsible for the present immense and deplorable transport difficulties. The long list of orders to the United Kingdom and the United States of America of wagons and engines is accompanied by a cryptic announcement by Sir Edward that "*plans* are already *actively* being prepared to set up a locomotive construction shop in India *during* the war *if physically possible*" (Italics ours). Is the announcement of any significance? The corresponding section of the speech of Sir Leonard Wilson, Chief Commissioner of Railways, though disappointing, appears to be truer to reality. He said:

"We have not overlooked the necessity to manufacture engines in India as soon as possible and at present our Consulting Engineers are planning for the conversion for locomotive building of one of our repair shops at present employed on war work and are basing their proposals on up-to-date practice in England and America. It is our intention to start work on the conversion as soon as all the circumstances permit. Despite all our efforts to proceed with the building of metre gauge and light broad gauge engines at our Ajmer Shops, progress this year has been negligible because materials on order could not be obtained."

S. K. L.

Railway Surpluses and the Tax-payer

It is noteworthy that surplus earnings have been a striking feature of recent railway budgets. A few years ago the Railways came to the rescue of the Central Exchequer in finding funds for distribution among the provinces on account of a share in the income-tax on the basis of the Niemeyer recommendations. Now it is the Central Government's good fortune to find in the Railway surpluses a much-needed support to meet the increasing cost of the war. Sir Edward Benthall has proposed a fundamental alteration of the basis of allocation of surpluses between the Railways and the general revenues in favour of the latter, thereby revoking the terms of the Convention of 1924. He proposes that:

(1) For the year 1942-43 a sum of Rs. 2,35,32,000 shall be paid to general revenues over and above the current and arrear contribution due under the convention.

(2) From the 1st April, 1943, so much of the convention as provides for the contribution and allocation of surpluses to general revenues shall cease to be in force.

(3) For the year 1943-44, the surplus on commercial lines shall be utilised to repay any outstanding loan from the depreciation fund and thereafter be divided 25 per cent. to the railway reserve and 75 per cent. to general revenues, the loss, if any, on strategic lines being recovered from general revenues, and

(4) For subsequent years and until a new convention is adopted by the Assembly, the allocation of the surplus on commercial lines between the railway reserve and general revenues shall be decided each year on consideration of the needs of the railways and general revenues, the loss, if any, on strategic lines being recovered from general revenues.

To the extent that this windfall to the Central Exchequer helps to relieve the tax-payer of further burdens, the proposal may be commended. . But, undoubtedly, there is much to be said for the argument that the surplus should be garnered not only for the "rainy day" of the railways, but also for such objectives as post-war rehabilitation, securing greater comforts to lower-class passengers, the building up of industries and plants to make the Indian railways self-sufficient, and the provision of larger amenities not only for railway workers and their dependents but also for the poorer section of the people. The impression, however, is gaining ground in India that the transference is proposed with the object of assisting the British Government in respect of their liability to make up for the deficits of the Indian Government, due to expenditure for the war, than for any other reason.

S. K. L.

Bengal's Deficit Budget

The Bengal Government's Budget for 1943-44, presented by the Chief Minister and Minister of Finance, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, is a reminder of the manifold handicaps of the finances of this hapless province. The causes of the repeated and mounting deficit budgets may be traced fundamentally to the defects of the financial allocation under the Government of India Act, 1935, but also immediately to the transfer of the theatre of war around and near Bengal, the increase in the cost of administration due to increasing costs of living and natural calamities, and the legacy of multiplication of offices and allowances consequent upon an extension of the system of patronage accompanying 'autonomy'. Though compared to the pre-autonomy total of about 10 crores of rupees only, the present budget provides an expenditure of over 17 crores of rupees only, the prospect is of a debt of 4·75 crores of rupees to the Central Government by the end of the financial year 1943-44. The deficit estimated for 1943-44 is estimated at over a crore and a half, and new taxation measures had to be devised which, however, is only capable of meeting about one-fifth of this deficit.

The revenue receipts have belied expectations in contrary directions, resulting in a total fall of 2 lakhs of rupees only compared to the original

estimates : the fall having been shown under the heads land revenue stamps and Sales Tax, and improvements under income-tax, excise and forests. What is more important from the point of view of the public is that while the total receipts are not falling, the expenditure for the nation-building departments is being reduced, but under law and order and war ' extra-ordinaries ' the expenditure is mounting. There is a patent case for the Central Government finding more of the additional funds required for meeting the cost of civil defence. Undoubtedly a very strong feeling has been aroused against the stinting of the expediture on education, public health, etc.

We refrain from exposing the obvious hollowness of the halting defence of the Bengal Government's activities relating to the food problem, the slow and inadequate measures relating to famine, cyclone, vagrancy, etc., in the Finance Minister's speech, as unnecessary and superfluous.

S. K. L.

New Taxation Proposals

The taxation proposals of the Bengal Government were prefaced by the Finance Minister's statement that he was " anxious not to do anything that might entail any material addition to the already phenomenally high cost of living for the poorer classes." An analysis of the enhanced rates on electric consumption and amusements, however, lend support to the contention that middle class consumers of electricity and the cinema industry in particular, would be hard hit. The taxation proposed in the Bengal Finance Bill, 1943, nearly doubles the existing rates of entertainment tax payable in the case of admission to cinema houses, increases both the racing totalisator tax and the betting tax from 4 per cent to 10 per cent, and enhances the existing rates of the electricity duty in respect of the supply of energy for lights and fans. The enhanced rates will be in operation for a maximum period of two years from the date to be notified by Government. In the case of the electric duty, it is proposed that when the 'net charge' of the license for the supply of energy for lights and fans does not exceed three annas per unit, the enhanced rate will be (1) six pies per unit in case consumption of energy per month exceeds fifteen units but does not exceed twenty units, (2) one anna per unit in case consumption exceeds twenty units; and (3) six pies per unit in other cases. The enhanced rates will not apply when consumption of energy per month does not exceed fifteen units. The 'net charge' is defined to mean the amount of change that remains after deduction of any rebate allowed by the supplier of energy for prompt paymnt.

S. K. L.

" Brothels For Troops "

In replying to certain interpellations, put at a recent meeting of the Indian Legislative Assembly, by Mr. K. C. Neogy, with reference to the allegations made in the press about the provision by the authorities of brothels in Calcutta for the fighting forces, Mr. Trivedi, on behalf of the Government of India, said, as reported in the press, that " following a strong remonstrance on the part of the military authorities, the allegations made against those authorities in the November issue of the *Calcutta Diocesan Record* about the provision of brothels for the fighting forces were substantially withdrawn in an article in the December issue." With reference to the allegation that respectable people of the localities concerned were asked to leave their houses in order to make way for brothels for the military, Mr. Trivedi communicated to the House the following information received by the Government of India from the Government of Bengal :

> " With the arrival of large numbers of troops, brothels sprang up in various localities in Calcutta. Numbers of these were at once closed down, but some, started in the vicinity of existing brothels, were allowed for a time to remain; but there was no question of turning residents out of their houses to make way for such establishments nor was any action with that object taken; and on receipt of various complaints, including complaints from the Metropolitan of India, these were also closed down. No brothels for the troops have been provided by the authorities."
>
> " It is no part of the policy of the civil or the military authorities," added Mr. Trivedi, " to provide brothels for troops or to assist in such provision."

The Most Rev. Foss Westcott, Metropolitan of India, in a statement, protests most emphatically against the answer thus given. He says that he cannot reconcile the statement made on behalf of Government, " with the facts of the case with which I am intimately acquainted."

S. K. L.

Statement by the Metropolitan of India

In the course of his statement on the controversy relating to the complaint made by the *Calcutta Diocesan Record* on the question of extension of the brothel area in certain quarters in Calcutta for the use of troops, the Metropolitan of India says :

> The one statement in the original article, which appeared with my full sanction in the *Calcutta Diocesan Record* for November, 1942, which was later amended, ran as follows :

"There are indications that the building next door to St. Mary's Home is to be used for the medical examination of prostitutes."

When the Commander-in-Chief of the Eastern Army discussed this question with me he assured me that the room was not being used for this purpose and I accepted his assurance and in the December issue stated that the "room was to be used as a prophylactic treatment centre for the men and not as an inspection clinic for prostitutes." The room has since been closed. No other statement in the original article was amended or withdrawn.

The Lord Bishop of Calcutta adds that he has in his possession written statements made by the tenants themselves giving the names of the police officials who requested them to move elsewhere. "To say that such requests were not made," the Metropolitan of India asserts, "is contrary to the facts of which I have the clearest first-hand evidence." His Lordship discussed the matter with the Commissioner of Police in Calcutta who, it is said, did not question the facts laid before him, and the military authorities have also, we are told, in their possession the actual facts with certified copies of the tenants' statements. The Lord Bishop declares that despite official declaimers, the responsibility for this extension of the brothel area in the heart of Calcutta lies with the military authorities or the civil police. Subsequent to this Mr. Joshi in the course of a question put at a meeting of the Assembly, held on the 22nd February last, referred to the statement made by the Metropolitan of India regarding the reply, given on behalf of Government, to Mr. K. C. Neogy's question on the subject. Mr. Trivedi said that Government had seen the Metropolitan's statement and had thereupon asked the Bengal Government for further comments, which had not yet been received. Government would consider the question of placing the reply of the Bengal Government on the table of the House. Referring to the Army Secretary's statement in the Indian Legislative Assembly that brothels in Calcutta have all along been out of bounds to troops, the Metropolitan of India states that "the reply does not agree with the facts" in his possession. "But I think" he adds "it will be far better if the military authorities, who, I am sure, are as anxious for the welfare of the men as myself, would face up to the actual facts and deal with the situation as it exists in Calcutta. There has been some improvement, but there is room for a great deal more." We await the reply that the Bengal Government along with the military authorities may give to the strictures made by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta on the way they have conducted themselves in this disgraceful affair. From the facts of the matter, as disclosed by the Metropolitan of India, it appears that it has come to this that very little reliance can now be placed on the correctness of statements made by responsible people on behalf of the authorities.

S. K. L.

Leaders' Conference

A very large gathering of representative men belonging to different communities, Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, Sikh, and British, met at Delhi on Friday, the 19th February last, to give expression to the feeling in the country "that Mahatma Gandhi should be enabled to end his fast." In the absence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the first day of the Conference, the proceedings were opened by Mr. Rajagopalachariar in a short speech, after which the meeting set up a committee to draft a resolution to be placed before the Conference on the following day. The Drafting Committee adopted a resolution urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi, and in view of the urgency of the situation forwarded it immediately to His Excellency the Viceroy of India. The Resolution runs thus:

"This Conference representing different creeds, communities and interests in India, gives expression to the universal desire of the people of this country that, in the interest of the future of India and of international goodwill, Mahatma Gandhi should be released immediately and unconditionally. This Conference views with the gravest concern the serious situation that will arise if the Government fail to take timely action and prevent a catastrophe. This Conference, therefore, urges the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi forthwith."

At the meeting of the Conference held on the 20th February under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru the Resolution quoted above was moved by Dr. M. A. Jayakar and adopted unanimously. Among those who spoke on the Resolution were Sir Maharaj Singh (Indian Christian), Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, Sir Haji Kasem Mitha, Master Tara Singh, Dr. Mackenzie (Principal, Wilson College, Bombay), Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, Srimati Sarala Devi, Mr. Allah Bux (ex-premier of Sind), Mr. N. M. Joshi (in the name of the Trade Union Congress), Maulana Ahmed Said (Secretary, Jamait-ul-Ulema, Hind), Mr. Zahiruddin (President, Momin Conference), Abdul Qayum (voicing the feeling of Pathans of the Frontier Province), Mr. Humayun Kabir, Mr. G. L. Mehta, Mr. Ranadive (Communist) and Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru. Mr. K. M. Munshi proposed and Sardar Sant Singh seconded a vote of thanks to the Chair and the Conference adjourned. The Resolution together with the names

of the supporters was sent to the Viceroy at once.

The following communication dated the 20th February, from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, was received by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :

"His Excellency asks me to say that he has received and considered the resolution adopted by the Conference under your chairmanship, of which you were good enough to send him a copy today. The attitude of the Government of India in the matter of Mr. Gandhi's fast is set out clearly and in detail in the *communique* which they issued on the 10th February, a copy of which I enclose for convenience of reference. No new factor has emerged since that date, and, as the Government of India's *communique* brings out clearly, responsibility in connection with his fast rests solely with Mr. Gandhi, with whom, and not with Government. the decision to bring it to an end must rest."

Cables following the lines of the Resolution passed at the Conference together with the names of the supporters along with a gist of some of the speeches have also been sent to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, (Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons), Sir Percy Harris, (Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons), and Mr. Phillips. A copy of this has also been forwarded to the Viceroy. The Standing Committe of the Conference held a discussion on the Viceroy's reply on the 21st February and the meeting authorised the President to carry on further correspondence on the subject with the Viceroy and convene meetings of the Committee if and when necessary.

S. K. L.

Cable To Mr. Churchill

The text of the cable addressed to the Premier of Britain on behalf the Leaders' Conference held at Delhi is given below :

"Three hundred public men from different parts of India representing various communities, creeds and interests including commerce and industry, landed interests, workers, communists, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and British missionaries met yesterday at New Delhi and unanimously passed a resolution urging immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi whose condition is fast approaching a crisis. We fear that unless immediately released he will pass away. We wish to explain to British public opinion that the Mahatma is fasting only to be able to review the situation as a free man and to advise the people accordingly and not on the issue of independence. We are convinced that the terms of his letter of 23rd September, recently published by Government amount to an unequivocal disapproval on behalf of himself and the Congress of all acts of violence. The Chairman of the Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru submitted the resolution to the Viceroy yesterday afternoon and immediately afterwards he received a reply from the Viceroy declining to interfere as no new factor has arisen to alter the previous decision and enclosing the official communication of 10th February. We deeply deplore that the advice of so many representative and responsible men should have been summarily turned down by the Viceroy.

"We firmly believe that if the Mahatma's life is spared a way will be opened to the promotion of peace and goodwill as surely as his death as a British prisoner will intensify public embitterment. The charges brought by Government against the Mahatma do not rest upon an examination by any impartial tribunal or independent body of men. We firmly believe that much of the trouble which has arisen was preventible by timely action on the part of Government last summer and that the Mahatma should have been allowed to see the Viceroy to find a solution as he desired. Millions of our countrymen feel that the responsibility for saving the Mahatma's life now rests only with the Government. We, therefore, urge that the Mahatma should be forthwith released. As under the existing constitution the ultimate responsibility is of the British Parliament for the peace and tranquillity of India we request that this cable may be brought to its notice in order that it may do justice in the matter. We are convinced that wise and liberal statesmanship will solve the Indo-British problem more speedily and effectively than stern repression."

Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ex-Law Member, Government of India; C. Rajagopalachariar, ex-Prime Minister, Madras; Allah Buksh, ex-Premier, Sind, President, Azad Muslim Conference; N. C. Chatterjee, Working President, Bengal Hindu Mahasabha; Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Member, Central Legislative Assembly, President, Central National Mohamedan Association of India; Mrs. Sarala Debi Choudhurani, President, Women's Hindu Muslim Unity Committee and General Secretary, Indian Women's Association; Dr. Ashraf, Socialist; Dr. Shaukatullah Ansari, General Secretary, All-India Independent Muslim Parties Federation; B. T. Ranadive, Central Committee, Communist Party of India; S. P. Mookerjee, Working President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha and ex-Finance Minister, Bengal; Dr. B. S. Moonje, General Secretary, All-India Hindu Mahasabha; Rajamaheshwar Dayal Seth, ex-Minister, United Provinces and President, Oudh Hindu Sabha; Bhulabhai J. Desai, Leader of Opposition, Central Legislative Assembly; P. N. Banerjea, Leader, Nationalist, Central Legislative Assembly; H. N. Kunzru, Deputy Leader, Progressive Party, Member, Council of State and President, Servants of India Society; Mrs. Hannah Sen, Vice-President, All-India Women's Conference; P. Subbarayan, Member, All-India Congress Committee and ex-Minister for Law, Madras; J. R. D. Tata, Chairman, Tata Sons Ltd.; N. M. Joshi, Member, Central Legislative Assembly and General Secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress; Sir Ardeshir R. Dalal, Managing Director, Tata Iron and Steel; Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University; G. L. Mehta, President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry; Kiran Sankar Roy, Member, Bengal Legislative Assembly; Mohammad Ahmad Kazmi, Member, Central Legislative Assembly; Sewa Singh Gill, Zamindar; Humayun Kabir, Vice-President, Krishak Praja Parliamentary Party and Secretary, Hindu-Muslim Unity Association; Right Honourable Dr. M. R. Jayakar, ex-Judge, Judicial Committee, Privy Council; K. M. Munshi, ex-Home Minister, Bombay; Sir Jagdish Prasad, ex-Member, Viceroy's Executive Council.—*A. P.*

S. K. L.

The Premier's Reply

Mr. Churchill has sent the following reply to the above cable:

"The Government of India decided last August that Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of Congress must be detained for reasons which have been fully explained and are well understood. The reasons for that decision have not ceased to exist and His Majesty's Government endorse the determination of the Government of India not to be deflected from their duty towards the peoples of India and of the United Nations by Mr. Gandhi's attempt to secure his unconditional release by fasting.

"The first duty of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government is to defend the soil of India from invasion by which it is still menaced, and to enable India to play her part in the general cause of the United Nations. There can be no justification for discriminating between Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders. The responsibility therefore rests entirely with Mr. Gandhi himself."

S. K. L.

Sir Tej Bahadur's Speech

The failure of the British Government to show any sympathy with the feeling of the Indian people to which expression has been given in such unprecedented, unmistakable, and widespread manner, will be received all over the country with the deepest regret and concern. But many thoughtful people had the same presentiment as had been voiced by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru while addressing the Leaders' Conference. Sir Tej Bahadur said that "as he did not credit the Government with much wisdom or imagination he did not anticipate any change in the situation which would lead to the Mahatma's release." The proceedings of the Conference, the cables and other communications transmitted to the British Premier and the Viceroy, and specially the remarkably striking address of its eminent President amply meet all the arguments used by the authorities in rejecting the united demand of the people of India of almost all shades and creeds, that Mahatma Gandhi should be forthwith and unconditionally released, thus paving the way for a proper settlement of the Indian problem and facilitating the prosecution of the war against external aggression and fascistic assault in a more vigorous and successful way. As Sir Tej Bahadur very properly pointed out at the outset, "if Mr. Gandhi was released unconditionally that would be the first preliminary steps towards reconciliation which was the immediate need of the country." He gave a very appropriate reply to the refusal on the ground that Mahatma Gandhi was a rebel. He said:

Mahatma Gandhi had been called a rebel, but, said Sir Tej Bahadur, there was a rebel called Smuts who was rendering the greatest possible service to the Empire. There was another rebel called de Valera, whom the British Government wanted to remain in the Empire.

"I believe," Sir Tej Bahadur declared, "that one lesson which is reinforced by British history is that the British Government has always settled with rebels rather than with loyalists" (more cheers and laughter). "I am not downhearted when Mahatma Gandhi is put down by the Home Member as a rebel. I still live in the hope that there will be a settlement with these rebels and when it takes place men like you and me will be ignored." (Laughter).

Taking the audience back to the time of the Irish Treaty, Sir Tej Bahadur referred to the opinion recorded by Mr. Churchill suggesting that Mr. Lloyd George erred in applying "tremendous onslaughts" without making "the fairest offer."

The time had come when the British Government remembering their history and traditions and remembering also the change in the situation and the irrepressible urge for freedom in this country, should win over the rebels.

Sir Tej Bahadur with apparent reason took Government to task in not publishing in proper time Mahatma Gandhi's letter, dated the 23rd September to the Viceroy. "Had this letter been published at the time," he declared, "the public would have realised that Mahatma's loyalty to the doctrine of non-violence was as strong as before..." "If," Sir Tej Bahadur added, "the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi were to be held responsible for the situation, no less were Government responsible."

Referring to the question of responsibility for the disturbances, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru submitted that this could only be answered either by an independent commission or a tribunal. He went on to criticise the Executive's daily encroachment on the powers of the courts.

"The conclusion I have formed by reading newspapers and examining such evidence as has been allowed to appear in the newspapers is this. That there were certain Congressmen who took part in the disturbances I have no doubt. I am not prepared to draw the inference from this that the Congress as a body either inspired this active rebellion or could be legally responsible for it. These are facts which require to be investigated by an independent tribunal. I am not prepared to accept the verdict of Government any more than the contention of any Congressmen that no Congressmen took part in it."

The Manchester Guardian gives a fitting reply to Mr. Churchill's argument that "there can be no justification for discriminating between Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders." The paper observes: "Is there any other Indian leader for whom representatives of almost all sections would unite and much the greatest part of India be powerfully moved? Mr. Gandhi is not like any other leader. Far more than any other, he is India to most of his fellow countrymen and to much of the world outside."

Sir Tej Bahadur made an appeal to the civilised conscience of Great Britain and the

United Nations and said that if it was intended that this country should settle down to construction work then it was absolutely necessary that Mahatma Gandhi should be set free at once unconditionally.

S. K. L.

United Demand for Gandhiji's Release

A remarkable feature of the very extensive and wide-embracing movement that Mahatma Gandhi's fast has generated is the spontaneous manner in which all communities have joined their voices in making a united demand calling upon the British Government to release Gandhiji unconditionally and save his life. Efforts are being made, however, to produce the impression that only Hindus are concerned in the matter. Nothing could be further from the reality. The numerous utterances that have found publicly in the press have demonstrated in as obvious and plain a manner as possible how Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and Britishers are all united in their demand that Gandhiji's life should be saved. It is a Britisher, Mr. N. Barwell, who in the course of a communication to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in one of its recent issues says :

Here, in India, are many Britishers sufficiently close to events now obviously hurrying to a climax and who may claim to be sufficiently long-sighted, to share the opinions of those overseas who regard the present policy of the Government of India as worse than merely mistaken. I am one of those who share in that opinion, and I should regard myself as nothing less than a coward did I not publicly say so.

The peoples of this country are like all others in this, that in moments of real, or supposed, national crisis they are not to be moved by the dictates of reason as the same may be entertained by leisured and intellectual persons in times of complete social tranquillity, but are swayed by the most powerful of all human forces, that of more or less blind emotion. This is so because the people of India are but human. If, in opposition to such forces now being generated in feverish fermentation, Government claims to be guided by nothing but pure reason, then, I say, its present attitude has the less excuse; for, in this grave hour, right thinking and right feeling point in one and the same direction. If Mr. Gandhi's life is to be saved at all, his immediate and unconditional release is plainly dictated.

I believe that all who profess and call themselves Christians as well as all who have borne arms in the field will agree that there is no greater human sacrifice possible than to lay down one's life for one's friends. That sacrifice Mr. Gandhi is now prepared to make. Mr. Gandhi's friends are not confined to a relatively small, if distinguished, coterie of nationalists, nor to the very much larger body of sentimental admirers, some of whom may be found in every hamlet and every village in the Indian peninsula. His friends include all who anywhere in the world believe in and love, liberty, and who hold fast to the view that national and international, just as much as private, affairs should be informed and guided by justice, equity and good conscience.

S. K. L.

Ceylon's Concern For Mahatma Gandhi

Ceylon has shown a very friendly feeling towards India by asking the British Premier and the Viceroy of India to release Mahatma Gandhi immediately. A telegraphic message from Colombo dated the 23rd February states :

"The State Council passed this evening by 27 to 4 votes Mr. Siripala Samarakkody's motion expressing concern at Mahatma Gandhi's fast and requesting the British Government to release him immediately. On the conclusion of the day's official business Mr. Samarakkody who had intended to move the resolution tomorrow obtained permission of the House to move the same today. Mr. Samarakkody's suggestion that the resolution be cabled to the British Premier and H. E. the Viceroy was also put to the House and agreed to."—*A. P.*

It is significant that both Houses of the Legislature in Bengal have also demanded the release of Mahatma Gandhi.

S. K. L.

Memorial to Rabindranath in Britain

A *Reuter* message dated the 25th February, from London states :

"Plans for a memorial in Britain to the Indian Poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, were discussed in London today by the Executive Committee of the Tagore Society. Among the messages of support was a suggestion by Bernard Shaw that a picture of the Poet be placed in the National Gallery. Other suggestions were that a statue of the Poet by Epstein be placed in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, and the establishment of a "Tagore Lectureship" for the study of Indian Art and Literature at Oxford University. Further meetings will be held before a final decision is reached."

S. K. L.

The Beveridge Scheme

Sir William Beveridge's social security plans for Britain contains proposals for complete and compulsory insurance against every form of personal want and insecurity, pensions in old age, funeral expenses, medical treatment, children's allowances, unemployment benefits, etc., to be administered by a Minister of Social Security.

The main features of the scheme are as follows :

1. It covers all persons, irrespective of age, sex, income or job and provides a flat rate of benefit for a flat contribution.
2. Contributions to the fund would be 5 sh. per week per head.
3. Employers as well as employees would contribute.
4. The scheme would cost the Exchequer about £800 millions.
5. Everybody would get retirement pensions, men at the age of 65 and women at 60. Housewives are included in the scheme as a class of the community performing special services and possessing special needs.

6. All persons excepting children and old people are covered in respect of risks which threaten them with hardship and want, such as sickness, unemployment, maternity, widowhood and death.
7. Children are specially provided for.

The Beveridge Scheme is a domestic plan for Great Britain and has nothing to do with the Empire or the outside world. It is a scheme of social insurance of the Bismarckian type already in operation in England with certain modifications and improvements in it. It does not take its stand on the principles of socialism. India has no reason to feel enthusiastic about it because any scheme of social insurance worth the name is impossible of attainment in this country under the present regime.

Food, Fuel And Standard Cloth

The problem of food, fuel and standard cloth still remains unsolved. In a debate in the Central Legislature, the Government Spokesman stated in comprehensive details Government's Scheme to resolve the food problem as it related to the procurement and distribution of food in different parts of India. Government of India was in a position to import wheat from Australia in large quantities and thus relieve the scarcity of food which is growing more and more acute. This suggestion is in the air for a long time, but nothing seems to have been done in this direction besides drawing up comprehensive schemes and importing a Food Adviser from Britain. It is yet to be seen whether Mr. Vigor with 25 years' experience can enthuse any amount of vigour in the Indian Food Department.

The fuel position, though temporarily relieved in Calcutta, still remains in the same bungled state. The wagon supply system has not yet been improved to any extent which might inspire confidence. Serious complaints have been made by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dated 25th Feb. last in which it stated, " the distribution of soft coke wagons is being done in an unmethodical manner and that the authorities concerned, while sanctioning quota for soft coke wagons for persons having no coal depots or business, have cancelled those of several depot-holders without giving any reason therfor." Unless the Government remedies or repudiates this very serious allegation, the public will be inclined to believe that it is not possible even for a High Court Judge to wipe out the corruption at the Civil Supply Department.

The standard cloth has not yet made its appearance in the market in spite of the former Commerce Member's assurance that it would come out by the beginning of February. The Government Spokesman in the Central Legislature has stated at last that " till recently 70 per cent of the provinces were indifferent to the scheme from its very inception." This explains the reason why the negotiation stage in the standard cloth affair is not yet over. The public may now demand to know why, then, they have so long been duped by this colossal hoax. Can they really expect the cloth in the market ? The Spokesman however made an important announcement. He said that a Standard Cloth Commissioner with headquarters at Bombay has already been appointed.

The food, fuel and cloth problem in India remains unsolved, but it has successfully solved unemployment in high quarters.

Is Railway Surplus A Real Gain ?

A member in the Central Legislature protested against the enhancement of rates and fares in the last few years. He argued, now that there was a large surplus, it was reasonable to demand reduction in them, particularly in third and inter class fares. Sir Hugh Raper, on behalf of the Railway Department, said that by keeping the rates and fares up, more travellers and more goods would be avoided. The War Transport Member, Sir Edward Benthal, contradicted his colleague and said that the impression that the Government had put up rates and fares specially for the purpose of discouraging traffic was wrong.

The reason for this confusion is not far to seek. Most of the huge surplus probably consists of book credit due to the movement of goods and troops on Government account and this is adjusted by book transfers, advertised as " contribution to general revenue." The real earning consists of the cash payments made by the third and inter class passengers and movement of goods on private accounts. Needs of the Government have replaced a large amount of normal traffic, and this is the reason why passengers are not allowed now to carry even an ounce of extra luggage without paying for it, because even a pice has now got to be squeezed out of their pocket. Government were, however, clever enough to enhance the rates and fares at the beginning, and this had the foresight to avoid an embarrassing situation in the middle of the war when there would be surplus but not gain.

U. P. Civilian's Definition of Economic Prosperity

In a Press Conference held at Lucknow Sir Tenant Sloan, Adviser to the Governor of the

U. P., explained the budgetary provision of the province and gave other information relating to the conduct of the Government.

Sir Tenant said that receipts under excise showed 'a steady and appreciable rise.' This fact was in the opinion of the Civilian Adviser of the Governor, 'indicative of the economic prosperity enjoyed by the province generally.' In a subsequent part of his statement the Adviser himself attributed the increase in crime to the 'difficult economic conditions.' Prohibition has been abolished by the Governor's Administration in the districts in which it was introduced by the Congress Ministry. In his eagerness to increase excise receipts, Sir Tenant may encourage the consumption of drink and thereby ruin the health and morality of the people, but no stretch of imagination explains how an extension of the drink habit indicates economic prosperity.

British Bishop's Tribute to Gandhiji

According to a report in the *Manchester Guardian*, Dr. Barnes, the Bishop of Birmingham, addressing a meeting of transport workers in October last, said, "Because Gandhi will not preach war against Japan, he is often accused of being pro-Japanese, but Gandhi who for thirty years has wielded a paramount influence in India. has been steadily consistent. He desires freedom for India. He insists that force must not be used to obtain this freedom. Nothing has been able to make him change his policy or deflect him from his goal. Interviews with Viceroys and forms of imprisonment have equally failed. When you hear the suggestion that Gandhi is as untrustworthy as any cheap Asiatic in the slums of Cardiff, ignore it. Gandhi, I believe, has a genuine regard for the finer qualities of the British people."

The mass of anti-Gandhi propaganda, supported by quotations from his own writings torn from their context, has not succeeded in blocking the way to understand Gandhiji.

Premium On Human Cunning

With reference to the failure of the Government to deal with "black markets," the Premier of Bengal, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq stated in the Bengal Legislative Council that these were found all over the world. "Even Great Britain is not free from it. There are countries on the continent where black markets are positive scandals. They arise out of the fact that in abnormal times there are people who try to make fortunes out of misfortunes of other people. It is difficult to control because it is a kind of dishonesty which is inherent in a certain section of humanity."

Evacuees from Singapore will bear testimony to the fact that black markets and profiteering were completely and effectively controlled there. This had been possible because the local Administrator there had made the control complete and had a batch of honest servants under him. Black markets can be successfully dealt with only when the control is complete and is vested in a body of officials wih unimpeachable honesty. Incomplete control only puts a premium on human cunning and enlarges the field for corruption.

Who Is To Blame ?

In the Central Legislature, when India's food, fuel, drug and cloth problems were under discussion, Mr. Gwilt of the European Group indignantly referred to profiteering in the retail of drugs which he considered of the grossest order and he asked what manner of man was the trader who cornered quinine to make his fortune in a country where malaria killed hundreds of thousands of people yearly ? What punishment did he deserve ?

In his overzealousness, Mr. Gwilt had forgotten that the profiteer in quinine was not the only person who deserved the strongest condemnation. Those who have led to this miserable state of affairs by shutting out cinchona cultivation in India for the sole purpose of favouring a white trading concern also deserve an equal amount of censure. If the present profiteering is condemnable, past profiteering in quinine for decades together by the Kina Bureau was also equally reprehensible.

Food Riots

Reports of looting of boat loads of rice and of rice and cloth from market places are pouring in an uninterrupted stream. Police have rushed to the places of occurrences and have brought the situation under control by opening fire on some occasions killing and injuring people who came to loot. There has been hunger marches in certain places as well. With the food and cloth crisis growing more and more acute, such incidents may become features in our everyday life. The poorer people are being steadily pushed to the wall facing death by starvation. Looting of rice and an ordinary dacoity has a lot of difference between them. Fear of starvation can make people desperate and face bullets in their attempt to secure food by force. Food riots can be stopped by bread and not by bullet.

Collectivisation of Indian Agriculture

India, like the U. S. S. R., has enormous possibilities of developing her agriculture through collectivisation. In a meeting of the East India Association in London, Sir John Mayard discussed this subject. The following short report has appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

FRIDAY, Jan. 30.

While reading a paper on "Collectivisation of Agriculture" before the East India Association in London today, Sir John Mayard said, he was of opinion that the roughness and suddenness of the methods pursued in the course of collectivisation were rather characteristic of Russia than essential to the policy itself but the rapid collectivisation such as the Soviet Government desired in order to secure from the peasantry a larger share of the products of agriculture and make possible a swift increase in the industrial development inevitably demanded some roughness and some suddenness. The policy must be regarded as a whole and as a whole it was one making the U. S. S. R. a powerful industrial State without incurring foreign debt. The Soviet Government expected to be attacked and forestalled the danger.

Sir John Mayard added: "It is natural to ask whether the methods which the Bolsheviks have applied to Russia might with an advantage be applied to rural India in order to diminish poverty in that country and facilitate its wider industrialization.

India now has her National Planning Committee which was formed and started functioning when the Congress was in power. Since the resignation of the Congress Ministries the activities of the committee have not been in the lime-light, but it has continued labours. It has nearly completed the general survey according to plan and its report will be of immense value when conditions will again be favourable for the committee to function vigorously and decisively. The Planning Committee has long realised that collectivisation of agriculture and industrialisation is necessary for diminishing the poverty of the Indian masses.

Communal Harmony Scheme!

In reply to a question, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq stated in the Bengal Legislative Assembly that no money had been spent out of the lakh of rupees sanctioned for promoting communal harmony in the budget of 1942-43. The reason, he said, was the lack of any scheme or plan. He also declared at the same time that a scheme intended to promote communal harmony in the province was being prepared. The scheme would be a very modest one, and Government expected to spend about Rs. 16000 at the close of the current financial year. The public will refuse to believe that a scheme costing Rs. 16000 only can improve communal conditions in a province like Bengal which has seen the worst and the most prolonged of all communal riots. Does Mr. Huq himself believe that he can undo the results of his own communal preachings at such a low cost to the Exchequer? Mr. Huq should pause and think before giving vent to his honest intentions.

Mr. N. R. Sarker Explains

Mr. N. R. Sarker has issued a statement to the Press explaining his resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council. In the statement he has dwelt on the possibilities of promoting national interest through the Viceroy's Council. He said:

"When I accepted office about a year and a half ago I did so in spite of the fact that it was not in line with the views of the predominant political organisation with which I myself was intimately associated for the best part of my public life. I strongly felt that a policy of keeping away from responsibility and refusal to take advantage of whatever chances came in our way would not be in the interests of the country under the present circumstances. I had the honour to be in charge of three departments of the Government of India (Education, Health and Lands, Commerce and Food) and my experience has convinced me that, in spite of obvious limitations, there is enough scope for doing useful service to the country and promoting the national interests. This is particularly so in times of war which brings in its train new phases of activities affecting vital national interests and welfare of the masses. Similarly, during the difficult period of transition from war to peace many problems of far-reaching significance are bound to arise, and without representative Indians on the Government at such a time, there is a real danger that the country's interests would largely go by default.

The progressive people of India will express their inability to agree with Mr. Sarker's views. The Executive Council is incapable of rendering any service to the nation mainly because it is completely divorced from the people of India. The members have neither individual nor collective responsibility to the Indian people through the Central Legislature. Their responsibility is to one single man, the Viceroy for the time being, and not even to the British Parliament. Indian affairs are debated in the British Parliament under the leadership of the Secretary of State for India who derives his information about India from the Viceroy and not from the latter's Executive Councillors. The Viceroy can override the decisions of his Councillors who tender advice to him alone without any guarantee, constitutional or conventional, that they will be accepted. The sole utility of the Executive Council lies in achieving two objects—the safeguarding of British vested rights in India and putting up a show to the outside world that a certain number of Indians were being consulted

when decisions on high state policies were taken by the Viceroy.

Mr. Sarker says that "there is enough scope for doing useful service to the country and promoting the national interests." But the people have seen that he was unable to bring out standard cloth in the market, import wheat from Australia and stop heavy export of rice to Ceylon when the rice-growing provinces themselves were starving. He was incapable of solving even a fringe of the food and cloth problems although he held both the Departments of Food and Commerce. During the post-war reconstruction period, the principal function of the Viceroy's Council, unless its character is completely altered, will consist of safeguarding the British industrial and commercial vested interests from the terrible unemployment that will follow when the millions of workers engaged in war work are discharged. The people are justified in drawing this conclusion when they think how carefully the growth of Indian commerce and industry has been prevented by the application of the Defence of India Rules.

No 'Comrades' in England

LONDON, Jan. 30.

The Minister of Aircraft Production Sir Stafford Cripps addressing workers in a small London Factory today said, "The other day when I visited a large factory in the north I took the liberty of starting my speech with the word 'comrades.' The chairman of the firm has now written to me telling me that that was not the right way to address employees. He said I should have used the phrase 'Ladies and gentlemen.' I prefer, however, to stick to the phrase 'comrades.' Sir Stafford Cripps' statement was greeted by a burst of applause.

This episode illustrates the mental outlook of the British vested interests, in spite of the Anglo-Soviet Pact. They are afraid lest the doctrine of Socialism might percolate into the English soil through such catchwords like 'Comrades.' They are rather prepared to swallow the costly Beveridge Scheme of social insurance in order to keep Socialism out of the shores of Britain.

Bengal As Clive Found It

A discussion meeting was held in the Asiatic Society of Bengal in January last at which Dr. R. C. Majumdar gave a discourse on "Bengal as Clive found it." His speech was of great interest. He, however, confined himself to a narrative of events that happened in Bengal when Clive took charge of Bengal affairs, and left the social and administrative history of the province for that period untouched. Dr. Kalidas Nag read a rare letter discovered from the archives of the Society, written by some officer in the Sunderbans to Clive, which gave an idea of the danger ships had to face in entering the mouth of the Ganges. The letter is a rare document, and is reproduced below:

To

The Right Honourable Lord Clive,
President and Governor and Council of
Fort William.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I was this day favoured with your Lordships and Council letter of the 30th ultimo, advising me of the Falmouth Indiaman being unfortunately stranded and transmitting copy of the Chief Mate's letter addressed to the Right Honourable the President.

Conformable to your orders I immediately on receipt of your letter despatched two boats with an European to station them at the mouths of the Raymungul and Mutwalla Rivers and gave him the necessary instructions to be extremely vigilant in making constant signals by day and night as a guide to the sloops to discover the mouths of the above rivers.

I have also despatched a number of other boats into the neighbourhood of the Sagor Sand with orders to ply about the islands and as an incentive to their assiduity on this service have made them acquainted with your Lordhips, etc., promised of a rew ard for every European saved by their means.

I have further directed circular letter to the Zemindars bordering on the Sea Coast to use every effort in their power to supply all Europeans that may land in their Districts with provisions and guides to conduct them to Calcutta and informed them that every expense that should accrue to them on this occasion would be cheerfully reimbursed.

The several boats on this duty have a large supply of provisions.

Should I be so fortunate as to gain any tiding of the vessel and her crew, I shall be careful in giving your Lordship, etc., Gentlemen the earliest intelligence thereof.

I am, etc.,
(Sd.) Walter Wilkins.

Luckipore.
The 4th July, 1766.

Mahatma Gandhi's Fast

At the time of going to press, the reports on Mahatmaji's condition are reassuring. It seems as if the prayers of countless millions that he may be spared to us are being answered. The details about the causation of this fast are now known all the world over, though it is not certain yet that the full import has been realized in its proper value in the countries outside of India. Between Britain and India a controversy has arisen out of this fast, out of which certain facts are now coming out in bold relief. They vividly illustrate the relations between the rulers and the ruled in the British Empire. India has always been the "blind-spot" not merely of Mr. Churchill but of all the governing classes in Britain, and as for the others in the British Isles and the Dominions, there has always been a tendency to consider that affairs in India are no concern of theirs as whatever happened here would affect the Indians alone.

Much bitterness has been caused by this incomprehensible blindness of attitude, and it is likely that immeasurable amounts of misery will flow out of it in future unless immediate measures are taken to correct this truly senile angle of vision. When we say misery we mean misery for the *whole of the Empire* as Britain may again lose the peace if steps are not taken in time.

In the Government of India, this controversy resulted in the resignation of three Indian members of the Viceroy's Council at an early stage. These three were the only Indian members of the Viceroy's "Cabinet" who were of any consequence in the public life of India, apart from Government patronage and publicity. This schism and the leaders' conferences that followed clearly indicate what Indian India thinks about the situation.

The Government has tried to explain its attitude through the declarations of highly placed officials before the Legislatures, through the press, and by means of other channels of publicity. The Congress in general and Mahatma Gandhi in particular have been charged with the responsibility for the outbreaks of violence that followed the arrest of the leaders. The Government publication containing the indictment and what the Government consider to be proofs has only just reached us and for obvious reasons a complete critical review is not possible at present. Flaws are apparent in the case for prosecution as presented in this book, as for example, in the quotations—divorced from their context—from the *Harijan,* and we fail to see how the Government stands to gain any advantage from the hurried publication of such a book, at such a time and in such a unilateral fashion.

Mr. Amery's Statement in the Commons

Answering questions relating to the demand for the release of Mahatma Gandhi in the House of Commons on the 25th February, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, made a statement which repeats all the old arguments urged by spokesmen of the British Government in the matter prior to this. He said in the course of his statement: "The Government of India composed, when the decision was taken, of nine Indian and four European members including the Viceroy decided that they will not yield to this threat." The Secretary of State for India also accuses Mahatma Gandhi of having "deliberately planned to paralyse India's defence at a most critical moment." Can these statements be described as fair and accurate in view of the fact that three members of the Viceroy's Council have resigned because they do not agree with the policy of the British Government in the matter and some others have expressed their disagreement with that policy, as also the failure of the authorities to publish Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy dated the 23rd September in proper time? It cannot be doubted that all the facts have not been placed before the British Parliament and public; some of the most important facts appear thus to have been withheld from them.

Demand for Debate on India Rejected

It appears from *Reuter's* telegraphic summary of the discussion arising out of questions on Mahatma Gandhi's fast in the House of Commons on the 25th February, that the Labour leader, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, and some others asked for an early debate on India. The Leader of the Commons, Mr. Eden, said that it was Government's considered view that no useful purpose would be served by a debate at present. The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says "that there is a good deal in Mr. Greenwood's point that the House is imperfectly informed about some features of the Indian situation." The unstatesmanlike way in which the British Government have acted in the matter will be greatly deplored.

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah—An Interesting Comparison

In the course of a statement to the Press, on certain undignified comparisons made by Dr. Ambedkar in a recent speech at Poona, Prof. Abdul Majid Khan writes thus:

> Mahatma Gandhi is self-effacement personified; while Mr. Jinnah has actually only one motto "Either Caesar or nothing." Mahatma Gandhi is pleasantly accommodating; while Mr. Jinnah is proudly adamant. Mahatma Gandhi is inspired by the spirit of healthy compromise—Mutual give and take, while Mr. Jinnah is impelled by the impulse of "Grab all, grasp all" of course by and by. Mahatma Gandhi believes in plain speaking and is candid; while Mr. Jinnah is thoroughly subtle and altogether evasive. For Gandhiji, it is impossible to mince matters or to beat about the bush; on the other hand, it is easier for any one to climb Mount Everest than to pin Mr. Jinnah down to anything definite or concrete. Gandhiji swears by the territorial integrity and Unity of India: while Mr. Jinnah prattles of the Pakistan and the vivisection of the Motherland. Mahatma Gandhi is servant of the whole of humanity and represents the economically disinherited and the socially suppressed masses of mankind; while Mr. Jinnah is head of a communal clique. Gandhiji strives, struggles and suffers; while Mr. Jinnah talks, threatens and teases.

TEXT OF GANDHI-LINLITHGOW CORRESPONDENCE

NEW DELHI, Feb. 10.

Mahatma Gandhi has resorted to a fast of three weeks' duration from the 10th of February, says a Press *communique*. The following is the full text of the *communique*:

Mr. Gandhi has informed His Excellency the Viceroy that he proposes to undertake a fast of three weeks' duration from the 10th February. It is to be a fast according to capacity, and during it Mr. Gandhi proposes to add juices of citrus fruit to water to make water drinkable, as his wish is not to fast to death, but to survive the ordeal. The Government of India deplore the use of the weapon of fasting to achieve political ends. There can in their judgment be no justification for it, and Mr. Gandhi has himself admitted in the past that it contains an element of coercion. The Government of India can only express its regret that Mr. Gandhi should think it necessary to employ such a weapon on this occasion, and should seek a justification for it in anything which Government may have said or done in connection with the movement initiated by him and his co-workers in the Congress Party.

The Government of India have no intention on their part of allowing him the fast to deflect their policy. Nor will they be responsible for its consequences on Mr. Gandhi's health. They cannot prevent Mr. Gandhi from fasting. It was their wish, however, that if he decided to do so, he should do so as a free man and under his own arrangements, so as to bring out clearly that the responsibility for any fast and its consequences rested exclusively with him. They accordingly informed Mr. Gandhi that he would be released for the purpose and for the duration of the fast of which he had notified them, and with him any members of the party living with him who may wish to accompany him. Mr. Gandhi in reply has expressed his readiness to abandon his intended fast if released, failing which he will fast in detention. In other words it is now clear that only his unconditional release could prevent him from fasting. This, the Government of India are not prepared to concede. Their position remains the same: that is to say, they are ready to set Mr. Gandhi at liberty for the purpose and duration of his fast. But if Mr. Gandhi is not prepared to take advantage of that fact and if he fasts while in detention he does so solely on his own responsibility and at his own risk. He would be at liberty in that event to have his own medical attendants, and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of Government during its period.

The Government of India propose to issue, in due course, a full statement on the origin and development of the movement which was initiated in August last, and the measures which Government have been compelled to adopt to deal with it, but they think this is a suitable occasion for a brief review of the events of the last few months.

Mr. Gandhi, in his correspondence with the Viceroy, has repudiated all responsibility for the consequences which have flowed from the "Quit India" demand which he and the Congress Party have put forward. This contention will not bear examination. Mr. Gandhi's own statement, before the movement was launched, envisaged anarchy as an alternative to the existing order, and referred to the struggle "as a fight to the finish in the course of which he would not hesitate to run any risk, however great." As much as has been made of his offer to meet the Viceroy, it is necessary to point out that at a Press interview on the 14th of July after the Working Committee resolution was passed, Mr. Gandhi stated that there was no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation, there was no question of one more chance; after all it was an open rebellion which was to be as short and as swift as possible.

His last message was "Do or Die." The speeches of those most closely associated with Mr. Gandhi have been even more explicit, and have given a clear indication of what the Congress High Command had in mind in launching their attack—an attack which would, if realised have most seriously imperilled the whole cause of the United Nations—against Government as by law established, and against the agencies and services by which the life of the country was being conducted—in a period, be it noted, of exceptional stress and strain, and of grave danger to India from Japanese aggression.

The instructions issued by the various Congress organisations, contained in leaflets which were found to be freely circulating in almost every part of India—and which, on the evidence, cannot all be disowned as unauthorised—gave specific directions as to the methods which were to be employed for bringing the administration to a standstill. The circular of the 29th July emanating from the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee is an instance in point. It is noteworthy in this connection that in widely separated areas all over the country, identical methods of attacks on railways and other communications were employed, requiring the use of special implements and highly technical knowledge. Control rooms and block instruments in Railway stations came in for special attention, and destruction of telegraph and telephone lines and equipment was carried out in a manner which devoted careful planning and close knowledge of their working. If these manifestations of rebellious activities are to be regarded as the result not of Congress teachings, but as a manifestation of the popular resentment against the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders, the question may well be asked to which section of the public the tens of thousands of men engaged in these violent and subversive activities belonged. If it is claimed that it is not Congressmen who have been responsible, it would be extraordinary, to say the least, if the blame were to be laid on non-Congress elements. The country is, in effect, asked to believe that those who own allegiance to the Congress Party have behaved in an exemplary non-violent manner, and that it is persons who are outside the Congress fold who have registered their resentment at the arrest of the leaders of a movement which they did not profess to follow. A more direct answer to the argument is to be had in the fact that known Congress men have been repeatedly found engaged in incitements to violence, or in prosecuting Congress activities which have led to grave disorders.

That political parties and groups outside the Congress Party have no delusions on the subject may be judged from the categorical way in which they have disassociated themselves from the movement, and condemned the violence to which it has given rise. In particular, the Muslim League has, on more than one occasion, emphasised the character and intentions of the policy pursued by the Congress Party. As early as the 20th of August last, the Working Committee of the League expressed the view, reiterated many times since, that by the slogan "Quit India" what was really meant was supreme control of the Government of the country by the Congress, and that the Mass Civil Disobedience movement had resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property. Other elements in the political life of the country have expressed themselves in a similar vein, and if followers of the Congress

persist in their contention that the resultant violence was no part of their policy or programme, they are doing so against the weight of overwhelming evidence.

Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Viceroy has sought to fasten responsibility on the Government of India. The Government of India emphatically repudiate this suggestion. It is clearly preposterous to contend that it is they who are responsible for the violence of the last few months which so gravely disorganised the normal life of the country—and, incidentally, aggravated the difficulties of the food situation—at a time when the united energies of the people might have been devoted to the vital task of repelling the enemy and of striking a blow for the freedom of India, the Commonwealth and the World.—*A. P.*

NEW DELHI, Feb. 10.

The following correspondence which has passed between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi is published. Mr. Gandhi has agreed to the publication of his personal letters of 31st December, 1942 and 19th January, 1943.

(Personal) New Years' Eve, 1942.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

This is a very personal letter. Contrary to the Biblical injunction, I have allowed many suns to set on a quarrel I have harboured against you, but I must not allow the old year to expire without disburdening myself of what is rankling in my breast against you. I had thought we were friends and should still love to think so. However, what has happened since the 9th of August last makes me wonder whether you still regard me as a friend. I have perhaps not come in such close touch with any other occupant of your Gadi as with you.

Your arrest of me, the *communiques* issued thereafter, your reply to Rajaji and the reasons given therefor, Mr. Amery's attack on me and much else I can catalogue to show that at some stage or other you must have suspected my *bona fides*. Mention of other Congressmen in the same connection is by the way. I seem to be the *Fons et origo* of all the evil imputed to the Congress. If I have not ceased to be your friend why did you not, before taking the drastic action, send for me, tell me of your suspicions and make yourself sure of your facts? I am quite capable of seeing myself as others see me, but in this case I have failed hopelessly. I find that all the statements made about me in Government quarters in this connection contain palpable departures from truth. I have so much fallen from grace that I could not establish contact with a dying friend; I mean Prof. Bhansali who is fasting in regard to the Chimur affair and I am expected to condemn the so-called violence of some people reputed to be Congressmen, although I have no data for such condemnation save the heavily censored reports of newspapers. I must own that I thoroughly distrust these reports. I could write much more but I must not lengthen my tale of woe. I am sure that what I have said is enough to enable you to fill in details.

You know I returned to India from South Africa at the end of 1914 with a Mission which came to me in 1906, namely, to spread truth and non-violence among mankind in the place of violence and falsehood in all walks of life.

The law of Satyagraha knows no defeat. Prison is one of the many ways of spreading the message, but it has its limits. You have placed me in a palace where every reasonable creature comfort is ensured. I have freely partaken of the latter purely as a matter of duty, never as a pleasure, in the hope that some day those that have the power will realise that they have wronged innocent men. I have given myself six months. The period is drawing to a close, so is my patience. The law of Satyagraha as I know it prescribes a remedy in such moments of trial. In a sentence it is "crucify the flesh by fasting." That same law forbids its use except as a last resort. I do not want to use it if I can avoid it. This is the way to avoid it, convince me of my error or errors and I shall make ample amends. You can send for me or send someone who knows your mind and can carry conviction. There are many other ways if you have the will. May I expect an early reply?

May the New Year bring peace to us all.

I am, your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

(Personal) January 13th, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your personal letter of December 31st, which I have just received. I fully accept its personal character, and I welcome its frankness. And my reply will be, as you would wish it to be, as frank and as entirely personal as your letter itself.

I was glad to have your letter, for, to be as open with you as our previous relations justify, I have been profoundly depressed during recent months first by the policy that was adopted by the Congress in August, secondly, because while that policy gave rise, as it was obvious it must, throughout the country to violence and crime (I say nothing of the risks to India from outside aggression) no word of condemnation for that violence and crime should have come from you, or from the Working Committee. When you were first at Poona I knew that you were not receiving newspapers and I accepted that as explaining your silence. When arrangements were made that you and the Working Committee should have such newspapers as you desired I felt certain that the details those newspapers contained of what was happening would shock and distress you as much as it has us all, and that you would be anxious to make your condemnation of it categorical and widely known. But that was not the case; and it has been a real disappointment to me, all the more when I think of these murders, the burning alive of police officials, the wrecking of trains, the destruction of property, the misleading of these young students, which has done so much harm to India's good name, and to the Congress Party. You may take it from me that the newspaper accounts you mention are well founded—I only wish they were not, for the story is a bad one. I well know the immense weight of your great authority in the Congress movement and with the Party and those who follow its lead, and I wish I could feel, again speaking very frankly that a heavy responsibility did not rest on you. (And unhappily, while the initial responsibility rests with the leaders, others have to bear the consequences, whether as law-breakers, with the results that that involves, or as the victims).

But if I am right in reading your letter to mean that, in the light of what has happened you wish to retrace your steps and dissociate yourself from the policy of last summer you have only to let me know and I will at once consider the matter further. And if I have failed to understand your object, you must not hesitate to let me know without delay in what respect I have done so and tell me what positive suggestion you wish to put to me. You know me well enough after these many years to believe that I shall be only too concerned to read with the same close attention as ever any message which I receive from you, to give it the fullest weight, and to approach it with the deepest anxiety to understand your feeling and your motives.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW.

(Personal) January 19th, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I received your kind letter of 13th instant, yesterday at 2-30 p.m. I had almost despaired of ever hearing from you. Please excuse my impatience.

Your letter gladdens me to find that I have not lost caste with you.

My letter of 31st December was a growl against you. Yours is a counter-growl. It means that you maintain that you were right in arresting me and you were sorry for the omissions of which, in your opinion, I was guilty.

The inference you draw from my letter is, I am afraid, not correct. I have re-read your letter in the light of your interpretation, but I have failed to find your meaning in it. I wanted to fast and should still want to, if nothing comes out of our correspondence and I have to be a helpless witness to what is going on in the country, including the privations of the millions owing to the universal scarcity stalking the land.

If I do not accept your interpretation of my letter, you want me to make a positive suggestion. This, I might be able to do, only, if you put me among the members of the Working Committee of the Congress.

If I could be convinced of my error or worse, of which you are evidently, I should need to consult nobody, so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error; I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, of 21st September, 1942. I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter to you of 14th August, 1942.

Of course I deplore the happenings which have taken place since 9th August last. But have I not laid the whole blame for them at the door of the Government of India? Moreover, I could not express any opinion on events which I cannot influence or control and of which I have but a one-sided account. You are bound *prima facie* to accept the accuracy of reports that may be placed before you by your departmental heads. But you will not expect me to do so. Such reports have before now often proved fallible. It was for that reason that in my letter of the 31st December I pleaded with you to convince me of the correctness of the information on which your conviction was based. You will, perhaps, appreciate my fundamental difficulty in making the statement you have expected me to make.

This, however, I can say from the house-top, that I am as confirmed a believer in non-violence as I have ever been. You may not know that any violence on the part of Congress workers, I have condemned openly and unequivocally. I have even done public penance more than once. I must not worry you with examples. The point I wish to make is that on every such occasion I was a free man.

This time, the retracing as I have submitted, lies with the Government. You will forgive me for expressing an opinion challenging yours. I am certain that nothing but good would have resulted if you had stayed your hand and granted me the interview which I had announced, on the night of the 8th August, I was to seek. But that was not to be. Here, may I remind you that the Government of India have before now owned their mistakes, as for instance, in the Punjab when the late General Dyer, was condemned, in the United Provinces when a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was restored and in Bengal when the partition was annulled. All these things were done in spite of great and previous mob violence:

To sum up:

(1) If you want me to act singly, convince me of my wrong. I will make ample amends.

(2) If you want me to make any proposal on behalf of the Congress you should put me among the Congress Working Committee members. I do plead with you to make up your mind to end the *impasse*.

If I am obscure or have not answered your letter fully please point out the omissions and I shall make an attempt to give you satisfaction.

I have no mental reservation.

I find that my letters to you are sent through the Government of Bombay. This procedure must involve some loss of time. As time is of the essence in this matter, perhaps you will issue instructions that my letters to you may be sent directly by the Superintendent of this camp.

I am, your sincere friend,
M. K. Gandhi.

(Personal) January 25th, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Many thanks for your personal letter of the 19th January, which I have just received, and which I need not say I have read with close care and attention. But I am still, I fear, in the dark. I made clear to you in my last letter that, however reluctantly, the course of events, and my familiarity with what has been taking place, have left me no choice but to regard the Congress movement, and you as its authorised and fully empowered spokesman at the time of the decision of last August, as responsible for the sad campaign of violence and crime, and revolutionary activity which has done so much harm, and so much injury to India's credit, since last August. I note what you say about non-violence. I am very glad to read your unequivocal condemnation of violence, and I am well aware of the importance which you have given to that article of your creed in the past.

But the events of these last months, and even the events that are happening today show that it has not met with the full support of certain at any rate of your followers, and the mere fact that they may have fallen short of an ideal which you have advocated is no answer to the relations of those who have lost their lives, and to those themselves who have lost their property or suffered severe injury as a result of violent activities on the part of the Congress and its supporters. And I cannot, I fear, accept as an answer your suggetion that "the whole blame" has been laid by you yourself at the door of the Government of India. We are dealing with facts in this matter, and they have to be faced. And while, as I made clear in my last letter, I am very anxious to have from you anything that you have to say or any specific proposition that you may have to make, the position remains that it is not the Government of India, but the Congress and yourself that are on their justification in this matter.

If, therefore, you are anxious to inform me that you repudiate or dissociate yourself from the resolution of the 9th August and the policy which that resolution represents, and if you can give me appropriate assurances as regards the future, I shall, I need not say, be very ready to consider the matter further. It is, of course, very necessary to be clear on that point, and you will not, I know, take it amiss that I should make that clear in the plainest possible words.

I will ask the Governor of Bombay to arrange that any communication from you should be sent through him, which will, I trust, reduce delay in its transmission.

Yours sincerely,
Linlithgow

January 29th, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I must thank you warmly for your prompt reply to my letter of 19th instant. I wish I could agree with

you that your letter is clear. I am sure you do not wish to imply by clearness simply that you hold a particular opinion strongly. I have pleaded and would continue to plead till the last breath, that you should at least make an attempt to convince me of the validity of the opinion you hold that the August resolution of the Congress is responsible for the popular violence that broke out on 9th August last and after, even though it broke out after the wholesale arrest of principal Congress workers. Was not the drastic and unwarranted action of the Government responsible for the reported violence?

You have not even said what part of the August resolution is bad or offensive in your opinion. That resolution is in no way a retraction by the Congress of its policy of non-violence. It is definitely against Fascism in every shape or form. It lends co-operation in war effort under circumstances which alone can make effective and nation-wide co-operation possible.

Is all this opinion to reproach? Objection may be raised to that clause of the resolution which contemplated civil disobedience. But that itself cannot constitute an objection since the principle of civil disobedience is impliedly conceded in what is known as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact." Even that civil disobedience was not to be started before knowing the result of the meeting of which I was to seek from you an appointment.

Then, take the unproved and in my opinion unprovable charges hurled against the Congress and me by so responsible a Minister as the Secretary of State for India.

Surely I can say with safety that it is for Government to justify their action by solid evidence not by mere *ipse dixit*.

But you throw in my face the facts of murders by persons reputed to be Congressmen. I see the fact of murders as clearly, we hope, as you do. My answer is that the Government goaded the people to the point of madness. They started leonine violence in the shape of the arrests already referred to. That violence is not any the less so, because it is organised on a scale so gigantic that it displaces the Mosaic law of tooth for tooth by that of ten thousand for one—not to mention the corollary of the Mosaic law, *i.e.*, of non-resistance as enunciated by Jesus Christ. I cannot interpret in any other manner the repressive measures of the all-powerful Government of India.

Add to this tale of woe the privations of the poor millions due to India-wide scarcity which I cannot help thinking might have been largely mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had there been a *bona fide* National Government responsible to a popularly elected Assembly.

If then I cannot get soothing balm for my pain, I must resort to the law prescribed for satyagrahis, namely, a fast according to capacity. I must commence after the early morning breakfast of the 9th February, a fast for 21 days ending on the morning of the 2nd March. Usually, during my fasts, I take water with the addition of salts. But now-a-days my system refuses water. This time, therefore, I propose to add juices of citrus fruit to make water drinkable. For, my wish is not to fast unto death, but to survive the ordeal, if God so wills. This fast can be ended sooner by the Government giving the needed relief.

I am not marking this letter personal as I did the two previous ones. They were in no way confidential. They were a mere personal appeal.

I am, your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI.

P.S.—The following was inadvertently omitted:
The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware, the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting M. A. Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly effected Assembly. Being isolated from the Working Committee except Shrimati Sarojini Devi, I do not know its present mind. But the Committee is not likely to have changed its mind.

February 5th, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Many thanks for your letter of 29th January which I have just received. I have read it, as always, with great care and with every anxiety to follow your mind and to do full justice to your argument. But I fear that my view of the responsibility of Congress and of yourself personally for the lamentable disorders of last autumn remains unchanged.

In my last letter, I said, that my knowledge of the facts left me no choice but to regard the Congress movement, and you as its authorised and fully empowered leader at the time of the decision of last August, as responsible for the campaign of violence and crime that subsequently broke out. In reply you have reiterated your request that I should attempt to convince you that my opinion is correct. I would readily have responded earlier to that request were it not that your letters have no indication such as I should have been entitled to expect, that you sought the information with an open mind. In each of them you have expressed profound distrust of the published reports of the recent happenings, although in your last letter, on the basis of the same information, you have not hesitated to lay the whole blame for them on the Government of India. In the same letter you have stated that I cannot expect you to accept the accuracy of the official reports on which I rely. It is not therefore clear to me how you expect or ever desire me to convince you of anything. But in fact, the Government of India have never made any secret of their reasons for holding the Congress and its leaders responsible for the deplorable acts of violence, sabotage and terrorism that have occurred since the Congress resolution of the 8th August declared a "mass struggle" in support of its demands, appointed you as its leader and authorised all Congressmen to act for themselves in the event of interference with the leadership of the movement.

A body which passes a resolution in such terms is hardly entitled to disclaim responsibility for any events that followed it. There is evidence that you and your friends expected this policy to lead to violence, and that you were prepared to condone it, and that the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan, conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders. The general nature of the case against the Congress has been publicly stated by the Home Member in his speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on 15th September last, and if you need further information I would refer you to it.

I enclose a complete copy in case the press versions that you must have seen were not sufficient. I need only add that all the mass of evidence that has since come to light has confirmed the conclusions then reached. I have ample information that the campaign of sabotage has been conducted under secret instructions, circulated in the name of the All-India Congress Committee; that well-known Congressmen have organised and freely

taken part in acts of violence and murder; and that even now an underground Congress organisation exists in which, among others the wife of a member of the Congress Working Committee plays a prominent part, and which is actively engaged in planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism that have disgusted the whole country. If we do not act on all this information or make it publicly known it is because the time is not yet ripe; but you may rest assured that the charges against the Congress will have to be met sooner or later and it will then be for you and your colleagues to clear yourselves before the world if you can. And if in the meanwhile you yourself, by any action such as you now appear to be contemplating, attempt to find an easy way out, the judgment will go against you by default.

I have read with some surprise your statement that the principle of civil disobedience is implicitly conceded in the Delhi settlement of the 5th March, 1931, which you refer to as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact." I have again looked at that document. Its basis was that civil disobedience would be "effectively discontinued" and that certain "reciprocal action" would be taken by Government. It was inherent in such a document that it should take notice of the existence of civil disobedience. But I can find nothing in it to suggest that civil disobedience was recognised as being in any circumstances legitimate. And I cannot make it too plain that it is not so regarded by my Government.

To accept the point of view which you put forward would be to concede that the authorised Government of the country, on which lies the responsibility for maintaining peace and good order, should allow subversive and revolutionary movements, described by you yourself as open rebellion, to take place unchallenged; that they should allow preparations for violence, for the interruption of communications, for attacks on innocent persons, for the murder of police officers and others to proceed unchecked by my Government and we are open indeed to the charge that we should have taken drastic action at an earlier stage against you and against the Congress leaders. But my anxiety and that of my Government has throughout been to give you, and to give the Congress organisation, every possible opportunity to withdraw from the position which you have decided to take up. Your statements of last June and July, the original resolution of the Working Committee of the 14th July, and your declaration on the same day that there was no room left for negotiation and that after all it was an open rebellion, are all of them grave and significant, even without your final exhortation to "Do or Die." But with a patience that was perhaps misplaced, it was decided to wait until the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee made it clear that there could be no further toleration of the Congress attitude if Government was to discharge its responsibility to the people of India.

Let me, in conclusion, say how greatly I regret, having regard to your health and your age, the decision that you tell me that you now have it in mind to take. I hope and pray that wiser counsels may yet prevail with you. But the decision whether or not to undertake a fast with its attendant risks is clearly one that must be taken by you alone, and the responsibility for which and for its consequences must rest on you alone. I trust sincerely that in the light of what I have said you may think better of your resolution; and I would welcome a decision on your part to think better of it, not only because of my own natural reluctance to see you wilfully risk your life, but because I regard the use of a fast for political purposes as a form of political blackmail (Himsa) for which there can be no moral justification, and understood from your own previous writings that this was also your view.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

February 7th, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have to thank you for your long reply, dated the 5th February last. I would take your last point first, namely, the contemplated fast which begins on 9th instant. Your letter, from a Satyagrahi's standpoint, is an invitation to fast. No doubt the responsibility for the step, and its consequences will be solely mine.

You have allowed an expression to slip from your pen for which I was unprepared. In the concluding sentence of the second paragraph you describe the step as an attempt "to find an easy way out." That you, as a friend, can impute such a base and cowardly motive to me passes comprehension. You have also described it as "a form of political blackmail." And you quote my previous writings on the subject against me. I abide by my writings. I hold that there is nothing inconsistent in them with the contemplated step. I wonder whether you have yourself read those writings.

I do claim that I have approached you with an open mind when I asked you to convince me of my error. "Profound distrust" of the published reports is in no way inconsistent with my having an open mind.

You say that there is evidence that—I leave my friends out for the moment—"I expected this policy to lead to violence," that I was "prepared to condone it," and that "the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders." I have seen no evidence in support of such a serious charge. You admit that part of the evidence has yet to be published. The speech of the Home Member, of which you have favoured me with a copy, may be taken as the opening speech of the prosecution counsel and nothing more. It contains unsupported imputations against Congressmen. Of course, he has described the violent outburst in graphic language. But he has not said why it took place when it did. You have condemned men and women before trying them and hearing their defence. Surely, there is nothing wrong in my asking you to show me the evidence on which you hold them guilty. What you say in your letter carries no conviction. Proof should correspond to the canons of English jurisprudence.

If the wife of a member of the Working Committee is actively engaged in "planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism," she should be tried before a court of law and punished if found guilty. The lady you refer to could only have done the things attributed to her after the wholesale arrests of 9th August last, which I have dared to describe as leonine violence.

You say that the time is not yet ripe to publish the charges against the Congress. Have you ever thought of the possibility of their being found baseless when they are put before an impartial tribunal? Or that some of the condemned persons might have died in the meanwhile, or that some of the evidence that the living can produce might become unavailable?

I reiterate the statement that the principle of civil disobedience is implicity conceded in the settlement of 5th March 1931 arrived at between the then Viceroy on behalf of the Government of India and myself on behalf of the Congress. I hope you know that the principal Congressmen were discharged before that settlement was even thought of. Certain reparations were made to Congressmen under that settlement. Civil dis-

obedience was discontinued on certain conditions being fulfilled by the Government that by itself was, in my opinion, an acknowledgement of its legitimacy, of course under given circumstances. It, therefore, seems somewhat strange to find you maintain that civil disobedience "cannot be recognised as being in any circumstances legitimate" by your Government. You ignore the practice of the British Government which has recognised this legitimacy under the name of "passive resistance."

Lastly you read into my letters a meaning which is wholly inconsistent with my declaration, in one of them, of adherence to unadulterated non-violence, for, you say in your letter under reply that "acceptance of my point of view would be to concede that the authorised Government of the country on which lies the responsibility for maintaining peace and good order, should allow movements to take place that would admit preparations for violence, interruption of communications, or attacks on innocent persons, for murders of police officers and others to proceed unchecked." I must be a strange friend of yours whom you believe to be capable of asking for recognition of such things as lawful.

I have not attempted an exhaustive reply to the views and statements attributed to me. This is not the place nor the time for such a reply. I have only picked out those things which in my opinion demanded an immediate answer. You have left me no loophole for escaping the ordeal I have set before myself.

I begin it on the 9th instant with the clearest possible conscience. Despite your description of it as "a form of political blackmail," it is on my part meant to be an appeal to the highest tribunal for justice which I have failed to secure from you. If I do not survive the ordeal, I shall go to the judgment seat with the fullest faith in my innocence. Posterity will judge between you as representative of an all-powerful Government and me as a humble man who has tried to serve his country and humanity through it.

My last letter was written against time, and therefore a material paragraph went in as postscript. I now send herewith a fair copy typed by Peareylal who has taken Mahadeo Desai's place. You will find the postscript paragraph restored to the place where it should have been. I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. Gandhi.

—*A. P.*

Further Correspondence

New Delhi, Feb. 11.

The text of certain letters that passed between the Additional Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department and Mr. Gandhi is published to supplement the correspondence already released to the Press, says a Press *communique.*

Following is the text :

February 7th, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

The Government of India have been informed by His Excellency the Viceroy of your intention as communicated to him of undertaking a fast for 21 days in certain circumstances. They have carefully considered the position, and the conclusions that they have reached in the light of such consideration are set out in the statement of which a copy is enclosed, which they would propose, in the event of your maintaining your present intention, to release in due course to the Press.

The Government of India, as you will see from their statement, would be very reluctant to see you fast, and I am instructed to inform you that, as the statement makes clear, they would propose that, should you persist in your intention, you will be set at liberty for the purpose, and for the duration of your fast as from the time of its commencement. During the period of your fast there will be no objection to your proceeding where you wish, though the Government of India trust that you will be able to arrange for your accommodation away from the Aga Khan's Palace.

Should you for any reason find yourself unable to take advantage of these arrangements, a decision which the Government of India would greatly regret, they will of course suitably amend the statement of which a copy is now enclosed before it issues. But they wish me to repeat with all earnestness their anxiety and their hope that the considerations which have carried so much weight with them will equally carry weight with you, and that you will not pursue your present tentative proposal. In that event, no occasion will, of course, arise for the issue of any statement of any kind.

Yours sincerely,
R. Tottenham.

II

Gandhiji's Reply

February 8th, 1943.

Dear Sir Richard,

I have very carefully studied your letter. I am sorry to say that there is nothing in the correspondence which has taken place between His Excellency and myself or your letter, to warrant a recalling of my intention to fast. I have mentioned in my letters to H. E. the conditions which can induce prevention or suspension of the step.

If the temporary release is offered for my convenience I do not need it. I shall be quite content to take my fast as a detenu or prisoner. If it is for the convenience of the Government, I am sorry I am unable to suit them, much as I should like to do so. I can say this much, that I as a prisoner, shall avoid, as far as is humanly possible, every cause of inconvenience to the Government save what is inherent in the fast itself. The impending fast has not been conceived to be taken as a free man. Circumstances may arise, as they have done before now, when I may have to fast as a free man. If therefore I am released there will be no fast in terms of my correspondence abovementioned, I shall have to survey the situation *de novo* and decide what I should do. I have no desire to be released under false pretences. In spite of all that has been said against me I hope not to believe the vow of truth and non-violence which alone makes life liveable for me. I say this, if it is only for my own satisfaction. It does me good to reiterate openly my faith when outer darkness surrounds me as it does just now.

I must not hustle the Government into a decision on this letter. I understand that your letter has been dictated through the telephone. In order to give the Government enough time, I shall suspend the fast, if necessary, to Wednesday next, 10th instant.

So far as the statement proposed to be issued by the Government is concerned, and of which you have favoured me with a copy, I can have no opinion. But if I might have, I must say that it does me an injustice. The proper course would be to publish the full correspondence and let the public judge for themselves.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi.

III

February 9th, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have been instructed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 8th February, 1943, which has been

laid before the Governor-General-in-Council. The Government of India noted your decision with great regret. Their position remains the same, that is to say they are ready to set you at liberty for the purpose and duration of your fast. But if you are not prepared to take advantage of that fact, and if you fast while in detention, you will do so solely on your own responsibility and at your own risk. In that event you will be at liberty to have your own medical attendants and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of Government during its period. Suitable drafting alterations will be made in the statement which the Government of India would, in that event, issue to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
R. TOTTENHAM.

—A. P.

ANNEXURES I

NEW DELHI, Feb. 12.

The following annexures containing Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy on August 14 last, the Viceroy's reply thereto and Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Government of India, were released along with the Gandhi-Viceroy correspondence :

(Annexure I)

(Gandhiji's Letter of August 14)

August 12th, 1942.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The Government of India were wrong in precipitating the crisis. The Government resolution justifying this step is full of distortions and misrepresentations, that you have the approval of your Indian "colleagues" can have no significance except this, that in India you can always command such services. That co-operation is an additional justification for the demand of withdrawal irrespective of what people and parties may say.

The Government of India should have waited at least till the time I inaugurated mass action. I have publicly stated that I fully contemplated sending you a letter before taking concrete action. It was to be an appeal to you for an impartial examination of the Congress case. As you know the Congress has readily filled in every omission that has been discovered in the conception of its demand. So could I have dealt with every difficulty if you had given me the opportunity. The precipitate action of the Government leads one to think that they were afraid that the extreme caution and gradualness with which the Congress was moving towards direct action might make world opinion veer round to the Congress, as it had already begun doing, and expose the hollowness of the grounds for the Government's rejection of the Congress demand. They should surely have waited for an authentic report of my speeches on Friday and on Saturday night after the passing of the resolution by the All-India Congress Committee. You would have found in them that I would not hastily begin action. You should have taken advantage of the interval foreshadowed in them, and explored every possibility of satisfying the Congress demand.

The resolution says : "The Government of India have waited patiently in the hope that wiser counsels might prevail. They have been disappointed in that hope." I suppose wiser counsels here means abandonment of its demand by the Congress. Why should the abandonment of the demand legitimate at all times be hoped for by a Government pledged to guarantee independence to India? Is it a challenge that could only be met by immediate repression instead of patient reasoning with the demanding party? I venture to suggest that it is a long draft upon the credulity of mankind to say that the acceptance of the demand "would plunge India into confusion." Anyway the summary rejection of the demand has plunged the nation and the Government into confusion. The Congress was making every effort to identify India with the Allied cause.

The Government resolution says : "The Governor-General-in-Council has been aware too for some days past of dangerous preparations by the Congress Party for unlawful and in some cases violent activities directed among other things to interruption of communications and public utility services, the organisation of strikes, tampering with the loyalty of Government servants, and interference with defence measures including recruitment." This is a gross distortion of the reality. Violence was never contemplated at any stage. A definition of what could be included in non-violent action has been interpreted in a sinister and subtle manner as if the Congress was preparing for violent action! Everything was openly discussed among Congress circles, for nothing was to be done secretly. And why is it tampering with your loyalty if I ask you to give up a job which is harming the British, people?

Instead of publishing behind the backs of principal Congressmen the misleading paragraphs, the Government immediately they came to know of the "preparations" should have brought to book the parties concerned with the preparations. That would have been the appropriate course. By their unsupported allegations in the resolutions they have laid themselves open to the charge of unfair dealing.

The Congress movement was intended to evoke in the people the measures of sacrifice sufficient to compel attention. It was intended to demonstrate what measure of popular support it had. Was it wise at this time of the day to seek to suppress a popular movement avowedly non-violent?

The Government resolution further says : "The Congress is not India's mouthpiece. Yet in the interests of securing their own dominance and in pursuit of their totalitarian policy its leaders have constantly impeded the efforts to bring India to full nationhood." It is a gross libel thus to accuse the oldest national organisation of India. This language lies ill in the mouth of a Government which has, as can be proved from published records, consistently thwarted every national effort for attaining freedom, and sought to suppress the Congress by hook or by crook.

The Government of India have not condescended to consider the Congress offer that if simultaneously with the declaration of the independence of India, they could not trust the Congress to form a stable Provisional Government, they should ask the Muslim League to do so, and that any National Government formed by the League would be loyally accepted by the Congress. Such an offer is hardly consistent with the charge of totalitarianism against the Congress.

Let me examine the Government offer. "It is that as soon as hostilities cease, India shall devise for herself with full freedom of decision and on a basis embracing all and not only a single party, the form of Government which she regards as most suited to her conditions." Has this offer any reality about it? All parties have not agreed now. Will it be any more possible after the war? And if the parties have to act before independence is in their hands? Parties grow up like mushrooms, for without proving their representative character, the Government will welcome them as they have done in the past and if they, the parties, oppose the

Congress and its activities, though they may do lip homage to independence frustration is inherent in the Government offer. Hence the logical cry of withdrawal first. Only after the end of British power and a fundamental change in the political status of India from bondage to freedom, will the formation of a truly representative Government whether provisional or permanent be possible. The living burial of the author of the demand has not resolved the deadlock, it has aggravated it.

Then the resolution proceeds: "The suggestion put forward by the Congress Party that the millions of India, uncertain as to the future, are ready, despite the sad lessons of so many martyr countries, to throw themselves into the arms of the invaders, is one that the Government of India cannot accept as a true representation of the feeling of the people of this great country." I do not know about the millions, but I can give my own evidence in support of the Congress statement.

It is open to the Government not to believe the Congress evidence. No imperial power likes to be told that it is in peril. It is because the Congress is anxious for Great Britain to avoid the fate that has overtaken other imperial powers that it asks her to shed imperialism voluntarily by declaring India independent. The Congress has not approached the movement with any but the friendliest motives. Congress seeks to kill imperialism as much for the sake of the British people and humanity as for India. Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, I maintain that the Congress has no interests of its own, apart from that of the whole of India and the world.

The following passage from the peroration in the resolution is interesting: "But on them lies the task of defending India, of maintaining India's capacity to wage war, of safeguarding India's interests, of holding the balance between the different sections of her people without fear or favour." All I can say is that it is a mockery of truth after the experience of Malaya, Singapore and Burma. It is sad to find the Government of India claiming to hold the "balance" between the parties for which it is itself demonstrably responsible.

One thing more. The declared cause is common between the Government of India and us. To put it in the most concrete terms, it is the protection of the freedom of China and Russia. The Government of India think that the freedom of India is not necessary for winning the cause. I think exactly the opposite. I have taken Jawaharlal Nehru as my measuring rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can—and may I say than even you can? In that misery he tried to forget his old quarrel with imperialism. He dreads much more than I do the success of Fascism and Nazism. I have argued with him for days together. He fought against my position with a passion which I have no words to describe. But the logic of facts overwhelmed him. He yielded when he saw clearly that without the freedom of India that of the other two was in great jeopardy. Surely you are wrong in having imprisoned such a powerful friend and ally. If, notwithstanding the common cause, the Government's answer to the Congress demand is hasty repression, they will not wonder if I draw the inference that it was not so much the Allied cause that weighed with the British Government, as the unexpressed determination to cling to the possession of India as an indispensable part of imperial policy. This determination led to the rejection of the Congress demand and precipitated repression. The present mutual slaughter on a scale never before known to history is suffocating enough. But the slaughter of truth accompanying the butchery and enforced by the falsity of which the resolution is reeking adds strength to the Congress position.

It causes me deep pain to have to send you this long letter. But, however much I dislike your action I remain the same friend you have known me. I would still plead for reconsideration of the Government of India's whole policy. Do not disregard the pleading of one who claims to be a sincere friend of the British people. Heaven guide you!

I am, yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

(Annexure II)

August 22nd, 1942.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you very much for your letter, dated August 14, which reached me only a day or two ago.

I have read, I need not say, what you have been good enough to say in your letter with very close attention, and I have given full weight to your views. But I fear in the result that it would not be possible for me either to accept the criticisms which you advance of the resolution of the Governor-General-in-Council, or your request that the whole policy of the Government of India should be reconsidered.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

To M. K. Gandhi, Esq.

(Annexure III)

Gandhiji's Letter to Secretary to Government of India.

September 23rd, 1942.

Sir,

In spite of the chorus of approval sung by the Indian Councillors and others of the present Government policy in dealing with the Congress, I venture to assert that, had the Government but awaited my contemplated letter to His Excellency the Viceroy and, the result thereafter, no calamity would have overtaken the country. The reported deplorable destruction would have most certainly been avoided.

In spite of all that has been said to the contrary I claim that the Congress policy still remains unequivocally non-violent. The wholesale arrest of the Congress leaders seems to have made the people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control. I feel that the Government, not the Congress, were responsible for the destruction that has taken place. The only right course for the Government seems to me to be to release the Congress leaders, withdraw all repressive measures and explore ways and means of conciliation. Surely the Government have ample resources to deal with any overt act of violence. Repression can only breed discontent and bitterness.

Since I am permitted to receive newspapers, I feel that I owe it to the Government to give my reaction to the sad happenings in the country. If the Government think that as a prisoner I have no right to address such communications, they have but to say so and I will not repeat the mistake.

I am, yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI.

To
The Secretary, Government of India.
(H. D.) New Delhi.

NOTE.—A formal acknowledgement was sent to this letter.—*A. P.*

WHITHER TURKEY ?

BY SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

If we are to understand the politics of Turkey and its role in this mightiest war, we will have to closely examine and understand its socio-political policy on the home front, as initiated and carried out by young Turkey that has risen to the present position of international eminence and importance under the supreme leadership of Kemal Ataturk and his faithful follower President Ineunu and their Republican People's Party. To this day Turkey remains inspired with the spirit of the Revolution that has transformed the old and decadant Turkey of Sultans and Caliphs into a new and virile Turkey of youthful people, emancipated from a quasi-religious monarchical form of government and the reactionary feudal mode of production and thinking. The spirit of Kemalism is the spirit of scientific age and courageous assertion of the right of self-determination that has given strength and coolness in its statesmen to keep their heads amidst the European turmoil and maintain its independence in face of catastrophic surrender of all its Balkan allies to the superior forces of Hitler.

THE TURKISH REPUBLIC AND ITS CHARACTER

The Turkish form of Government is Republican in character. All executive and legislative powers are vested in the Grand National Assembly which is elected by the people according to the adult suffrage at the age of 33. All citizens men and women, have equal rights. In fact, there are more women members in the Turkish Assembly than in the British Parliament. The President is elected by the Assembly and his Ministers are responsible to the Assembly. To that extent it is surely democratic. But the President reserves the right to suspend a law passed by the Assembly in certain extraordinary circumstances in the best interests of the Republic. This ultimate power of discretion exercised by the President surely places an individual, though chosen by the people, in a supreme position over the collective wisdom of the people's accredited representatives. This has rather a closer affinity to the principles of dictatorship than to those of democracy. It must, however, be recognised that similar powers are given to the Heads of States in many other constitutions which are considered democratic enough by 'competent upholders of democracy.' But what is more important to note is that the Turkish Government is based on the one-party system. The Republic recognises no political party other than the Republican People's Party. All citizens must be its members first in order to qualify themselves for the membership of the Assembly and offices of the State. Thus, in the ultimate analysis, the People's Party wields the supreme powers of the State through the President and the National Assembly. It is, therefore, worthwhile to critically scrutinise the nature of the Party on which so much depends the fate of the Turkish people.

IS THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PRO-FASCIST ?

In this one-party Government based on the glorification of a people's national unity and theoretical non-recognition of classes in spite of their actual existence in every-day life, there is a curious similarity with the one-party Governments of the Nazi Germany and the Fascist Italy. But those who see in the Turkish system a dominant tendency towards the fascist concept forget that there is a far bigger and almost unbridgable gulf between the two forms of government. While the fascist Feuhrer is vested with all executive, legislative and military powers and even supreme religious authority and completely dominates the German Reich which is called at his sweet will only to hear him and his satellites without even any right of criticism, the Turkish President enjoys certain limited powers under extraordinary circumstances and his Ministry is responsible to the National Assembly which is vested with all legislative and executive powers. While Hitler is irremovable by the vote of the people, the Turkish President is periodically elected by a free vote of the people. The former is constitutionally irresponsible and responsible to himself alone. But the latter is responsible to the Assembly and the Turkish people. The all-powerful Feuhrer even dominates the Nazi Party as an unquestionable and infallible dictator. Ruthless blood purges are the only reply to any disagreement with him within the party. But the Turkish People's party is a democratic body. The party glorifies the high ideals of free and responsible citizenship for social good over individual good and deprecates individual gains

at the expense of the society. To the extent it actually follows the ideals, it does counteract the danger of glorifying 'national unity' in a so-called classless State within a class-society. In a discussion with Bengal Trade Union Congress representatives at Calcutta, the Turkish Press Delegation put a very great emphasis on that democratic aspect of the people's party and the People's Government and fervently declared that the Turkish citizens can never be reactionary. The Revolution has made a great transformation in their outlook and mode of life. They are all for progress, for scientific thinking and scientific planning for the good of the common people and the society as a whole. They also pointed out that there are definite constitutional safeguards to protect the interests and rights of the people. The Turkish citizens are said to be very zealous of the same.

Similarity with the Soviet form of Goverment

The Turkish people's party and its one party Government appears to have, therefore, a greater similarity with the Soviet form of Government guided by the communist party, than with any other form of government, although there is still a great gulf between the two socio-economic systems.

The Socio-Economic System in Turkey

The socio-economic system in Turkey is claimed to be based on equal rights of citizenship. In the eyes of the State there are no classes, no bourgeoisie, no proletariat, no aristocracy. The Fascist States suppress all forms of class struggle and free trade unions by fascist organisations of employers and workers and actually place a group of fascist employers and their middle class hirelings in a virtual position of dictatorship. But in Turkey there is no organisation either of the employers or of the workers. All are simply citizens and as such are represented in the people's party. Of late, there has been a great industrial expansion. Yet industrial workers form a small percentage of the population, of which 75/80 per cent are peasants. They have their representatives in the people's party. But the existence of classes does not depend on anyone's recognition or nonrecognition. So long there exists the glaring inequality, the big economic gulf between the workers and the employers, the toiling and poor multitude and the profiteering and rich few, the classes and the class struggle exist in fact. Even the right of equal citizenship can not be effectively exercised because of the same glaring inequalities which make them easy victims to the machinations of the rich and powerful few. The employers and rich people can wield great powers even without any organisation of their own, while workers cannot. In the very nature of industrial control, they are organised. But the workers are not. It is far easier for the former to dominate even the people's party democratically. Therefore, any superficial elimination of classes and class struggle and glorification of a people's unified State without striking at the roots of exploitation of class by class may well approximate a tendency towards the fascist concept, if the common people fail to retain sufficient democratic control over their Government and their destiny. But not only its peculiar socio-economic system but also its constitutional safeguards and the dominant democratic tendency of the Turkish people are quite likely to preclude that possibility which cannot, however, be altogether ruled out in view of the bitter lesson of history in Germany. Although Germany had the strongest social democratic and communist parties with the backing of a democratic majority, yet the German Reich and its democratic constitution could not prevent Hitler and his Nazi gang from seizing power by organised terrorism, bluff and skilful propaganda. Turkey, however, lacks that basic foundation of a deep economic crisis, accentuated by the sharpest class struggle which alone can give rise to the fascist form of ruthless dictatorship. Fascism, by its very method of suppression, accentuates the class struggle still further to its bitterest limit and thereby digs its own grave, no matter however dormant may be its positive expression for the time being.

Turkey Travels A Different Road

But Turkey seems to be taking good care not to travel that disastrous road, but rather takes the opposite road towards democracy and socialism. How the party and the State actually seek to fulfil that end will be very interesting to note.

Towards State Capitalism or State Socialism

In order to partially counterbalance the privilleged position of the rich section, the Republic taxes high incomes heavily and the peasantry nominally. Since the Revolution the poor section of the peasantry were exempted from taxes. According to the Turkish Press Delegation the peasants who form the bulk of

the population, are comparatively well ofl. The State helps them to increase the productivity of the soil by technical advice and equipment and other material aid. It has taken a great step forward towards collective farming. Today State farms and private farms exist side by side. The peasants get every encouragement and help for organising themselves on a co-operative basis. The State has saved them greatly not only from the burden of taxation but also from the oppresion of moneylenders by supplying them with cheap credits. In the industrial field, the Government has undertaken an ambitious programme of nationalisation of industries and Banks. About 90 per cent of the industrial capital is already State capital. Railways, shipping, mining, engineering, sugar, chemicals, automobile, iron and steel and some other industries have been nationalised. About 60 per cent of the textile industry is also under State control. But the growth of industries is necessarily limited by the available resources of the State and the difficulties which a backward agricultural country must face. The Press Delegation made a significant statement to the effect that their policy is not to industrialise the country wholesale but to carry out the industrialisation only to the extent it is necessary to develop their productive forces according to the latest scientific method so as to raise the standard of living of all citizens to a high lavel of civilised existence. Their aim is to produce only specific goods suitable to the country so as to avoid undue competition in the world market and consequent rivalry that may bring them into a clash with other peoples. They emphasised that they believe in fair exchange of goods between different countries, as they recognise complete independence and interdependence of all peoples of the world. In reply to a question whether Turkey is afraid of the Soviet Union or suspects any Soviet designs towards the Balkans, as was recently attributed to Russia by the Axis and other interested sources in connection with the recent Adana talks between Churchill and Ineunu, one prominent member immediately replied that it was 'simply ridiculous' to make that suggestion. He added significantly that Turkey has been in long alliance with the Soviet Union and that the Turkish socio-economic system is the best safeguard against any such fear of the Soviet system. All this indicates the trend of the Turkish policy.

Mustafa Kemal got only a ruined Turkey in 1921 as the legacy from the Sultan. According to Captain C. H. Courthope Munroe's report on the economic and financial conditions, the revenue of Turkey averaged only 12 millions Ltqs in a year and "was insufficient to pay even the salaries of Turkish officials and military forces which amounted to 2 millions a month" and other expenses to another ½ million. According to the economic report of S. R. Jordan, April 1939, the State revenue rose to 138.4 millions Turkish liras in 1924-5 and to 323·6 millions in 1937-8. The figures for State expenditure for the same years are 131.6 million liras against 29.3 liras. The National Defence vote absorbs 35 per cent of a total revenue during 1939-40 against 35.4 per cent in 1938-39 and 31.7 in 1936-37 while that of the Public Debt absorbs 19 per cent, 14.¼ per cent and 14.6 per cent during the corresponding periods. This increase in Public Debt is due to increased internal borrowing (for economic planning) and purchase of foreign-owned utility services in Turkey. The State has spent a huge sum of money in building Railways, roads, canals, ports and docks and public utility services. The programme of industrialisation was undertaken principally through national Banks. The first Five-Year Plan was entrusted to the Sumer Bank to manufacture textiles, sugar, paper, and chemicals. A three-year mining development plan was given to the Eli Bank. Other Banks were directed in 1938 to carry out a Third Plan, a four year programme of industrialisation. A central Agricultural Bank was created to assist the producers. The Bank granted loans about £T.75.2 millions in 1937 and a further sum of £T.13.4 millions. Many foreign concessionary Companies were purchased by the Government since 1932. The industrial expansion was aided by credits from the U. S. S. R., Germany and the United Kingdom. 'These figures prove conclusively the extraordinary developments which have taken place in the Turkish Republic during the last 13 years.'

All this also shows that the Republic has been following to some extent in its peculiar way the Soviet system of planned economy in the fields of industry and agriculture, by the State initiative under the guidance of the People's Party. The only big difference is that the Turkish system does not at once eleminate the private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, as the U. S. S. R. did, but all the same seeks to attain that end in a gradual process. That may not happen at all or for a long time to come simply because

the very essence of evolutionary socialism is halfway measures and concessions, class collaboration and partial retention of old heritage of the capitalist society. Turkey at best is doing nothing more than striking out a middle path towards progressive socialism in a spirit of class collaboration. It denies Labour the democratic freedom for independent organisation and collective bargaining and the People's Party arrogates to itself the trusteeship of its interests. No doubt, many beneficial maeasures have been undertaken by the Government to improve the conditions and raise the standard of living of workers. There is no unemployment problem as there is even a shortage of industrial labour. Their wages are said to be varied from £12 to £20 a month. A big housing scheme is being put into effect for the workers of State industries. Yet all this is nothing but a programme of benevolent trusteeship. Under certain conditions it may well mean a benevolent dictatorship. No humane treatment can be an answer to the denial of free exercise of the right of self-determination by the workers. No people's party can take the place of a free organisation of their own without abolishing all forms of exploitation. Turkey is heading towards State capitalism and benevolent trusteeship. Its programme of planned economy and a more equitable distribution of human comforts may be interpreted as the progressive socialisation of the country. In order to be true to its declared ideal and to give equal opportunity to all citizens alike, it must make up its mind to travel the way to socialism in a more conscious and determined manner.

This dilemma in Turkey's socio-political life is reflected in its curious neutrality. In spite of its military alliance with the Balkan States and Great Britain and close alliance with Russia, its oldest ally, it has so long admirably succeeded in keeping out of the war and maintaining normal relations with Germany. The Adana talks are claimed to have resulted in a closer Anglo-Turk alliance and a virtual Turko-American alliance. The mission in which 22 military and political advisers and experts accompanied Churchill must be very important indeed. According to Sir Hughes Knatchbull Hugessen, Britain wanted to make sure that "Turkey will not be one of the ways of Nazi escape" and discussed "the delivery of defensive armaments to Turkey besides other supplies needed to make Turkey strong if attacked." "In that case," the ambassador said, "the Allies would assist Turkey." According to the famous Turkish Commentator Hussain Yalchin:

> "Turkey has a historic and neopolitical role in the Balkans and the Russian war has reached such a stage that it is expected it will extend to the Balkans. Therefore, Turkey as a Balkan power has a right to make her voice heard on this subject" (by whom ?).
>
> "There are post-war questions which are most important for Turkey—particularly Russian post-war policy."

If that be true, it is really very strange and extraordinary that the Soviet Union which was most vitally concerned with the whole problem and could effectively disarm the Turkish Government of any undue suspicion on its part, was not represented in that most important Conference. It is inexplicable why no Soviet representatives could attend Casablanca or Adana talks. At a time when the Red Army is dealing heavy blows on the Nazis single-handed and has saved Turkey from the menace of a Nazi encirclement, this curious anxiety (if true) for the fate of the Balkans on the part of Turkey, who could not stand by them at their darkest hours, is neither graceful nor befitting the occasion. To what extent Stalin was informed of the discussions is only known to the parties concerned. But if there was any discussion of the Soviet post-war policy and its attitude towards the Balkans in absence of its representatives, it will be surely looked upon by the Soviet statesmen with deep suspicion. It is really unfortunate that this deplorable lapse has been allowed to occur at a time when the valiant Russian people are making the greatest contributions to the defeat of the Axis forces, to the common cause of the united peoples. Yet the Turkish foreign Minister is said to have made a "detailed report" of the Adana Conference to Von Papen and assured him of its strict neutrality. Whatever that may be, it would be a bad day for Turkey if it forgets at all the great services the Soviet Union has rendered since the days of Lenin to the cause of Turkish independence, territorial integrity and prosperity. The Soviet Russia defeated the Allied conspiracy in the last war to partition Turkey and Chicherin defended the Turkish Sovereignty over the Straits more than Ismet Pasha, now President Ineunu. There is no reason why Turkey should forget all that and play into others' hands. The Press Delegation gave the impression that Turkey will not. Churchill assured the House of Commons that

> "Although he (Stalin) was absent, our duty to aid to the utmost in our power the magnificent and tremen-

dous effort to Russia and to try to draw the enemy and the enemy air force from the Russian front was accepted as the first of our objective."

He also made the remarkable admission that

"Hitherto Turkey has maintained a solid barrier against aggression from any quarter, and by doing so, even in the darkest days rendered them invaluable service in preventing a war through Turkey into Persia and Iraq and preventing the menace to the oilfields of Abadan which are of vital consequence to whole eastern war."

But the only power that has decisively saved Turkey, Iraq, Iran and India from that threatening Nazi menace is the Soviet Union. It is reassuring that Churchill "wishes to see warm and friendly relations established between Turkey and 'our' great Russian ally." But the assurance must be expressed in action, in actual dealings between the three countries. Turkey will do well to link up its fate with the fate of the Soviet people in close alliance with the United Peoples. Kemal Pasha even wanted to conclude "a Treaty of military and political alliance" with the Soviet Union and addressed a letter to Chicherin on November 29, 1920 to that effect "to fight against international capital" and "foreign imperialists" and in alliance "with the proletarian masses of the world" and "the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa." He maintained a close friendly alliance all along. Surely the sworn Kemalists have not forgotten all that.

INDIA : A CONFEDERATION

By SUSHIL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.,

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GENESIS OF CONFEDERATION

OCTOBER 1, 1906 was an evil day in the history of India when Lord Minto received at Simla an address presented to him on behalf of an influential Muslim Deputation headed by His Highness the Aga Khan. That "command performance" initiated the system of communal representation in India. Farsighted leaders of the community condemned it outright. Nawab Sadiq Ali, Bar-at-Law, speaking at Lucknow in 1908 said, ". . . . . in my humble opinion, that principle is fraught with mischief." It was really an attempt to create an irreconcilable Ulster in India. The principle of communal representation was given a new lease of life in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. The Indian National Congress for the first time put its seal on the system of communal electorate. The principle of nationalism was thrown to the winds and an attempt was made to satisfy the communal demands of the Muslims. Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh in his recent presidential address to the Indian Political Science Conference held at Agra dwelt at length on the evil consequences of the Lucknow Pact. In fact he says :

"I regard the conclusion of the Lucknow Pact of 1916 as an important turning point in the history of the Indian National Movement. The magnitude of the blunder committed has never been realised and its praises have been sung on account of the results achieved during the next few years."

The Nehru Report made an improvement in the situation. It recommended a system of joint electorates. But the reservation of seats was still there. By this time the evil effects of separate electorates were crystal clear. Attempts were made to hold unity conferences. They did take place but to no purpose. Then in August, 1932, came the decision of the British Government known as the Communal Award. This new decision surpassed all others and the Indian electorate was divided into 18 or 19 water-tight compartments. It was expected that Nationalist India would rise to the occasion and would condemn the incorporation of this dangerous doctrine into Indian body politic. The leaders of the National Congress did criticise it, some in bitterest terms. But when time for test came only about a dozen members in a house of 144 in the Central Assembly rose up to oppose the Communal Award. The Congress benches kept a perfect mum. Pandit Malaviya remarked, "Silence means partial acceptance," In this connection we may quote a pregnant statement of Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith. He wrote in *Current History* for October, 1935 :

"Gandhi and Congress have won parliamentary government for India, but in doing so they have had to concede to implacable minorities of their own people

a series of compromises which have put them in chains for generations to come."

The vote of the Indian Parliament put the Communal Award on a firm foundation. It was made part and parcel of the Government of India Act 1935. Even then some anticipated that the new Act would satisfy the Communal aspirations of the Muslims. They would have an opportunity of governing four provinces according to their lights. But contrary results have been obtained. The problem has culminated in the Pakistan Scheme of the Muslim League. The Muslims refuse to regard India as a homogeneous state but prefer to call it a sub-continent inhabiting various creeds and races speaking hundreds of languages. The Centralized Government before Federation had put these tendencies in check but now they cannot be ignored. The European events have a direct repercussion on Indian politics. The Sudetan problem gave reality to the Pakistan scheme. Not only that, lure of provincial autonomy has encouraged many minorities of provinces to demand separate provincial administrations—thus leading to India's disintegration. The process has not stopped here. The Pakistan scheme has brought in its train other partition schemes. Now some 'leading lights' of India demand separate confederations for different areas of the country.

Proposed Confederations

About half a dozen leading publicmen of India have proposed schemes which aim at some sort of confederation. The main outlines of these schemes are as follows:

1. *Sir Firoz Khan Noon Scheme.*—Sir Firoz Khan Noon proposes the division of India into five dominions: 1. Bengal and Assam, 2. The C. P., U. P. and Bihar, 3. Madras (Dravidian), 4. Bombay (Mahratta) and 5. Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind and N.-W. F. P. These five dominions should be completely independent like Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. There is to be a Central Government to administer only customs, foreign relations and currency. This Central Government is to consist of delegates nominated by the several Dominion Governments. Every Dominion should be given the right to secede. Thus Sir Noon practically suggests the formation of an Indian confederation.

2. *Dr. C. R. Reddi Scheme.*—The Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University actually supports the building up of the Central Government on the principle of a confederation as that would satisfy the communal aspirations of the Muslims. Dr. Reddi suggests that the total number of members of the Confederal Cabinet should be 11 or 12. Each member should be a nominee of a Provincial Government. The Viceroy is to select the Minister from a panel of members. The Cabinet is to consist of six Hindus and five Muslims. One Sikh member may be nominated by the Viceroy. Dr. Reddi favours a commission type of executive for this confederation.

3. *Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji's Schemes.*—Dr. R. K. Mookerji of Lucknow University wants unity *at all costs*. He believes in the oneness of India even if it means shattering to pieces the Indian body-politic. In order to achieve his end he proposes three schemes: (*a*) The first scheme is to frame the schedules of Federal and Provincial subjects as to make the most of provincial autonomy and render each Pakistan a sovereign state for all practical purposes. Thus he advocates the establishment of a confederation though he does not give it its proper name. (*b*) The second scheme is based on the principle of declaring the cultural autonomy of each community. The learned doctor thinks that his scheme would hold together the many nationalities and regions as has been the case in U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. Here he fails to draw correct analogies. The U. S. A. is a federation in which the units have no right of secession. The southern states wanted to separate but the force of arms kept them intact. An Abraham Lincoln proved too strong for them. The example of the Civil War should not be lost sight of in India. As regards the U. S. S. R., it is practically a dictatorship. To label it as a democratic state is to go beyond the conception of a constitutional state. Mr. Chamberlain recently remarked, "Free thinking is the greatest crime in the Communist Calendar." Under such circumstances free co-operation and free secession for nationalities and regions become meaningless. (*c*) Dr. Mukerji also favours the constitution of linguistic provinces. He cites the example of Orissa. This scheme amounts to the creation of many petty states of a heterogeneous character constantly fighting each other for their superiority. Under such a regime India would still wait for her Caeser Borgia, Machiavelli, Bismarck or Cavour.

4. *The Punjabi's Scheme.*—It is entitled Confederacy of India. The *Punjabi* proposes a confederation for India made up of the follow-

ing units (*a*) The Indus Regions Federation (*b*) The Hindu India Federation. (*c*) The Rajasthan Federation (*d*) The Deccan States Federation (*e*) the Bengal Federation. The author calls his scheme as a binational, trilingual and quinquepartite Confederation. Even then he imagines that his scheme is based on the preservation of Indian unity. "It simply means internal partition effected between the various members of a joint family without breaking their mutual bond of relationship." No sane student of Political Science will fail to see that this nefarious scheme is aimed at the disruption of the various basis of Indian Government.

5. *The Aligarh Scheme.*—The authors suggest that India be divided into the following wholly independent and sovereign units :—(1) Pakistan (2) Bengal (3) Hindustan (4) Hyderabad (5) Delhi Province (6) Malabar Province. The authors are not satisfied with a confederation of India. They pursue it further. They want the institution of miniature confederacies in towns having a population of 50,000 or more. The Hindu and Muslim states that are to be set up have to rely on mutual recognition and reciprocity. The Aligarh Scheme is the worst possible Confederal Scheme suggested so far. It not only wants to carve out definite areas of India for Muslim domination, it aims at the perpetuation of Hindu-Muslim differences. The scheme would result in the creation of thousands of Ulsters and Danzigs in India.

6. *Dr. A. Latif's Scheme.*—According to his scheme India is to be divided into Muslim and Hindu zones. The Muslim zones would consist of 1. North-West Block 2. North-East Block 3. Delhi-Lucknow Block 4. The Deccan Block. The Hindu zones will be 1. Portions of Bengal 2. Orissa 3. Hindustan. 4. Rajput States of Rajputana 5. Gujarat with Kathiawar. 6. Maharatta 7. Canara 8. Andhra 9. Tamil 10. Malabar. 11. A Hindu-Sikh Block. This scheme though not actually styled as a Confederation, practically amounts to that. It gives to every provincial federal unit as full an autonomy as is possible and reduces the federal list of subjects to a bare minimum in the case of Indian rulers. The Central Government would only legislate in matters of defence, foreign affairs, commerce, and communications. The units are to possess residuary powers. Such a federation at present hardly differs from an actual Confederation.

7. *The Sikandar Scheme.*—The late Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan proposed the division of India into 7 zones for the purpose of establishing an All-India Federation. His scheme though federal in form has definite leanings toward a Confederation. The emphasis is on units. The powers of the Federal organs are to be definitely circumscribed and limited. That Sir Sikandar did not overlook the idea of a confederacy for India is evident from his Ferozpur Speech where he is reported to have said that he is ready to grant the right of self-determination to any smaller community. This amounts to an acceptance of confederacy with a vengeance.

DEFECTS OF PROPOSED SCHEMES

All the schemes outlined above aim at some sort of confederation. Therefore, they are not free from the defects inherent in a confederacy. A Confederation is never a permanent device like Federation. It is a union or association of states formed for the purpose of promoting or achieving certain specific objects, such as defence, foreign relations, etc.

> "The individual states, unlike those which unite to form a federal union or a unitary state, retain intact their own sovereignty and also their own governmental autonomy in so far as the latter is not expressly surrendered and delegated to the confederation organs established by the Act of Union."

Ordinarily it possesses no power over the sources of its revenue. It depends on the voluntary contributions of the confederated states. A confederation does not possesses a single sovereignty, but there is a plurality of sovereignties, as many in fact as there are states composing it. The commands of the confederation are addressed not directly to the citizens but through the state governments. The will of the confederation is the sum total of the wills of the component units. The component members are free to withdraw at will and thus dissolve the confederation. No member can remain in the confederation against its will.

Many or all of these characteristics of a confederation are present in the proposed schemes discussed above. All the proposed confederations are meant to weaken the authority of the Central Government. A weak Centre is the curse of all confederations. Dr. Garner is perfectly justified when he says :

> "Experience has demonstrated the inherent weakness of this type of union, it represents a transitory stage of political development, and those which have existed in the past have disappeared through the consolidation of their member states either into federal unions or unitary states . . . . . . it lacks stability and permanence, and its existence is precarious, since it belongs to the component members to withdraw from the confederation at will or refuse to be bound by its acts and resolutions."

Such being the case, the adoption of a confederal constitution is harmful to the best

interests of India. There can be no national progress under such a regime. There will be a greater intensification of provincial patriotism and interests of the state will be completely shattered. The citizens will not have even an atom of affinity to the Central Government whenever its interests will conflict with those of the units. Particularism will reign supreme. It is really strange that our leading statesmen miss the essence of the problem. In the age of centralization they talk of decentralization. The policy of decentralization has now become out of date under the stress of modern times. It is a pity that our countrymen care more for the representation of the various communities and regions on the Executive and less for the efficiency of the Government. They do not care to understand that a weak government of the Confederal type cannot stand even for a week in the abnormal conditions of the modern world.

The establishment of separate confederations for different areas will lead us nowhere. They will simply weaken the authority of the Central Government. Instead of a centralized strong state as India at present is, she will become a mere geographical name as Italy and Germany were in the middle of the last century. The result would be that there would be no peace in the land. Mutual friction and jealousies will dissipate the energies of the Central Government. Instead of pulling the common resources of the country the different units will look primarily to their sectional interests. The process of Balkanisation will be complete. The position is correctly summed up in a leading editorial of the *Pioneer*, dated Oct. 6, 1942 :

"The trend everywhere towards the closer organ of a political unit has been immensely accentuated by the war. It is universally recognized that in an age when defence is dominated by the aeroplane and the tank no country can be secure that has not developed a highly organised and diversified machine industry. Conversely no country can be secure that is not assured of effective access to a sufficiency of supply of essential foodstuffs and raw materials. Will a Balkanised India be a source of strength to any community or help to solve India's myriad social and economic problems? As it is, the vast majority of India's millions live terribly near the margin of subsistence. Only a long process of industrial development accompanied by a very substantial rise in the standard of living of the agricultural population can create a surplus sufficient to provide a navy, an air force and a mechanized army on a scale at all comparable with India's needs. Does Sir Sikandar envisage that development if each community in India is allowed to carve out a small principality for itself by exercising its 'sacred right of self-determination'? . . . It will be a tragedy if responsible Indian leaders cannot conceive anything better than the state of affairs which followed the downfall of the Moghul Empire."

Moreover, the experience of Confederations in the past has not been encouraging. The Swiss Confederation (1291-1798) was marked by a long period of civil war and religious differences. The Swiss Confederation of 1815-48 did not satisfy the people. The 'Bewaffneter Sunderbund' was a clear indication. The Confederation of the Netherlands did not succeed in keeping Holland and Belgium together. The German Confederation created by the Congress of Vienna and the North-German Confederation formed to the north of the river Main did not liquidate the problems of Germany. Only an imperial constitution framed on the lines of Bismarck led the Reich to its proper place in the sun. The Austro-Hungarian Confederation remained intact for so long only on account of the sheer necessity dictated by fear of foreign invasion. The confederation of the United States lasted only for 9 years. It was soon replaced by a Federal Constitution. The most recent example of a confederation was the Central American Federation, 1907-1918. It did not last long. It came to a speedy end after a short period of 10 years. A perusal of all these confederations makes at least one thing clear. Some of them have been short-lived. But all of them failed to meet their objects. They kept the units together for some time but they yielded at the slightest pressure. Disintegration set in in almost all cases. Instead of national cohesion they created political disruption. The next stage in their development was always a firmer form of government. If such has been experience in the past, there seems no valid reason for repeating the same experiment here. India is in need of political and social development. This is impossible under a confederal constitution. The confederal constitution would have survived for some years in the absence of hostile conditions. But now when every country is a competitor in the universal race for armaments, there is no ground for existence for a weak confederal Indian State.

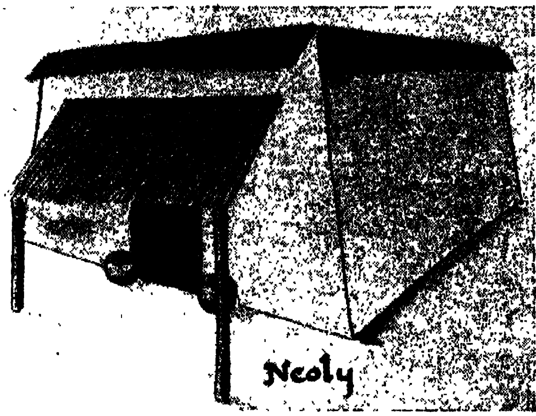
Conclusion

For a newly-developed country like India a centralized Government backed by a strong party having fixed principles of government is of prime necessity. A weak confederal state would be the worst possible remedy for India's ills. The greatest need of the hour is a Centralized State for India. It is time for the germ of confederalism to be buried alive fathoms deep. Only a centralized state can save us from disaster.

THE VILLAGE HOMES OF INDIA

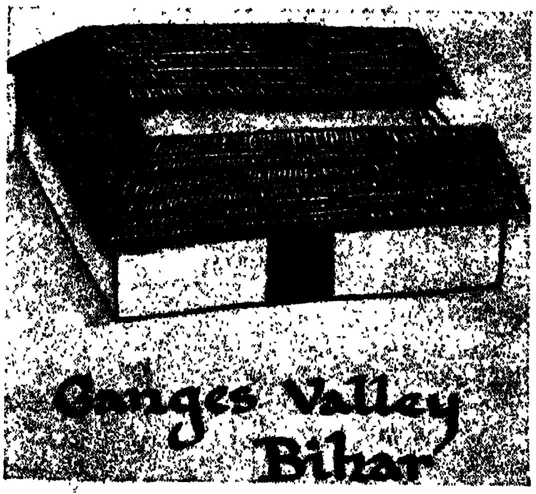
By JAMES WALTON, B.SC. (LOND.), DIP. ED. (LEEDS)

MUCH has been said and written in recent months on the topic of world reconstruction after the war; architects have been busily engaged in preparing plans for new cities and a



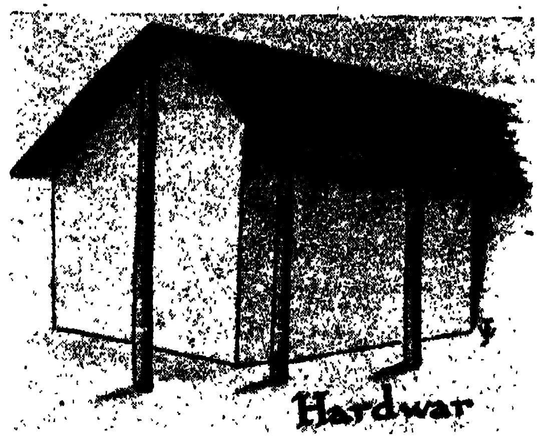
Mud and thatch

better standard of living has been promised to all. Modern structures in concrete and steel embodying the most up-to-date systems of lighting, ventilation and sanitation already exist



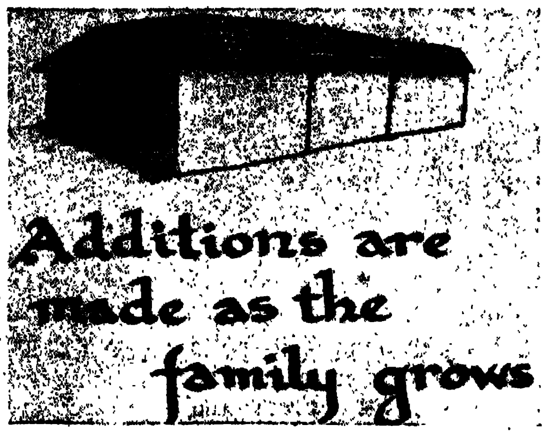
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on paper. All this is far removed, however, from the Indian raiyat's humble home which lacks all these considered essentials. For hundreds of years, through wars and plagues, it has remained almost unchanged and in spite of local efforts to improve living conditions little general alteration may be expected in the rural dwelling for many years to come. Nevertheless, its very



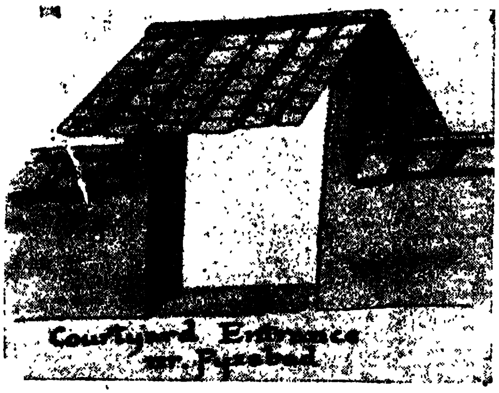
Mud and thatch

lack of planning endows the peasant's hut with a characteristic charm; born of the surrounding rocks and woods it harmonises perfectly with the general landscape, a harmony which modern builders appear to find difficulty in emulating.



The choice of materials for its construction is governed primarily by the type of the country and the raw materials it will yield. In the jungle timber, wattle and thatch are the obvious

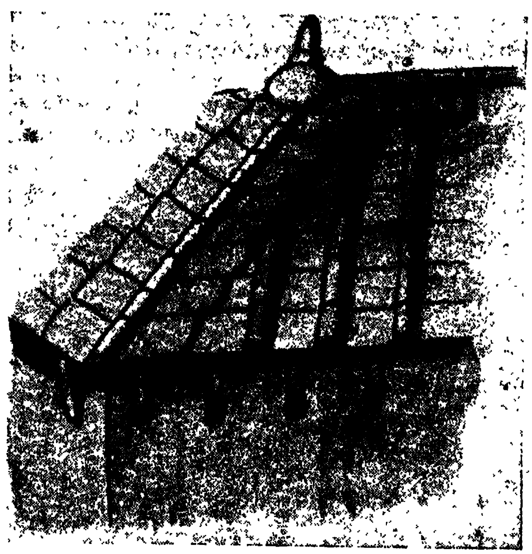
choices but where it merges into open country then a motley assemblage of mutti, brick, wattle, thatch and tile usually results with one type predominating in accordance with local custom. Climate also plays an important part ; in the hot, dry north-west mutti is the prevailing material whereas in the Himalayan foothills the outcropping stone is used to provide a home capable of withstanding the heavy rains and of offering sufficient warmth through the cold nights. Many features are common throughout



Mud and tiles

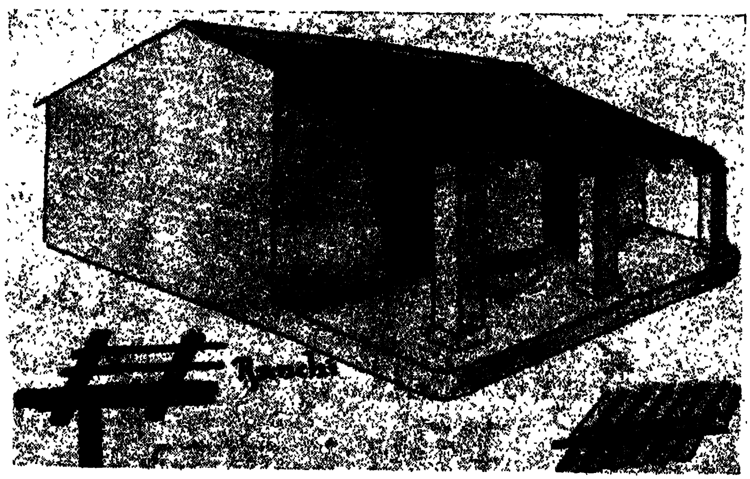
India and Burma, especially the almost universal reception verandah and bivouac type of construction employing identical methods in places hundreds of miles apart. Generally the standard of craftsmanship depends on the state of advancement of the people themselves; usually the homes of the hill-dwellers in forest regions such as the Vindhya Mountains and the Chin Hills are crude and primitive whilst in the deltaic regions of Bengal or along the Himalayan slopes the workmanship is far more advanced.

Almost all the types of Indian village home have evolved from simple tent-like structure erected on two upright poles with forked tops in which the ridge pole rests. From the ridge pole rafters slope down in pairs to the ground, being fastened together above the ridge pole by natural cord which passes through holes in their upper extremities. The whole is covered with some thatching material and one end serves as a doorway. Such a primitive shelter was doubtless the forerunner of almost all our rural dwellings and it is still employed. The steeply sloping walls caused, however, a severe restriction of interior space and this was re-



Mud and tiles

medied by the provision of low side walls, an object simply achieved by the use of low forked uprights carrying wall plates on which the rafters rest. On this skeleton framework the rural

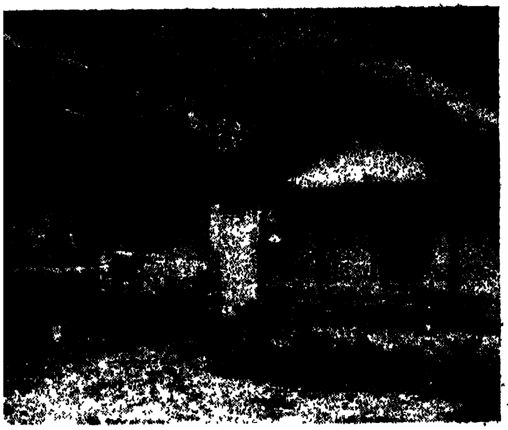


Mud and tiles

Indian home is built. The arrangement differs considerably ; in some regions the whole family, together with the livestock, is sheltered under

the same roof and a single room serves as reception room, living room, kitchen and bed room whereas in other districts a separate hut is reserved for each particular purpose.

Wattle and thatch is probably the most widely distributed type in which case additional



Typical Tehri-Garhwal dwelling. Kimroi

wall stakes are provided and rafters and battens are added to the fundamental framework to support the roof thatch. Split bamboo or some other pliable material is woven in and out the vertical stakes to provide a wall which is often made draught-proof by a thin coating of clay, although among the primitive hill people such an aid to comfort is ignored. In Bengal and



Upland stone dwelling. Tehri-Garhwal

the fertile regions of Assam, however, the weaving of the wattle is beautifully executed and the walls are surmounted by a neat thatch and a tidy ridge capping. The roof is quite often constructed on the ground and the whole lifted into position *en bloc*, the entire village turning out to assist in the operation which is duly celebrated by a general feasting and drinking. Building a home with most primitive peoples is a communal task and few centuries ago this was true in England when the entire village



Mud and tiles. Harsola, Malwa

helped to rear the heavy cruck framework which was assembled on the ground. In the central dry belt of Burma the wattle and thatch has been developed into a very neat edifice, the kudiyan walls, consisting of broad bands about three inches wide, interwoven in attractive patterns, are covered by a tidy roof of dani thatch and the whole is elevated several feet above



Neat wattle and thatch. Bengal

ground level to prevent flooding and the attacks of wild animals. The usual reception verandah has a floor of split bamboo covered with mats and here the guests are received and food is served whilst part of it is used as a cookhouse.

Invariably, too, a ledge is provided in the centre of one end to hold the "Pan-O," or flower pot, with its attendant Buddhist pictures.

On the southern slopes of the Himalayas the peasant homes are in marked contrast to the simple types of the Bengal delta or the more southern hill regions; they are sturdily built of stone and wood and display excellent craftsmanship. Countless hours must have been spent in executing the richly carved doorways, pillars, barge boards and finals which decorate the solid timber framework. No doubt when weather conditions prevented outdoor work in the fields the farmer-craftsman employed his leisure in embellishing his verandah with his splendid work. Sheer love of beauty must have sponsored this craftwork, for much of it is almost hidden from view in dark recesses and it was certainly not originated with any intention of gaining repute. The houses themselves are usually of two stories built of rough masonry and roofed with irregular slabs of slate. The upper storey serves as a dwelling house and in the larger types has the inevitable verandah running along the entire length whilst the ground floor serves as kitchen, cowhouses and store for farming implements. Everything is marked by that solidity which characterises good craftsmanship but the standard of masonry falls far below that of carpentry. The roof is particularly crude, the stone slates resting in heavy, crowded masses on thick, closely fitting boards. In spite of this the houses of the Himalayan slopes with their gaily painted barge boards and fine carving represent some of the finest in India.



Crude shelter. Vindhya Mountains

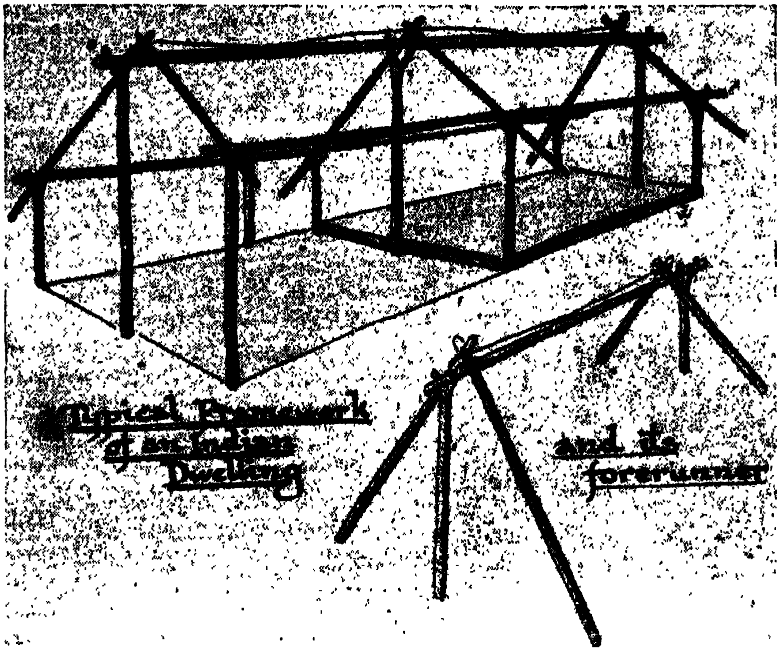
Mud was undoubtedly one of the earliest building materials and its use ranges from the mutti walls of tropical India to the cob walls of temperate Devon. In both places the essentials of a good foundation and a projecting roof are realised and the clay is mixed with chopped straw to prevent cracking. The mixing is very thoroughly carried out and the walls are built in stages, each section being allowed to dry before the next is applied. Characteristic examples of this type may be seen along the entire length of the Ganges valley where each household usually occupies a number of huts enclosed by a mutti wall and arranged in the form of a rectangle. The principal hut is far more elaborate than the rest and is divided into two apartments one of which serves as a storeroom and the other as a sleeping room for the householder. The remaining huts are of inferior composition and are used as kitchen, cowhouse, storeroom and bedrooms for other members of the family. The roofs are either thatched or tiled. The older huts are covered with small flat tiles but these have generally given place to pantiles, usually semicircular in cross-section, which are "thrown" on a potter's wheel in the form of tapering cylinders which are cut in two before firing. They rest on a close system of rafters and battens, displaying considerable variety in their arrangement but invariably the ridge pieces are crude and cumbersome. Chimneys are only very rarely seen, the smoke from the bratti fire filling the hut and finding an exit only through the interspaces between the tiles.



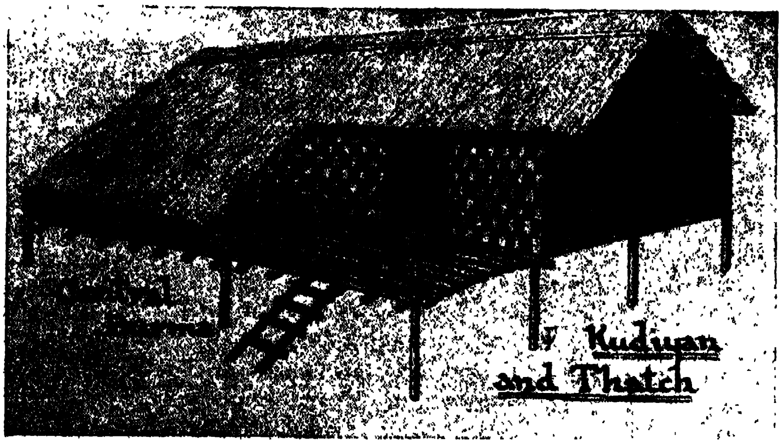
Crude wattle and thatch. Asapura, Vindhya Mountains

The gable-ended or hip-roofed hut is the prevalent Indian type but the circular hut,

which is so typical of Africa, is not unknown here. Huts used for minor purposes are often circular even where the rectangular type is dominant whilst in certain western regions it is



the chief type. Combinations of the two may also be noticed where the hut is of the normal rectangular plan but semicircular at each end. Every district has its own characteristic type of dwelling although certain features are common to them all. As in other aspects of life, few countries can boast of such a wide variety of rural dwellings as India. Generally speaking, even where they are of crude construction, they are kept spotlessly clean but they lack sanitation and other amenities which the modern world considers desirable. Efforts are being made in the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere to improve living conditions by rewarding those villages which assert themselves in that direction but it will take many many years before any widespread results are achieved. Machine-made tiles and corrugated iron sheets are already replacing thatch, offering a better protection against the monsoons but tending to destroy the characteristic charm of the unspoilt village. Let us hope that the Indian village will maintain its character as new ideals are introduced. In other countries modern materials have been employed indiscriminately, producing sheer discord and lack of harmony with the surrounding country. The Indian village is on the threshold of a new chapter in its development. By a better application of local materials the village home may be more hygienic and of sounder construction and yet retain its inherent character. Already the domestic wood-carving of Garhwal is becoming a thing of the past and corrugated iron, owing to its ease of application, is taking the place of the more serviceable stone slates. Now is the time to direct village development into the right channels and retain village charm whilst at the same time remedying universally accepted deficiencies.

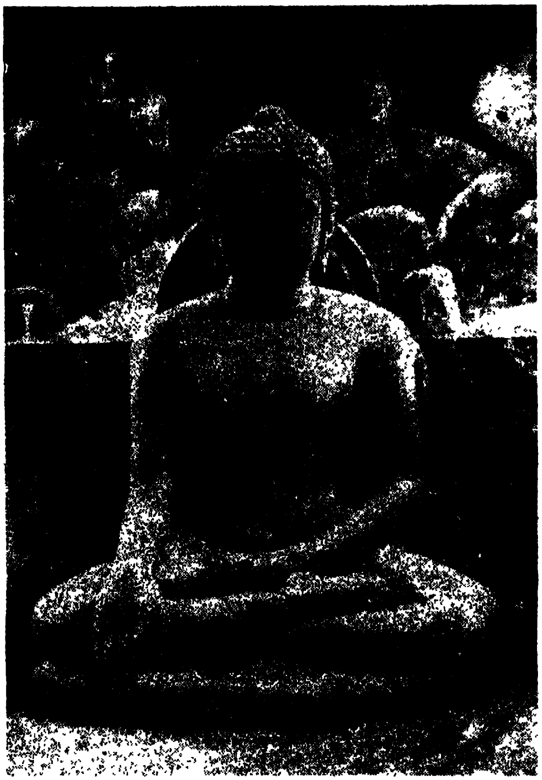


BARABAR CAVES

A Neglected Spot

By P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY, M.A., B.L.

It was a hot day in the month of April and we left for Barabar hills to keep an engagement. The road from Gaya to Bela—a distance of 14 miles is metalled but the road from Bela to Barabar hills is unmetalled, bumpy and very dusty. The view however on this unmetalled portion is picturesque. The Kauadol



Dhyani-Buddha at the foot of Kauadol hill near Barabar Caves

peak rising suddenly to a height of about 500 feet or so remains on the left all along and acts as the magnet. It is under this peak that there used to be the famous site of the Gunamati University and the monastery of Shilabhadra. Beyond Kauadol peak the Barabar hills are seen as soon as one crosses Bela and takes to the unmetalled road. The three peaks of the Barabar hills-Murli, Saudagiri and Siddheswar with a temple of Shiva at the peak as old as the 6th century break the monotony of the ten miles of nerve-racking motoring.

Barabar hills lie to the extreme north of Sadar Sub-division of Gaya and contains some wonderful caves cut out in the solid rock. These caves were evidently cut out in the time of the Great Asoka who dedicated them to the Ajivakas, a sect which was not strictly Buddhist and that explains why these caves escaped the notice of the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang.

On the northern side there is a large cave called Karna-Chaupar or the hut of Karna and the whole of the interior is chiselled to a wonderful polish. One should go in with a powerful torch to appreciate the high proficiency with which our masons of the 3rd century B.C. worked with the hard granite of the Barabar hills. There is an inscription in Pali at the entrance regarding the dedication of the cave by Asoka. The entrance is rough and rather uninviting.

On the opposite side of the ridge is the Sudama Cave which has two chambers, the inner one is nearly circular, and the other one is a small anti-chamber. The work of these caves was abandoned because some portion is rough and unfinished while the other portion of the cave is highly polished. On the door way there is an inscription in Pali regarding the dedication of the cave by Asoka.

Another cave, Lomas-Rishi Cave, has got a wonderful doorway.

> "The entrance of this cave is of the same size and of the same Egyptian form as that of the Sudama Cave, but the entrance has been sculptured to represent the ornamental entrance of a wooden building. The ends of the roofing beams and the bamboo lattice work of the gable can be seen distinctly and below there is a frieze of elephants surrounding the doorway. In the space between this freise and the doorway there is an inscription of the same character as those of the later Princes of the Gupta Dynasty. General Cunningham assigns the date of this sculptured facade to the 3rd or 4th Century A.D.; but the cave itself corresponds so exactly with the Sudama Cave that it must have been excavated at the same time, the door-way being enlarged and ornamented later."—*Gaya District Gazetteer.*

Near the Barabar Caves rises the famous Kauadol hill which is formed of huge masses of granite and is crowned by a huge block of

stone of a peculiar shape. It is said that this pinnacle was formerly topped by another stone which was so perfectly balanced that it would rock even if a crow sat on it and so the name



Thirteen Pillars—ancient site of the University near Barabar Caves

Kaua-dol or the Crow's Swing. This is the site of the ancient monastery of Shilabhadra. Hiuen-Tsiang in the 7th century visited this monastery. The remains of the monastery could be seen in a large number of small statues and pillars scattered about. Most of the small statues are now to be seen under trees of the nearest village excepting one colossal statue of Buddha in *Bhumisparsha Mudra*. The figure is about 8 ft. high and unfortunately the nose of the figure has been disfigured and this seems to be very recent as there is no mention about it in the *District Gazetteer* published in 1919. When Dr. Stein visited the place in 1899 he saw the figure with two attendant figures on either side making a trio. The figure 4 at 24 in his book shows the figure with two attendants. Now the figures of the two attendants are no longer there and the nose and a portion of the halo is also broken. This is very unfortunate. There is a semi-circular stand at the back of the statue with a hole in the top centre which obviously indicates that there was an umbrella fixed in it over the head which unfortunately has disappered and does not find mention in any of the books referred to above. There is a Chakra sign in both the palms. The head dress of this statue is particularly distinctive and belongs clearly to the Gandhar sculpture. In front of the statue which is in *situ* remains the signs of an ancient monastery of which nothing remains except 13 pillars standing and brick ruins. This monastery must have had the shape of a big hall where the followers of the law of Dhamma must have been congregating for their spiritual and cultural discussions. It is difficult to date the destruction of this monastery but it can safely be surmised that between the 9th and the 10th century A.D., when there was a ruthless persecution of the Buddhist monks in Bihar in the early days of



Natural scenery of the valley. Barabar Hills

Mohamedan conquest these monasteries also became victims of vandalism.

There are a number of small figures carved in high relief on the foot of the rocks and they are clearly of Brahmanical origin. Although

Magadha was the seat of Buddhist culture, at this heart of Magadha Empire there was a wonderful fusion of Buddhism and Brahmanism



Entrance to Lomas-Rishi Cave

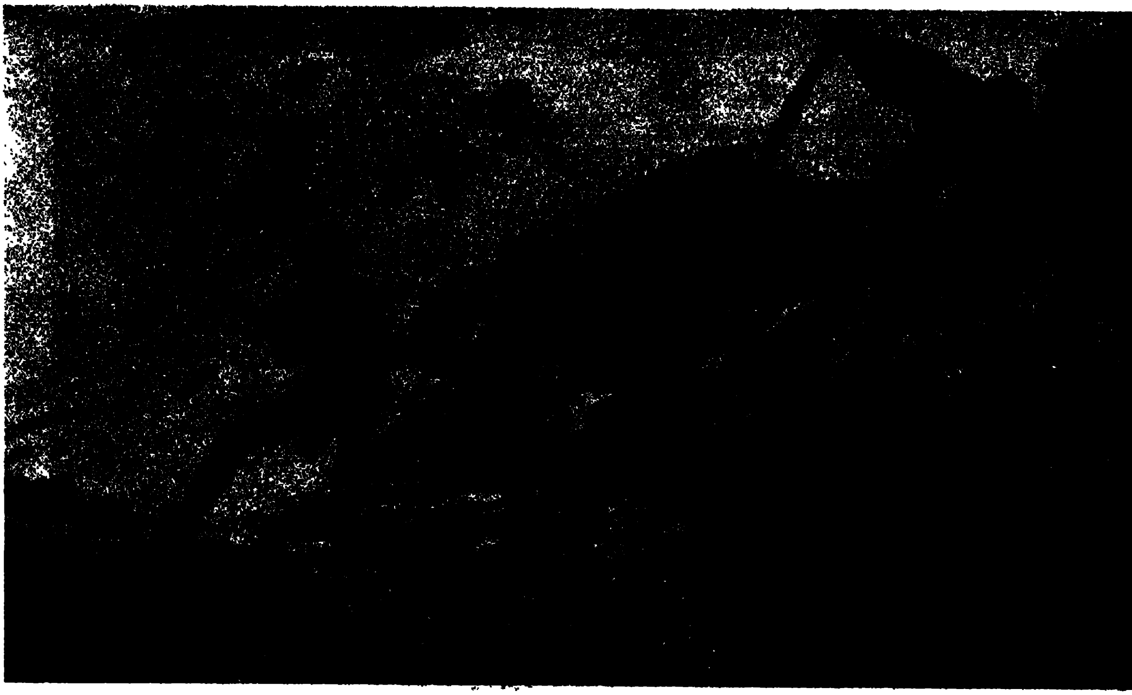
and the dedication of the caves to the *Ajivakas*, a non-Buddhist order, had much to do with it.

These caves are also called Satgharwa or Seven Houses. There is a rivulet to the south-east corner of Barabar hills, known as Patal-ganga and there a big mela is held on the 14th of Bhadra when people collect for a bath.

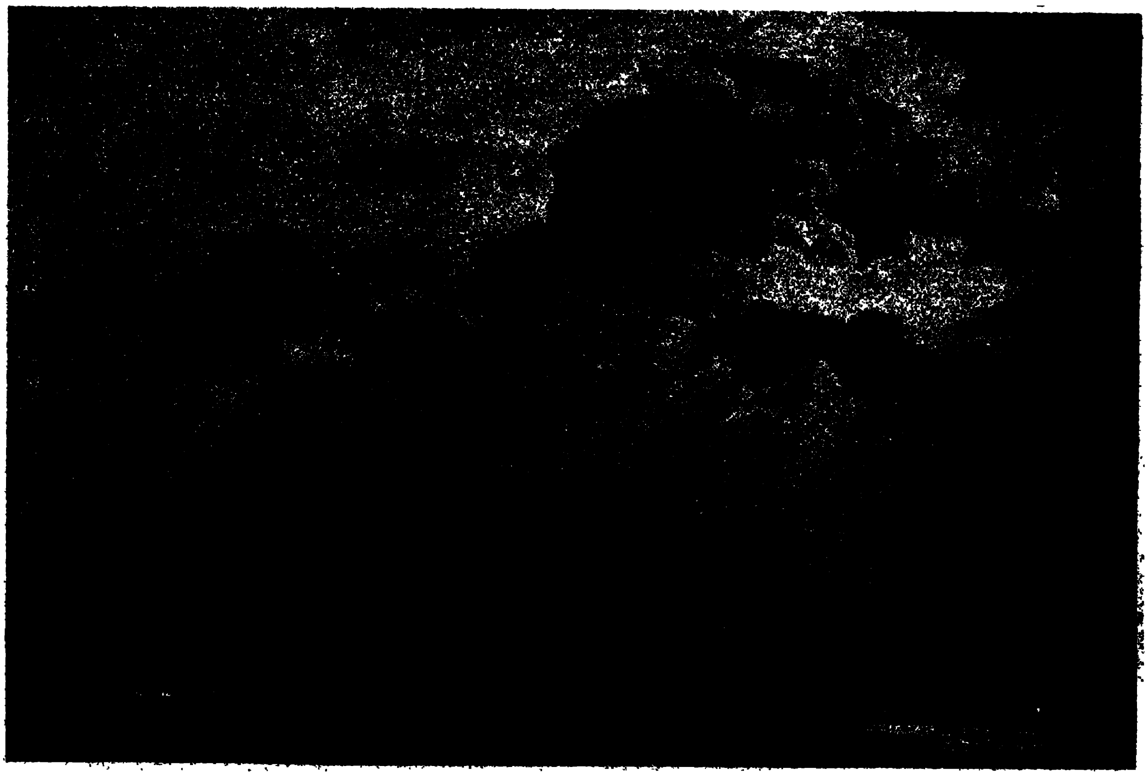
All these caves are clearly the work of one and the same period. The caves are ascribed to be the work of the legendary Karna, a story which is more imaginary than real. Apparently they were meant for ascetics. When Montgomery Martin visited the caves in 1838, he was inclined to hold that these caves are connected with the palace of Karna Raja near the old town of Ram Gaya and he thought these caves were the abode of the gymnosophists by whom he was guided. Probably there was a prince by this name and imagination has weaved stories round him because of his name. Martin also held that the Lingam in the temple of Siddheswar on the peak of Barabar was placed by Ban-raja, a Rajput chieftain but for which I have found no authority. There are two images, Bhairav and Bhairavi, outside the temple and one of them has an inscription. There is no doubt that the temple is very ancient with extensive recent repairs. A large portion of the original basement still remains. The temple of the images also indicates that this place was the centre of Brahmanical influence. But as observed before there was a gentle fusion and Buddhist statues near about came to be worshipped as Brahmanical deities. The statue referred to is not Buddhist at all. Cunningham thought that the Buddhists at some time had appropriated the temples but were again at some subsequent period dispossessed. The most interesting feature of this site is this fusion of religions in the heart of Magadha.



BY D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY



The Road Makers



Nilgiri Hills

Courtesy : S. S. V. Ramakrishna



The peasants of Manipur



The temple of Shri Govindaji and the royal palace in Imphal

MANIPUR

By JITENDRA KUMAR NAG, M.SC., B.L.

On the much traversed route of the evacuees from Burma lies the Hindu State of Manipur on the south-eastern extremity of the province of Assam.

Lately, pictures of evacuees' camps at Manipur appeared in papers, which brought back to my memory my stay there for a few days. The photographs, that are published



The temple at Sonakaithal, Imphal. 15th century

herewith, are the meagre results of my sojourn. My recollection goes back even to the vigilant energy of the State Intelligence Department in catching me snapping the fine and magnificent scenery of Manipur with the mountainous background of the Naga Hills on her north-west and the big Imphal valley in the foreground. But when they understood the bona fides of my intention, they did not object.

The State consists of a great hilly country, and a valley about 30 miles long and 20 miles wide, shut in on all sides by the ranges of the Naga and Kuki hills and the hills of Chindwin and Burma. Situated on the slopes of the Naga and Lushai mountains at the southern extremity of Assam, the fertile Imphal valley is a great asset to the State. The State as a whole comprises eight hundred square miles of territory including the valley and the hills, that cover nearly one-third of the total area.

The valley of Manipur lies about 2500 ft. above sea-level, with a climate cool and pleasant. Even in her hottest season the nights and mornings are always cool. The Loghtak lake almost in the middle of the valley is an important geographical feature, round which for a long time the Manipuris cultivate rice, and on the hill-slopes the aborigines grow their food crops in their peculiar way of terrace cultivation after performing the 'jhum.' The area of the lake is about 25 square miles. There are some ranges in the midst of the lake such as the Hirak ranges joining the Limatol ranges, at the foot of which lies the capital town Imphal.

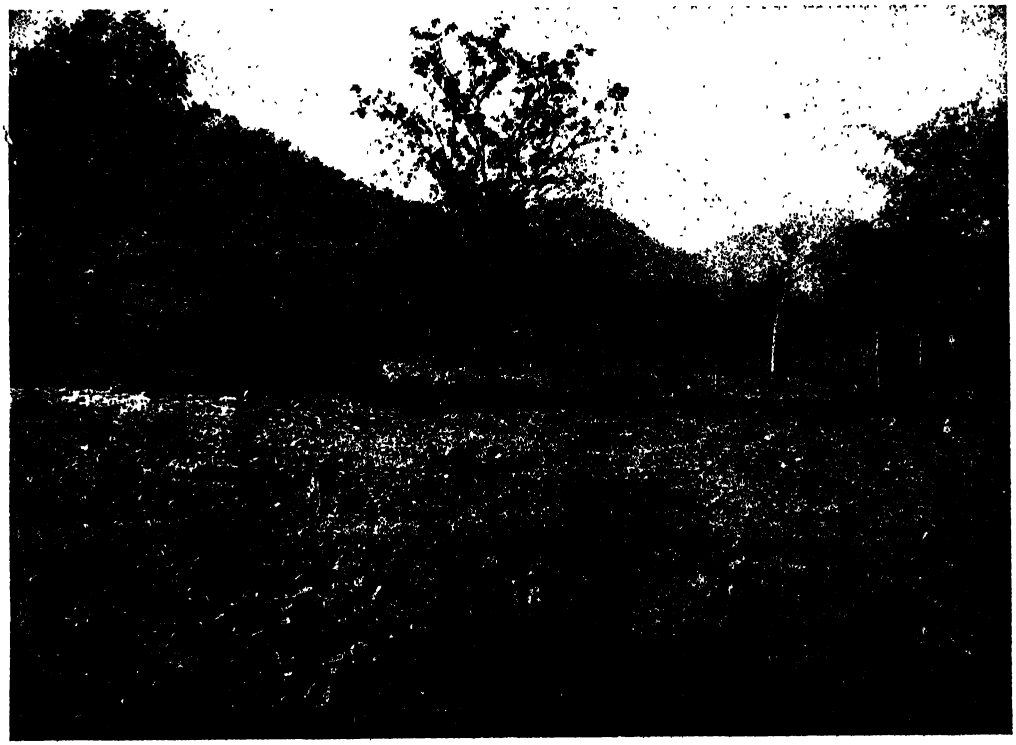
The population of the State is nearly five lakhs, one-fifth of which are aborigines like the Nagas and Kukis, represented by the tribes—Kabuis, Phoms, Marings, Tangkhuls, etc., and the Chirus, Aimols, etc., respectively. With the exception of a few Bengalee Hindus, Mahomedans, and Christians including the Britishers, the rest are Manipuris or Meithis, as they are known in their country. From the ruling Chief, the Maharaja, down to a simple commoner the Meithis are all Hindu Vaishnabas.

The Manipuris are noted for their taste in oriental music and their efficiency in exhibiting original Hindu dances of India, that have been recently studied by the reputed exponents of oriental dances like Uday Shankar and others. The Meithi women are not only good dancers but are also expert housewives. They are in the habit of spinning cotton on wheels and in weaving cotton fabrics on looms regularly. I found them also dyeing their cloths or chaddars in blue, red or champagne colours.

Manipur is hoary with antiquity. In the Mahabharata we find that Manipur is the land

of Chitrangada, the beautiful daughter of its king, whom Arjuna, the third Pandava, met in the course of his wanderings during his long exile and finally married. The Naga 'kanyas' referred to might have been the ancestors of the existing Naga women who are very fairlooking and also healthy. It is in the Mahabharata that Babhrubahana, the son of Arjuna by this enchanting princess Chitrangada, captured the horse of the Aswamedha Jajna which was being performed by the eldest of the Pandavas, Judhisthira, after his victory in the battle of Kurukshetra and that Babhrubahana claimed to be a son of Arjuna. Arjuna disclaimed his fatherhood and Babhrubahana in resentment and anger, refused to let loose the horse till he could demonstrate by feat of arms that he was indeed his son. The result was that Arjuna had to move with a big army all the way to Manipur. In the battle that ensued, Arjuna was not only defeated but fell into a dying swoon. 'It was then that search for Mani (a precious stone) had to be made in Patala (bosom of the earth) and with its help he was brought back to life. The land is thenceforth called Manipur.

Manipur is a Native State now under the English Raj; its relation with the British Government of India is conducted through a political agent, who is in direct communication with the Governor of Assam. The relation is a bit different from the other small States of the States Agencies, who are under the direct control of the Governor-General. The State was as independent as Nepal or Bhutan until April 1891 when the British army entered Manipur as a result of an unfortunate political turmoil.



A Kuki village on the hill-slopes of Manipur

II

About 1250 A.D. the Chinese invaded Manipur. The attack was on a big scale, but they were all repulsed by the Manipuris. Large numbers of Chinese were imprisoned, some of whom lived for some time at Susa Ramena. They taught the Meithis the art of rearing cocoons and making silk. They also taught them to make bricks. Probably after that, that is about seven hundred years ago, the land of the Meithis was attacked by some king of Mayang (Nowgong) but as it is said Manipur was always an ally of the Ahom Kings of Assam in its early days, that invasion was a failure.

About three hundred years ago, Maharaja Garib Nawaj took up the Vaishnaba faith of Shree Chaitanya. There are records to show that during the latter part of the 16th century, the Vaishnaba disciples of Chaitanyadeb of Bengal began to preach the doctrine of their Guru among the Meithis. The centre of their mission was Sylhet ; the Goswamis, as they were called, went to Manipur and spread Vaishnabism with the approval of the ruler, who, as I said before, was the first to accept it and induced his people to take up Vaishnabism and many became Hindus, who were not Hindu before this event. Lord Chaitanya is said to have visited Sylhet and lived there for some time and thus made Sylhet an important place for the Goswamis.

Garib Nawaj made several successive incursions into Burma but effected no permanent conquests. After his death the Burmans invaded Manipur and its ruler Jai Singh sought the aid of the British, who were already in the Indian soil and with whom a treaty of alliance was negotiated, in 1762,—sometime after the British had gained suzerainty in Eastern India. Accordingly, an armed force was sent to Manipur and helped the ruler of the State to drive away the Burman aggressors. But on the outbreak of the First Burman war in 1824 the Burmans invaded Cachar, Assam and Manipur again and the then ruler Gambhir Singh, a successor to the throne of Jai Singh, asked for military aid. A force of Sepoys and artillery were despatched to the State and the Burmans were forced to make peace. Manipur was declared independent but there remained the obligation to the British.

Gambhir Singh died in 1834, his infant son Chandra Kirti became king but his uncle Nara Singha acted as regent to the minor ruler. Next year a Political Agent was appointed by the British Government of India and a Residency was established in the capital city Imphal. Nara Singha asserted himself so much that Chandra Kirti who was now major and his mother made attempts on his life. They were unsuccessful and out of fear of persecution in the hands of Nara Singha they fled to Cachar. Nara Singha ascended the Gadi and reigned up to 1850 A.D. His brother Debendra Singh succeeded him to the throne. At that time Chandra Kirti invaded Manipur from Cachar to regain the throne. Debendra fled, and Chandra Kirti became a full-fledged ruler of the State from 1851.



The writer and others with the Aimols in the jungles of Manipur

In 1879 when the Angami Nagas killed Damant, the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District, Maharaja Chandra Kirti Singh sent a small army under the Political Agent Johnstone to help the Government to crush down the Naga rebellion. For this, the Rajah was honoured by the British Government with a Knighthood.



Manipuri girls

In 1886 Sir Chandra Kirti died and was succeeded by his son Sura Chandra Singh. But a series of attempts was made by other claimants to usurp the throne of Manipur. The first expedition was led by Bora Chaoba, a son of Nara Singha and the second attempt was made by a brother of Sura Chandra. In September 1890, the Raj palace was attacked and Sura Chandra fled to the residency for protection. Ultimately he resigned and left the State for ever. His younger brother Kula Chandra proclaimed himself King of Manipur, though the real power seems to have lain in the hands of his brother Tikendrajit, who was Senapati, the Commander-in-Chief of the State. Sir Chandra Kirti left behind him seven sons, and thus after his demise ensued a vehement strife amongst his sons for the Gadi. Most of the brothers were against the administrative policy of the weak ruler, Maharaja Sura Chandra Singh, who was very much under the influence of the Political Agent. So they thought of dethroning him and formed a conspiracy to check the British assertion over the affairs of the State. Besides Tikendrajit, another brother gained prominence in the fraternal feud. He was Pucca Sena, a very shrewd and uncouth prince, who was not much liked by the people. Jubaraj Tikendra was the most popular among, and was loved by, all the brothers of the Raj family.

After Sura Chandra had been safely sent to Cachar and after several unfortunate incidents, including the stabbing of Grimwood and hanging of the guilty offender, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, Quinton, hastened to Manipur to capture the brothers. Arriving at Imphal he first invited Senapati Tikendrajit to see him at the Residency but advised by an English Lady the Jubaraj avoided the trap laid



A Naga girl of Manipur

by Quinton. Instead, Jubaraj invited Quinton and his party to the palace. Unfortunately his followers, before he gave any order of killing them, went so far as to murder the whole party. Tikendrajit had to pay for this blunder. He was hanged, Kula Chandra the Maharaja and his other brothers were all deported.

A minor son from another line of the Royal family was seated on the throne and till he

attained majority the State was administered by the Residency. The minor Raja was no other than Sir Chura Chand Singh, the much loved Maharaja of Manipur who died recently at Nabadwip. He reigned for forty years or more.

III

Garib Nawaj, the ruler of Manipur State, who died in 1714 according to historical records, was contemporary to Maharaja Dharmamanikya of Tripura. Sometime during his reign he invaded Tripura. His son Jai Singh, popularly known as Bhagyachandra, was a pious and religious-minded king. He introduced various reforms in the social and cultural lives of the Manipuris. It was under his patronage that the language of the Meithis was improved and progressed brilliantly. The old writings of the State poets and authors were carefully preserved and transcribed to plain Meithi introduced during his time. Afterwards, when not exactly known, the Bengali alphabet came to be used. And now, as in Assam, the Bengali alphabet is in vogue in Manipur.

Maharajah Bhagyachandra introduced the renowned ceremony of Rash Lila, a more pompous and dilated form of our Rashjatra festival, commemorating the Lila of Lord Krishna with his consort Radha and her mates. And since its inception, it is observed every year with grandeur and merriment; the lead is taken by the Royal house and the chief attraction in the celebration is the famous dance of Manipur. In Imphal, the capital of the State, just at the main gate of the palace there is a beautiful temple of Shree Govindaji with two golden domes; before this diety Rasjatra is held in its best form with great pomp.

The ceremony is observed for about a month, beginning on the full-moon night just previus to the Ras Purnima, and ending on the Ras Purnima night. Dance is the special feature and mainly the girls dance and play the whole drama of Lord Krishna's Ras Lila. One girl is dressed as Shree Krishna and another girl appears as his consort Radha and several other girls representing the companions of Shree Radhika go on dancing and playing round the pair. The men who sing along with or play music sit around or in a corner, directing the whole performance. The Radha-Krishna dance of Manipur is unique and beautiful,—an original Hindu dance, very fine and artistic.

Imphal, the principal town of the State, is a big trade centre. Every afternoon a daily bazaar is held to which throng people from the surrounding villages with their various kinds of merchandise to be disposed of. The vendors are mostly women and it is a pretty sight to see the women hurrying along with the wares on their heads and sometimes their little babies slung on their cracks.

Irrespective of sex the Meithis are a good-looking race with yellowish white complexion. The decently built women-folk not only possess beauty, but are blessed with health and a status of freedom with regard to their position in



A Chiru-Kuki of Manipur

society. They are sturdy and participate in the cultivation and trade and business of Manipur.

Besides the native Meithis, there are settled here and there in woodlands, on hill-tops or on the slopes of the Lushai ranges generally near a ravine—aboriginal clans of the Nagas and Kukis. The Nagas are skilful iron-workers and turn out very handsome spears. Their women too weave and bring out beautiful coloured-fabrics. The men know enough of rough carpentry to enable them to build their own houses and make pestles and mortars for husking rice. They make rough pottery but do not know how to use the wheel.

The Kukis are not found everywhere in the advanced cultural stage of the Naga tribes. Among the Lushai Kukis of Manipur, the Chirus and Aimols however, though speaking different dialects, resemble the Angami Nagas

more than the Marings or Tangkhuls in material culture. Their women too, I have seen, dye their garments after weaving them in looms.

The Kabui Nagas and most of the Kuki tribes have learnt many things from the civilised Manipuris, though the primitive habitation and social customs as well as the unwritten tongues of these aborigines have not improved. They were savages when this region was unexplored, but now they have stopped the evil practice of hunting for heads of their foes to infuse the life-force into the soil they till. During the last world war a corps of 2,000 labourers was raised in Manipur and sent to France. When an attempt was made to raise a second corps in 1917 the Kukis broke out in rebellion. The rebellion could not be suppressed until December 1918, when a large force of Assam Rifles and British military police were sent.

Most of these hill tribes practise the 'jhum' system of cultivation. Jungle is cut down and burnt, the seeds are then sown on the ash-mixed soil. The ashes act as manure. The crops thus grown include hill rice, cotton, pulses, pepper, tobacco, ginger, potato and maize. The same 'jhum' is seldom cropped for more than two years in succession and is allowed to lie fallow, for as long a time as possible, till the jungles are formed again. The sides of the hills are cut into terraces, built up with some retaining walls, over which the water from the hill streams is distributed through small irrigation channels, and on these terraces is 'jhum' done at intervals.

THE LATE SJ. SAILENDRA NATH SIRCAR

The late Sj. Sailendra Nath Sircar was the youngest son of the late Peary Churn Sircar of revered memory. He was born in 1872. He followed the ideals of his father and like his father he was also an educationist and a



Sailendra Nath Sircar

philanthropist. He adopted teaching as his profession. He served as a Headmaster in some schools and as a professor of English in Central College, Calcutta, and Mayo College, Ajmere. The crowning glory of his achievement in the field of education was his foundation, in 1920, of the Saraswati Institution, a High English School, in Calcutta, the phenomenal success of which, within a surprisingly short space of time, at once marked him out as a great teacher and an able organiser. He himself was the Headmaster and Secretary of the Institution till 1931. He was an English Scholar and won the "Sir Charles Elliot Gold Medal" for English composition while he was a student of the Presidency College, Calcutta.

He was for some years a Fellow of the Calcutta University. In 1928 he was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Teachers' Conference held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta.

He was the author of various publications both in English and Bengali. His *Poems*, a book of English poetry, was published in London in 1940. He wrote a book on Astronomy in Bengali. He was a Homœopath of no mean repute and he ran a charitable dispensary in his house for 40 years.

He had a large heart which was too full of the milk of human kindness. He was a friend 'in deed' of the poor and the needy. He was modest but the spirit of independence was a marked feature of his life. He had no false sense of prestige. On one occasion he took food along with the untouchables on a 'sal-leaf.' He was full of humour and had a taste for fine arts; he was a musician, a painter and a poet. Everybody loved him.

He breathed his last in his Calcutta residence on November 19, 1942 at the age of 71 years.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By K. N. Chatterji

The Axis has received its first major set-back, and that at the hands of the much ridiculed Soviet's forces. This year's Winter campaign, which is now drawing to a close, has been an eye-opener to the Western Strategists, of the older school, in more than one way. Apart from the handicaps of the terrible Russian Winter, the Soviet's High-command had to face the manifold problems imposed through the shortage of supplies vital for the prosecution of a mechanized assault on a large scale, through the very thorough breaking-up of the lines of communications by the Nazi forces and by the elaborate arrangements of the Axis forces made for their Winter Defence lines. The only advantage that lay with the fighting forces of Russia was handed over to them by the Nazi High-command when a deliberate relinquishing of the initiative was made as a preliminary for the winter hibernation of the Axis forces. Normally, such formidable obstacles, added on to the extremely severe campaigning conditions obtaining during the Russian Winter, would enforce paralysing restrictions on the movements of any ordinary fighting command. The Nazi High-command evidently counted on this, and through such calculations came the undoing of all their plans in the South and South-eastern zones of the Russian battle areas. The Soviet's supreme direction, on the other hand, evidently knew that this winter would give them the last chance for the making of an effort to regain the most valuable parts of their lost territories and to impose fresh and lasting barriers between the aggressor's advance and the treasure-troves of the Caucasus.

The world has seen how the supreme command overcame seemingly unsurmountable difficulties. Colossal masses of men and mechanised implements of field warfare were moved across "impassable" terrain, elaborately prepared defence lines were pierced and the death-defying soldier of the Soviet's proletariat shattered his way through the fiery-hell of the battle line and the icy-hell of the open fields around, to victory and the reclamation of his fatherland's lost territories. It is true that the success is not yet complete and that the loss in men and material must have been grievous, but what has been achieved already is immense in measure both in the terms of field strategy and in that of morale. Stalingrad, Rostov and Kharkov are mere geographical entities now, the pulverizing impacts of capture and recapture have not left much that is of any value in warfare in them. But the blow to the morale of the people of the Axis delivered through the defeats inflicted on its forces in the field must be of great consequence, and the shattering of the legend of the invincibility of the Germanic forces equally heartening to the peoples of the United Nations.

But then there is such a thing as over-valuation. At the end of the summer and autumn campaigns of 1941, Hitler openly declared that the Russian Army was completely and utterly defeated, and early in the campaigns of 1942, the end of the year was set as the limit for the successful conclusion of the Russian campaign. The epic defence of Stalingrad upset all the calculations of Nazi supreme command, and now this unthinkable come-back, which must seem like a miracle to the rest of the United Nations, is tying up the strategic problems of the German High-command in a Gordian knot. Similarly there is a tendency in certain quarters to take it for granted that the complete and catastrophic defeat of the Germanic forces in Russia is almost imminent. Very severe losses have been inflicted on the Germans—according to M. Stalin they run to a million men and 7000 tanks—and almost all the fruits of last summer and autumn campaigns have been lost by them. But still the Axis is by no means on its last legs as M. Maisky points out, and against the losses of the Germans the losses suffered by the Russians must be computed in full. This all leads to the fact that the Second Front on the continent of Europe is as great a necessity as ever. Russia cannot go on waging a lone war against the entire might of the Axis.

In Tunisia Rommel is trying to force apart the pincers that were closing round the Axis forces. As matters stand, a certain amount of advantage has been gained by him. For the present there does not seem to be any immediate prospect of the Tunisian situation being cleared up. In the South a considerable amount of fighting is expected on the Mareth lines, while on the Algerian side the American and British forces have to render their communications still more secure, after fighting the Germans to a halt, before fresh operations can be initiated. Matters are very much in a state of flux as yet and further the weather seems to be as yet too

unsettled for any continuous operation by the air-forces.

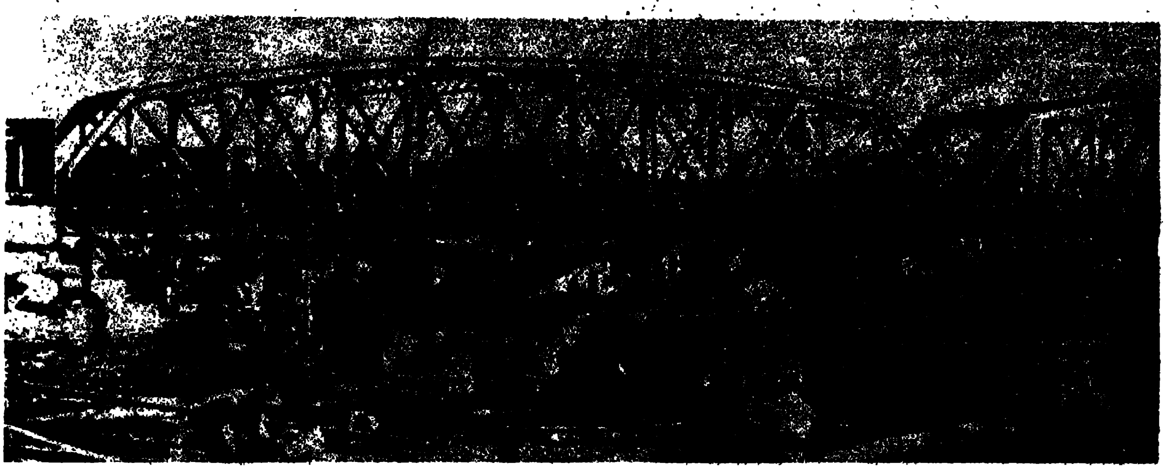
In the Far East, fighting has again flared up in China. The Japanese are again thrusting forward into the areas dominated by Chungking. This and the landing of fresh Japanese troops in the French territories to the north of Hainan island indicate a further increase in the forces employed by Japan against China. The movements in Central China, in the South and the fresh thrust up the Burma road into Yunnan all indicate that the Japanese are again busy completing the isolation of Free China from contact with her allies. These moves are significant as they are initiated while the Allied counter-attack is proceeding in New Guinea, in the Solomons and the Arakan tracts on the Indo-Burmese borderland. They definitely indicate that Japan is as yet far from being hard pressed, and is still able to take the initiative when and where it suits her. As for China herself, Madame Chiang Kai-shek's statement that "China cannot fight with bare hands" puts the whole position in a nutshell. President Roosevelt has invoked the Lord when asked as to when matters are going to be remedied regarding the question of supplies to China!

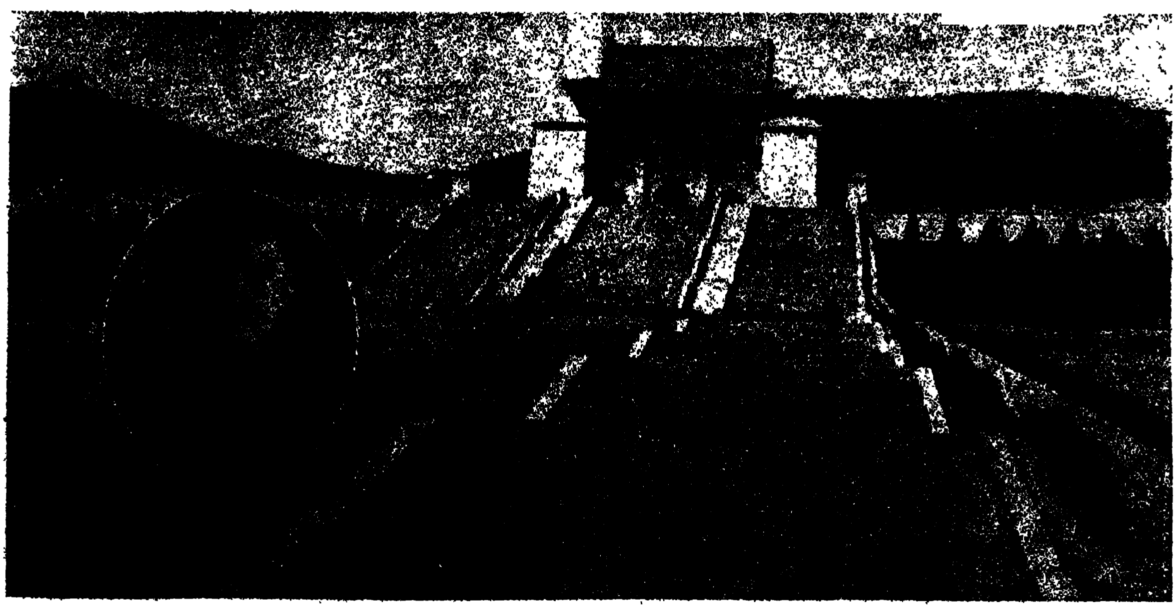
The situation on the Indo-Burmese border is obscure, excepting for the little light thrown on it by Sir Alan Hartley's statement in the legislature. It is some time now since the thrust into the Arakan tracts was made and the progress made has not been much. The terrain is extremely difficult and the process of "feeling the way" is justifiably slow in the face of an adversary highly skilled in jungle warfare and prone to adopt "suicide defence" tactics. But in view of the increasing urgency in the matter of getting supplies through to China and in view of the fresh Japanese attempt at tightening the stranglehold on the Chungking forces some degree of anxiety may be allowed.

A gross underestimate was made of Japan's strength and determination by Western experts when the economic blockade was instituted in June 1941. The possibility of Japan taking armed action was openly admitted by the press both in the U. S. A. and in Great Britain. But such an action was dubbed as a "Hara kiri" war thereby scoffing at the possibility of Japan's proving to be a serious challenger to the combined strength of the A. B. C. D. group. There is no need to go into the details of the consequences that followed as the cruel disillusionment that the succeeding events provided is still fresh in the people's memory, at least so far as the East is concerned. What is more to the point now, is the question as to how far Japan has been able to *increase her strength,* in men as well as in materials, during the eight or nine months of comparative lull that followed the hectic days of the opening six months of the Japanese campaign. There can be no question about the immense potentialities, in minerals and in agricultural produce, of the lands overrun by the Japanese. The question lies in the ability of the Japanese in developing these resources during the course of a Great War which should strain all her industrial and maritime resources to the cracking point.

Then comes the question of developing man-power resources. General Alexander made a statement after the retreat from Burma to the effect that 10 per cent of the Burmese were pro-British and 10 per cent were pro-Japanese, the rest being indifferent. That the 10 per cent that were pro-Japanese *were actively so* while the pro-British section were not similarly disposed, was also a part of his statement as far as we can remember. The recent Japanese declarations regarding the creation of an independent state in Burma have been explained away by Western experts. We only wish we could be content with those explanations. It is true that Korea, Manchukuo and the puppet Chinese government at Nanking prove that there is no room in Japan's Imperialism for true independence for any but the born Japanese. But we consider it significant that an early grant of independence has been promised to Burma, where admittedly there existed some active disaffection—together with hostility to Indians and Chinese alike—as well as potentialities regarding man-power. To the Philippines independence is promised at a later date. There also possibilities exist regarding man-power but *no enmity towards the U. S. A.,* which certainly indicates the reason why no early grant of independence is being made. In the Dutch East Indies there is disaffection but probably no great potentiality regarding man-power and there is no talk of granting independence there either, though the population number nearly double of the combined populations of Burma and the Philippines. We cannot claim to be "experts" regarding the peoples of Asia, since we were born and brought up on the soil of Asia, but we may be excused if we consider that there are dangerous possibilities in this latest move of Japan's political strategy. Burma and the Philippines might be made into puppet states but they may serve the purpose of becoming cat's paws for Japan.



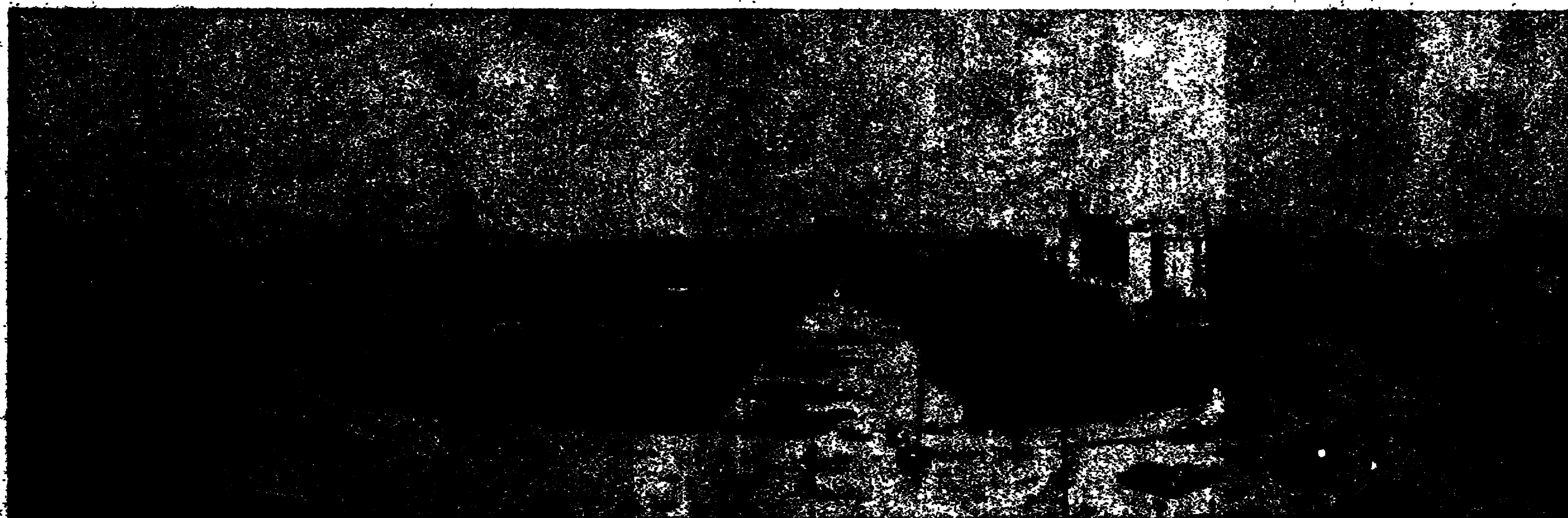




Top : Upper reaches of the Yangtse : the fertile valleys of Central China
Middle : The Garden Bridge, Shanghai
Bottom : Sun Yat-sen's tomb on the slope of the Purple Mountain outside Nanking



Main entrance to China's ancient capital of Peiping



The Foreign Legation quarter of Peiping

INDIAN CIVILISATION—ITS FIRST CHAPTER

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

Nearly eighteen years ago the curtain of oblivion concealing India's distant past was partially lifted by the discoveries of the Department of Archaeological Survey of India in Sind, the Punjab and Baluchistan, enabling us to catch a glimpse of a landmark in the history of the Indian Civilisation far beyond any point so far known or thought of. Since then, problems such as the affinities of the Indus people, extent of the diffusion of the Indus Culture, causes that led to its disappearance, etc., have engaged the attention of scholars and much work has been done in this connection. It should be admitted, however, that the Indus Culture has not yet ceased to be regarded as distant and strange, as something without any bearing on the present day Indian culture and life. Probably the reason is that its position in the old, well-known picture of the Indian Civilisation which begins with the entry of the Vedic Aryans into India has still to be adjusted. It is a matter for satisfaction that useful suggestions have been made in this connection by some scholars and it is possible now to make an attempt on the basis of these suggestions and other evidence to put this chapter of the prehistoric Indian Civilisation in its proper place in regard to the whole and incidentally stress the need for a reorientation in regard to the Indian Civilisation.

Some scholars have tried to solve the problem of the racial indentity of the authors of the Indus civilisation without giving due weight to all the available evidence. Of the different ethnic stocks represented in the population of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa the long-headed element classed as Mediterranean, and identified by some scholars as Dravidian, predominates. This has led to making the Dravidians responsible for the Indus civilisation together with the Armenoids, an offshoot of the Western Alpine stock and characterised by hypsibrachycephaly, whom Hutton introduces in the Indus Valley though the presence of this element is not verified at Mohenjo Daro by the human remains that have been unearthed. The most important of the elements the presence of which has been ignored is the Alpine with the round headform but different from the Armenoid hypsibrachycephaly and Mongolian brachycephaly, and of the type known as Pamirian. Other elements ignored are the Mongoloid and the Proto-Australoid. The find of the Pamirian Alpine skull at Mohenjo Daro is important. It proves that there were Pamirian Alpines who are held to be responsible for the non-Mongoloid and non-Armenoid brachycephaly of the peoples of the Outer Countries among the Indus people. This evidence of craniology is supported by other evidence to which we shall presently refer. These Pamirian Alpines are the people recognised as non-Vedic Indo-Aryans (Giuffrida Ruggeri's *Homo Indo-europaeus brachymorphus*). Scholars have proved many points of contact between the Indus people and the early Mesopotamians, particularly the Sumerians and Elamites. The inhabitants of Sumer included both longheads and roundheads, the former identified with the Mediterraneans and the latter with the Armenoids of the Western Alpine stock. As observed above Hutton would make these two elements entirely responsible for the Indus civilisation and even populate the Indus Valley with them. But it has been said :

> "If the Sumerians and Elamites are of one race, this race type was apparently brachycephalic with a high, straight nose, they cannot therefore be regarded as Dravidians, since the latter are dolichocephalic with a broad straight nose."

Hall and others have gone so far the other way as to equate the Sumerians with the Indus people and the Sumerian civilisation is Indian in origin according to them. There is also a third view according to which all the longheads in early Sumer and Elam were not Mediterranean nor all the roundheads Armenoid. According to scholars holding this view (Fleure and Peake) traces of roundheaded Pamirian Alpines as well as of longheaded Northern steppe folk of Aryan affinities may be found among the early Sumerians. In such a case the entry of the Pamirian Alpines from Sumer into the Indus Valley, if an eastward migration is supposed, was not an impossibility.

As regards additional evidence regarding the presence of the Pamirian Alpines in India during the Indus period reference may be made to the discovery of some skulls by Stein at Makran held to be of mixed Caspian or Nordic type and not Mediterranean. Referring to the

instances of fractional burial at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa Marshall says that they indicate the presence of foreign elements from the West in the population of these cities. The same kind of evidence would indicate the presence of these elements further west at Nal and Shahi-tump (Baluchistan). Hutton identifies these elements with the Alpines from the Pamirs and he thinks that they appeared in India in the 3rd mille B. C. and displaced the Indus civilisation. Prof. Langdon is of the opinion that the Aryans were in India long before the middle of the 2nd mille B. C. and that they were in contact with the Indus people. According to him the Brahmi script of the historic times is derived from the Indus script.

So from the evidence of craniology as well as from a widespread method of disposal of the dead traceable from Harappa in the east across the Indus Valley to the other end of Baluchistan and Persia the presence of the Pamirian Alpines or Indo-Aryans with the round head-form is clearly deducible.

The Indo-Aryans are held to have entered India in two main waves, the long-headed Vedic Aryans of the Midland countries and the round-headed non-Vedic Aryans of the Outer Countries. While this well-known Chanda-Haddon theory is generally accepted the question of priority has been a matter of controversy. Chanda and others think that the non-Vedic brachycephalic Indo-Aryans followed the Vedic Aryans who were already in possession of the middle portion of the Gangetic plains and infiltrated along the western coast. Hutton and others hold that the invasion of the Alpines from the Pamirs preceded that of the Rigvedic Aryans.

Let us examine the point a little more in detail. The generally accepted date of the entry of the Vedic Aryans being 1500 B. C. their expansion to the Gangetic plains would bring us almost to the age of the earlier Brahmanas when the Kuru-Panchala land became the centre of Brahmanic culture. Chanda refers, as names of Indo-Aryan tribes who followed the Vedic Aryans, to the list of tribes of mixed origin looked down upon by the Brahmans of the Kuru-Panchala country, mentioned in the Baudhayana Dharma and Srauta Sutras, such as the Pundras, Vangas, Sauviras, Kalingas, Angas, Magadhas, Anarttas, Gandharas, etc. There is nothing to prove that these tribes were later than the Vedic Aryans. Chanda points out that the Sanskrit texts always group together the Kalingas, Magadhas, Angas, Vangas with the Gandharas and says that they were probably originally of the same stock. These peoples are classed together with the Sauviras, Anarttas, Upavrits, etc. The Gandharas appear in the Rigveda and others appear in the later Vedas and Vedic literature. It is likely that these peoples, probably belonging to the same stock, were living in the Outer Countries long before the Vedic Aryans appeared in India. We should recognise in them the representatives of the Pamirian Alpines whose irruption is held by Hutton to have displaced the chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus Valley. Branches of these earlier invaders penetrated along the west coast from Gujerat to Canara and thence to Coorg, the South Maratha country and next across the Deccan to Orissa. As regards Bengal, Hutton's view is that the brachycephals who remained in Northern India were at a later date pushed outwards by the Vedic Aryans and passed eastwards to Bengal "down the Ganges Valley where the Bengali element seems very definitely intrusive, forming a wedge between Orissa and Assam." The above is something like the broad outlines of a connected story of the Pamirian Alpines beginning with their irruption in the Indus Valley during the period of the Indus civilisation and ending with their settlement in the Outer Countries. But we believe that this is not the whole story. A part of their story has to be gleaned from the Rigvedic accounts.

As regards the long-headed Vedic Aryans, their cultural affinities with three Western Asian peoples who came into notice in the 2nd mille B. C., namely, the Kassites, Mitannis and Hittites, call for a new orientation regarding their position. Their nearest affinities were with the Iranians. Whether their cultural affinities with the first three peoples were based on racial affinities is not known. With regard to all of them it has been said that the ruling or dominant classes among them might have been of Aryan origin. The presence of Indo-European elements among the Mitannis and Hittites is held to be beyond doubt and Keith is of the opinion that Indian speech proper (Vedic) might have existed in the lands inhabited by the Hittites. The presence of Aryan or Harrian elements has also been supposed among the Hyksos who ruled Egypt for a long time until finally expelled by the XVIII Dynasty kings. The Kassites living in the region of the Zagros mountains who founded a Dynasty in Babylonia about 1700

B. C. and worshipped several gods with Aryan names are held to be near cousins of the Vedic Aryans. In regard to the source of the Aryan elements among the Mitannis it has been suggested that they might be due to one of the Aryan bands whose presence can be traced in Mesopotamia and even in Syria who failed to establish themselves in these parts as they did in Iran and India. It is likely therefore that the great race movements in the 2nd. mille B. C. which threw up the Kassites, Mitannis and Hittites worshipping several deities with Vedic names to the surface also landed the Vedic Aryans in India. The approximate date of the entry is placed at 1500 B. C.

Now, if we are to suppose a dispersal from the North of the Medito-Armenoids following the irruption of the Pamirian Alpines and of the latter following the invasion of the Rigvedic Aryans, that is to say, if all the elements, political and cultural, that might have opposed the Vedic Aryans, had left the Indus Valley (also the Punjab) when they came, who were the enemies against whom the Rigvedic seers invoked the aid of all their gods and goddesses ? No mean enemies were they. They were great warriors whose aid was sought by a famous chief like Sudas in his battles, lords of strong fortresses, prosperous cities, owners of broad acres, countless herds of cattle and of great wealth which roused the cupidity of the needy *risis* whose most frequent prayers to their gods are to despoil the enemy of all this and distribute the same among them, their devoted hymnists ! According to Chanda the people with whom the Vedic Aryans came into collision in the Indus Valley were the Panis.

"The Panis probably represented the prehistoric civilisation of the Indus Valley in its last phase when it came into contact with the invading Aryan civilisation."

He thinks further that by the time the family books of the Rigveda were composed "the racial animus that once divided the immigrant and the indigenous population was a thing of the long forgotten past" and "the descendants of both were reconciled and assimilated as inhabitants of a common motherland." This is one tentative explanation of the anomalous poilitical conditions recorded in the Rigveda.

The other explanation would be that the peoples with whom the Rigvedic Aryans came into contact consisted not only of the dark-skinned Dasa and Dasyu tribes but also "Arya" tribes which had preceded them. They had entered India from the Pamirs and Iran in the 3rd. mille B. C., mingled with the population of the Indus Valley and contributed to the development of the Indus civilisation. They spread into the interior and settled in the Outer Countries to the east and west of the Middle country. The Rigveda tells us of "Arya" chiefs who repudiated Indra, of "Arya" tribes which fought the faithful Sudas. It cannot be denied that the political, religious and social conditions described in the Rigveda give anything but the picture of a homogeneous, compact body of foreign conquerors lately arrived in a strange land and among strange peoples; rather the presumption would be that they had come among peoples with some of whom at least they had cultural if not also racial affinities. In fact, the repetition of the stories of rivalry among deities, indications of rivalry and quarrels among their priests, too much emphasis on sacrificial ritualism, frank expression of priestly greed for money and cattle, position of the laity in comparison with that of the exponents of sacrificial rites, etc., are some among the considerations that would lead one to the conclusion that what the Rigveda represents is not an invasion by sturdy warrior hordes but immigration by a number of priestly clans who were the exponents of a new religion of sacrifices which they succeeded in imposing on the rulers of the country, many of whom had perhaps distant cultural, and possibly racial affinities with them. Such a hypothesis would help us to understand properly the state of things described in the Rigveda. What we would suggest is that the early Pamirian Alpines (non-Vedic Indo-Aryans) whose presence in the Indus Valley during the period of the chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus has been proved, belonged to the same culture as has come to be known as "Aryan" and has been associated particularly with the Vedic Aryans.

That there were cultural affinities between the early Indo-Aryans and the Vedic Aryans is corroborated to some extent by many references in the Vedic literature. It may be observed that it is possible to consider the Rigvedic religion independently of the Vedic sacerdotalism. This sacerdotalism culminated in the Kuru-Panchala and where many of the early Brahmanas were composed and the fluid social and ritualistic ideas of the Rigveda crystallised and took definite shape and sacrificial ritualism was perfected. These achievements gave the Middle Country Brahmans a high position and they looked down upon peoples living in the Outer

Countries. There are numerous references in the early literature to rivalry between the Northerners (Udichyas), Kuru-Panchala people, and the Easterners (Prachyas) and according to some authorities this feeling may be traced as far back as the Vajsaneyi Samhita. The references in the Atharva Veda, Aitareya Brahmana and other Brahmanas indicate that the Easterners or others were regarded as inferior or degraded. It does not mean that they were regarded as being racially or culturally alien, it means that they were still outside the Midlandic social structure or uninitiated into the Midlandic sacrificial ritualism. That the late Baudhayana School which belonged to the South should think it fit to give lists of eastern, western and northern tribes looked down upon by the Kuru-Panchala Brahmans only shows that their claims to superiority had found general acceptance.

We have suggested that the Rigvedic religion should be distinguished from the Vedic sacerdotalism. We would further suggest that this religion was common to the Rigvedic Aryans and the Pamirian Alpines with Aryan affinities who have come to be known as Indo-Aryans of the Outer Zones. These people were undoubtedly responsible for the Indus civilisation in some measure and to them should we give the credit for many of the features of the Indus religion that heve come to be known. This is perhaps the explanation for the fact that some of these features appear in the Rigvedic religion and in the later sacrificial ritualism of the Brahmanas, not as undigested borrowings but as deeply embedded in the Vedic tradition. For example, we may refer to the cult of the Fig tree, the use of swastikas, wheels and discs, probably as symbols in the worship of the sun, the cult of the Bull, the appearance of the serpent with sacred association, etc. There are several other important features of the Indus religion which pass out of notice for the time being only to reappear later with new accretions making their origin almost unrecognisable. The unknown deity in the yogic posture is a famous instance. This familiar posture, peculiar to the Indian culture, has led to the interpretation of the figure represented in this posture as the proto-type of Siva, but this posture is found in several other seals in which features used by Marshall for his interpretation of the three-faced figure as the proto-type of Siva are absent. The exact parallel as pointed out by Chanda is the Dhyani Buddha images and reminiscent of the later Buddhistic art are the bizarre semi-human semi-animal figures, representations of the sacred Pipal, etc. Some of the features that reappear in new forms in the age of the Epics are the cult of the Bull, trident, phallic worship, worship of female deities, etc. All these features had by the Epic times become integral parts of the Brahmanical religion. It is a plausible hypothesis that elements in the Indus religion rejected by the custodians of the Rigvedic religion and by the early exponents of the Vedic sacrificial ritualism survived among the tribes of which the Indus population was composed and the same tribes later contributed these very elements, as their share, to the development of the common religion of the land. Much work has to be done before it is possible to trace back important contributions to their sources but something is already known. The revolts of the easterners and westerners, both representatives of the early Indo-Aryans, against Midlandic orthodoxy, have produced revolutionary changes in the Indian religion and culture.

The results obtained from the above brief survey may be summarised : the Indus civilisation is pre-Vedic but it is incorrect to call it pre-Aryan because the Indo-Aryans with the round headform were in the Indus Valley during the most flourishing period of its civilisation. During a later phase of the same civilisation the Rigvedic Aryans entered India. The Rigveda and the later Vedas contain several features of the Indus religion which were probably common to both the earlier and later Indo-Aryans and it is likely that the Vedic tribes mentioned in the Rigveda included several tribes of the earlier Indo-Aryans. It would appear that the entry of the Rigvedic Aryans was more in the nature of a peaceful migration by *risi* clans than a military invasion by aliens and this migration should perhaps be associated with the great race movements that took place in Western Asia about the 2nd mille B. C. Many other features of the the Indus religion reappear later in the Epics and the parallelism presented by Buddhism in respect of some of the features is striking.

The Indus civilisation is not thus a forgotten chapter of the Indian civilisation, it forms the first known chapter of this civilisation which possesses an unbroken record for five thousand years.*

* Based on materials used in the author's forthcoming work *The Great Mother and Mother Cults in India.*

MR. FAZ-UL-HUQ'S SCHEMES *RE.* PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

By C. V. H. RAO

THE alternative schemes adumbrated by Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, Premier of Bengal, a few days ago for dealing with the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, indicate nothing else except that he is the victim of a sudden brain wave. Two and a half years have elapsed since the Floud Commission submitted their recommendations on the question of abolition of that particular land revenue system in Bengal. Quietly they were allowed to remain pigeon-holed by the Bengal Government all these months; and the discovery is now made with a startling suddenness that something has got to be done about the scheme. So far as Bengal is concerned, I believe that the general opinion is that the Huq schemes are not only inopportune and ill-timed but that they are wholly impracticable at this stage. They require, firstly, the approval and the sanction of the Government of India for their implementation. They require, secondly, that the Bengal Government should be prepared to find considerable funds to make them effective. Neither of these conditions is likely to be fulfilled so long as the war with its insistent demands on Government's attention and with the huge financial obligations that it has been imposing on all of them continues or even afterwards. The financial obligation implicit in the effectuation of the scheme is the rock on which it will indubitably founder while it is clear that divorced from the capacity suitably and adequately to compensate the landlords and proprietors of land, any scheme for the abolition of the permanent settlement is calculated to be a wash-out.

This is, of course, apart from the merits of the proposals adumbrated by Mr. Huq, which deserve examination for what they are worth. With regard to these merits scope for differences of opinion is wide and it is difficult to conceive that, leaving aside sentimental opposition to the permanent settlement based on certain long-standing prejudices and intermingled it may be with a certain substratum of fact, the formulators of the demand for the abolition of the permanent settlement, are in a position to substitute for it a more appropriate or more ideal land revenue system. It is fashionable and facilely easy to depict zamindars as the villains of the piece and fashionable and easy too to exploit phrases like "absentee landlordism," "petty tyrannies," "feudal relics" and so on to stigmatize them and hold them up to opprobrium. For some decades, this procedure has been followed by a number of persons; but in actual practice, it has been found by the critics no less than by the zamindars themselves that wisdom, statesmanship, prudence and commonsense consist not in completely demolishing the permanent settlement and expropriating the landlords but in reforming the former so as to eliminate the defects and abuses that have found lodgement in the system and to secure improvement in the conditions of the tenantry. To such reformist endeavours, it must be admitted, the zamindar community, as events in Bihar between 1934 and 1939 unmistakably testify, have invariably responded not only with alacrity but with perfect good grace. A revolutionary measure like uprooting an existing land system, which had become an integral part of the country's economic system, for the past century and a half, when appropriate reform is calculated to produce quite beneficial results without the dislocation and upsetting conditions attendant upon revolutionary methods, does not connote sound statesmanship or political prudence.

For the permanent settlement system, if abolished, two possible substitutes can be thought of, namely, the assumption by the State of the role of landlord and the setting up of a peasant proprietorship system by parcelling the bigger estates into smaller, compact ones. The former system obtains in the temporarily settled areas of Madras, Bombay and parts of the Central Provinces. An examination of the methods of revenue settlement in these areas will nevertheless reveal that in actual practice, the tendency is for the periods of settlement to get extended, so that they become transformed into semi-permanent ones. Too frequent settlements involve not only disproportionately large financial expenditure on big settlement establishments but lead to profitless uncertainty as regards the rate of land

tax payable by the ryots while certainty is one of the fundamental attributes of a good tax system. Thus though nominally temporarily settled, once a settlement is completed, it is permitted to continue undisturbed for thirty to forty years, if not more. From the standpoint of the actual tiller of the soil, the permanent settlement system will appear on the whole advantageous, since Government can always interfere to prevent his being rack-rented by fixing the proportion of the produce payable as landlord's rent, whereas in the ryotwari areas, any big ryot who leases out his land is in a position to dictate his own terms to the actual tiller. Safeguards against arbitrary enhancements of rents or against the landlord's refusal to discharge his obligations to the land or to the tenants are of course indispensable. They can always be enforced by the State through suitable legislations as has indeed been done in many cases and a number of times. The conclusion follows, and is obviously justified, that the revolutionary solution implicit in the abolition of landlordism is not justified at least on the merits of the ryotwari system. The latter has undoubtedly its own advantages and good points, but so also has the system which is sought to be shortcircuited.

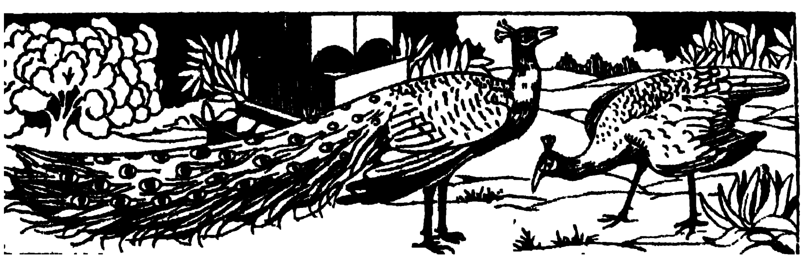
The defects of and impediments in the way of a scheme of peasant proprietorships are not less formidable. In this country, in all provinces, the evil of fragmentation of landholdings has assumed wide dimensions and has rendered agriculture the distressingly poor economic proposition it has now become. Unless, therefore, a programme of consolidation of holdings is vigorously and energetically adopted and pushed through, no process of redistribution of land among peasant proprietors will be practicable, even if it may be practicable to bring into existence a class of people answering this description by a wave of the magic wand. Otherwise too, consolidation of holdings and prevention of fragmentation and subdivision of land is not only fundamentally necessary but from the standpoint of the country's economic prosperity urgently demanded. It is the process through which we can attain the goal of liquidating the mounting indebtedness of the agriculturist. For the success of a scheme of peasant proprietorship or even anything approximating to that, an educated, self-reliant class of agriculturists fully appreciative of the essentialness of thrift and possessed of a capacity ruthlessly to eliminate wasteful expenditure is a *sine qua non.* Indian agricultural classes, especially those who belong to the category of tenants in permanently settled areas, do not unfortunately possess these qualifications. They have a considerable amount of native instinct for agriculture; but a vast proportion of them are victims of purblind custom and tradition and display too much of the feeling of helpless fatalism. The Floud Commission had in fact made a particular point of the fact that most of the evils attributed to the permanent settlement system should more appropriately be attributed to the inability of the tenantry and the peasant classes to practise the virtues which contribute to prosperous agriculture. Enthusiasts emitting fire and brimstone against the landlord system should lay their finger on the real plague spot and cure it as a preliminary to contemplating its root and branch abolition.

The schemes formulated by Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq must be considered against this general background to yield proper deductions. Their principal and central feature is the attempt to secure direct relationship between the tiller of the soil and the Government, by eliminating in one way or the other the intermediary zamindar, who is referred to by Mr. Huq with perhaps unbecoming derision as the 'rent collector.' All that the latter will be entitled to is a *malikana,* which will be equivalent to fifty per cent of his average net income for a period of ten years previous to the war. For the future, the whole of their gross income minus the *malikana* to be paid to them will be credited to the Government's account and they will be exempt from the payment of any further taxes, rents, cesses, etc. In the case of estates, under the management of the Court of Wards, which institution, by the way is proposed to be abolished by legislation, the *malikana* to be paid will not exceed the allowances paid to the proprietors at present. Present actual tillers of the soil will not be allowed to hold more than 50 bighas of land apiece and excess lands thus released are proposed to be distributed equitably among smaller cultivators "to bring about an equitable distribution of lands as much as possible." The land tax payable by the cultivator to the Government will be one-sixth of the gross produce and all other taxes such as road cess, chaukidari tax, education cess, etc., will be scrapped. Simultaneously, income-tax, the customs revenue raised in Bengal and the Jute Export Duty collected in Bengal are expected to be made over by the Central Government to the Government of Bengal. The

second or alternative scheme formulated by Mr. Huq is in essential respects similar to the one already summarized; only it leaves the question of Income-tax, Customs revenue and so on to be dealt with in consultation with the Central Government.

Incoherence, absence of compact thought and bold vision characterize the schemes of Mr. Huq, which have the appearance of having been hastily patched up. They are not by any means schemes for abolition of the permanent settlement wholesale and outright; they merely tinker with the principle of it, which renders them all the more objectionable. The restriction of the actual tillers' contribution to the State revenues to one-sixth of the gross produce and the abolition of all other taxes and cesses and other monetary burdens on land possess the apparent merit of simplicity but are calculated hardly to benefit the agriculturist in any appreciable measure. Convertible into a money basis, the one-sixth of the gross produce, which will amount to about one-fourth of the net produce, will prove an undoubted hardship, especially in periods of economic depression and low prices. The further proposition that no actual cultivator of land would be allowed to hold more than 50 bighas of land is indeed beneficial, but a holding of 50 bighas will dwindle in two or three generations into a number of small holdings of five or ten bighas each either as a result of subdivision or by being sold in small plots to relieve the agriculturist from indebtedness, unless other measures are simultaneously taken to prevent these contingencies supervening. It is difficult to comprehend at the same time how much land will be left over, after each actual cultivator has secured 50 bighas, for distribution among the rest of the agricultural population. If such distribution is to be on an equitable basis, as postulated, the number of persons acquiring economic holdings as a result thereof will be infinitesimal. In a few years' time, one can visualize a number of these small farmers fading out into landless labourers.

Presumably under the Huq schemes, the zamindars will continue to exist, but only in another shape and under another designation and title as "rent collectors." But why they are expected cheerfully to accept that position, which will be neither here nor there, is not possible to understand. They had played a part and fulfilled a role in the country's economy for the last one hundred and fifty years, of which on the whole they have no reason to feel ashamed and very few of them will acquiesce in their being reduced to a position of virtual nullity, and yet continue to perform the function of rent collectors. Well may they retort: "If the Government have the courage and the capacity to buy them up and liquidate them let them do so straightforwardly but let them not leave us in a semi-attenuated condition." But the pre-eminent question is: Have the Government got the capacity and courage to attempt the thing? First of all, legislation to abolish or even to tamper on a large scale with the permanent settlement will require the consent of the Governor-General. Secondly, the payment of *malikana* even on the scale prescribed by Mr. Huq would presuppose financial resources for finding which any provincial Government would necessarily have to look up to the Government of India, who in the near future cannot be expected to shoulder the obligation. Equally impossible it is to anticipate a favourable reaction on the Central Government's part to the proposal for making over the proceeds of the Income-tax, Customs revenue and other important Central sources of revenue to Bengal, without automatically creating almost irresistible demands from other provinces for similar gifts. The financial aspect is the weakest link in the chain of Mr. Huq's proposals and it is likely to be the weakest link in any set of similar proposals for other provinces like Bihar, where the permanent settlement system is in vogue.



FAST AND CONVERSION

By K. S. PARAMESWAR

It was Mahatma Gandhi who admitted that the fasting weapon could easily savour of violence unless it was used by one skilled in the art and he claimed to be such an artist in the subject. Since then many have taken to political fasting with good effect and success in the way of converting.

The latest of Prof. Bhansali's fasting which was undertaken by the Professor in connection with the unfortunate and sad Chimur affair was broken with good result and the 'regrettable episode' in the history of the Government's relations with the Indian press came to a favourable close. And as Dr. Khare put it, "The oft-quoted saying that all is well that ends well has been amply justified."

Although there was not much agitation and anxiety among the masses, still the incident was viewed with great concern. On the other hand, whenever Mahatma Gandhi declares to undertake fast the Indians, especially the masses, who love and adore Gandhiji more and who are closely attached to him are alarmed and anxious, the Government perturbed, perplexed and disgusted.

Gandhiji has to his credit five important fasts undertaken at different times on different important issues: the last one being in March 1939, in connection with the nomination of members to a committee to consider the constitutional reforms for Rajkot State. Other important fasts were the one connected with the Rowlatt Act in April 1919, undertaken to inaugurate the Satyagraha campaign to fight the Rowlatt Bill introduced in the Supreme Legislative Council on January 19, 1919; the second one commencing on September 18, 1924, partly as he put it "to attract the attention of the Indians to the urgency of the communal problem" and partly from a religious theory that any suffering inflicted on himself would be of service to the country; the third one lasting from September 20th to 26th, 1932, at Yerwada Gaol for the abolition of separate electorate for the Harijans which culminated in the Poona Pact and a modification of the Communal Award which was later accepted by the British Government; the fourth one undertaken for a full period of 21 days, commencing from May 8, 1933, for the Harijan cause and in Gandhi's own words 'a hearty prayer for purification of myself and my associates for greater vigilance and watchfulness.'

Every time Gandhiji embarks on a fast which he calls the 'gift of God,' strong criticisms are advanced and violent attacks made by a certain section pleading that fasts undertaken and advocated by Gandhiji for realising a specified result are nothing but coercion and enforcement devoid of free will.

But action could be labelled as good or bad, whether born out of coercion or goodwill, only after a thorough scrutiny is made of the result it produces. Until then, all criticisms whether healthy or not could be counted as mere speculation.

It can be said that it is only lack of sufficient understanding, aspiration or realisation that prompts one to criticise another's action. Or, it may be, that one is unable to rise to the level of another in sublimity that makes him view things askance.

Writing on Fasting Gandhiji says:

> "Fasting is an institution as old as Adam. It has been resorted to for Self-purification, or for some ends noble as well as ignoble. Buddha, Jesus and Mohammad fasted so as to see God face to face. Ramachandra fasted for the sea to give way for his army of monkeys. Parvati fasted to secure Mahadeva himself as her Lord and Master. In my fast I have but followed these great examples, no doubt for ends much less noble than theirs."

And every religion has sanction for fast.

Among the Celts it was not unusual for a man, who was refused a lawful request to 'fast against' the one who had denied him the right, so as either to persuade him to an act of justice or to bring upon his head the blood of the oppressed.

Commonest by far, however, of all the applications of voluntary fasting, in the past and at the present time, is its practice as an act of self-denial with definite religious intention.

The ancient Mexicans and Peruvians resembled the Babylonians and Assyrians in this that fasting was largely used by them in connection with penance and offering of sacrifice. There are clear indications of the Egyptians practising

fast, though no records show that this was prevalent.

The Romans appear to have resorted to this practice but seldom until they came under the influence of the later Greek religion, in which fasting was required of all initiates by the guardians of the mystic religious practices and recommended to individuals by philosophers of various schools, Cynics, Stoics, Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists.

In the east, the Hindu and Jain ascetics are committed by their faith to very severe fasting in conjunction with numerous other austerities.

Buddhism recommends moderation rather than extreme self-deprivation in theory, but in practice in its various developed forms the religion prescribes fasting to a considerable extent especially in Tibet, in direct contradiction of Buddha's teachings. As a matter of fact, Lord Buddha preached abstention from self-mortification after having undergone severe penance including fasting for a period of six years.

The higher Taoism of China imposes the practice of strict abstinence upon its professors and Confucianism has followed the practice of its great expounder in approving the customary observance of fasting as a preparation for the worship of ancestral spirits.

Judaism requires an annual fast on the Day of Atonement.

The Quran requires all Muslims to observe the ninth month (Ramadan) of the year as a period of fast.

In the Christian world, although there is a diversity of opinion in the matter of fasting there exists in practice the forty days' fast of Lent.

Then there are other fasts such as Purificatory Fasting, practised as a preparation for spiritual and sacramental communion; Sympathetic Fasting, the practice of fasting after somebody's death; Penitential Fasting, which serves to attest the genuineness of repentance; Meritorious Fasting, undertaken in order to obtain reward or to secure power as in the Intichiuma ceremonies of the tribes of Central Australia; or again a Jain girl fasting to win a good husband and secure a happy married life; and lastly Disciplinary Fasting, undertaken as a reaction from surrounding voluptuousness and as a protest against prevailing licence.

It is among the Jains that fasting is more prevalent, as the Jains believe that the soul which is endowed with Immortality, Omniscience and Bliss, is being robbed of its Divinity owing to the influence of Flesh (the physical body) which is the enemy of the soul, causing misfortune and misery. In order to separate the soul from the body they even advocate the complete destruction of the body by systematic fasting.

Thus we find that fasting is nothing new to the world, much less to India or the Indians. And the art propounded by Gandhiji is not in the least his own invention, but simply a rediscovery of the true rule of living.

As to whether fasts have produced good effect or bad, Gandhiji says:

> "But the fact is that, so far as I can remember, I have never undertaken a single one of my public fasts with any premeditation on my part. All my fasts have come to me on the spur of the moment, gifts from God, as I have called them. Their results have been invariably good; and in any event I have no regret regarding them."

Even the last fast he undertook at Rajkot in 1939, though viewed generally as recantation, could be reckoned as good only if one understood the implications fully well and viewed it from Gandhiji's angle of vision. In the first place there was no premeditation wrapped in vengeance or coercion with a predetermined motive. To put it in Gandhiji's own words:

> "The fast came upon me all of a sudden and out of the intense agony of the soul. The days preceding the fast were days of deepest prayer. The experience of the night before the determination to take the fast had choked me. I did not know what to do. The morning followed told me what I was to do, cost what it might. I simply could not have taken the resolution but for the belief that God wanted me to take it."

Hence the fast, termed as a 'self-imposed death,' and broken with a confession of its failure on the part of Gandhiji, inasmuch as, instead of effecting a conversion and a melting of the heart of Thakore Sahib, Gandhiji invoked the Paramount Power to interfere, could be styled as something good, a sort of self-castigation from the point of view of self-purification.

And so according to Gandhiji every fast has to play the double role of self-purification and conversion.

> "If a friend of mine goes astray," says Gandhiji, "and if I impose suffering on myself by fasting to awaken his better instincts it can be only out of love. If the friend for whom I fast has no love in him he will not respond. If he has it and responds it is all for the good. This is how I would analyse his act: he valued his love for me more than his bad ways."

Strictly speaking, it follows, that apart from the political significance, every fast undertaken by Gandhiji has more of religious importance. And India cannot lend her patient ear unless expressions and deeds are correlated with religion. And says Gandhiji:

"A religious movement does not depend for its success on the intellectual or material resources of its sponsors; but it depends solely upon the spiritual resources, and fasting is a most known method of adding to those resources."

Once the fast has been wedded to religion, it becomes imperative that an amount of faith will have to be cultivated and developed to understand the significance, since 'religion is more of realisation.'

"Mere physical capacity," says Gandhiji, "to take a fast is no qualification for it. It is of no use without a 'living faith in God' It should never be mechanical effort nor a mere imitation It must come from the depth of the soul."

And testifying to this he added:

"It is my conviction that a fast undertaken out of a genuine love cannot have any untoward result. It will only bring good in its wake"

Thus any amount of reasoning cannot explain the implication conveyed in a particular act. One has definitely to develop the amount of 'living faith' without which everything will sound a calumny. And 'faith transcends reason.'

Intellectual speculation, logical reasoning as to whether anything is pertinent or not, can not carry one very far. What one needs is a way to get the experience of it as adumbrated by Gandhiji; to reach it, enter into it and live in it. Maybe this a sort of mysticism, the following of an inner spiritual discipline. Aurobindo says:

"It is not by thinking out the entire reality, but a change of consciousness that one can pass from the ignorance to the Knowledge—the Knowledge by which we become what we know."

Then again, admitting that one may have developed that living faith it may be argued how one's action will have effect on another or specifically Gandhiji's fast will bring about the required conversion in another?

Food gives sustenance and energy to the different organs of the body through which the sense acts on the mind. And it is a general conception that a particular type of food brings about a particular sort of temperamental features in a man. This is the main reason why Yoga philosophy prescribes certain food restrictions, choice of abode, etc., in order to tone down the temperamental intensity caused by nervous emotion, and to enable the mind to achieve a better concentration and greater purity with which to develop a sort of personality.

Just as the sacrifice of the mother makes the life of the child possible on earth, and the self-sacrifice of the head of the family is responsible for the peace amongst its different members, the sacrifice of a leader leads to better adjustment in society. The greater the self-sacrifice of an individual towards self-purification, the higher the type of man he will prove to be and the greater will be his influence on others.

That is how great religious teachers like Buddha, Jesus, Sankara, Ramakrishna and others moved the hearts of millions of people in their life-time.

Confucius said:

"It is my wish to educate dominant personalities who develop within themselves the force of their individuality, through which they can influence others. For only that which is entirely true in one's own life has the power to change others."

"Fasting is intended to sting the conscience into right religious action," said Gandhiji once.

[The article had been written and received before Mathama Gandhi started his present fast.—Ed., *M. R.*]

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Number of Indian States

Sj. V. Jagannadham, M.A., B.L, Research Scholar, University of Madras, writes in his article, "Geopolitics in India," in *The Modern Review* for January, 1943,— . . . 'there is the problem of the seven hundred and odd Indian States. . .'—p. 69. By this he means to say, that, there are above seven hundred Indian States. But, what is their actual number? The following will show:

Sj. K M. Panikkar, in his book, *Indian States*, writes—'There are 562 such units in India. . . .' The following table will give an idea of how the number is made up:

1.	States whose Rulers are Members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right ..	135
2	Estates whose 'Chiefs' are represented by election in the Chamber of Princes ..	108
3.	Taluks, Jaigirs, etc. ..	319
		562

—*Indian States*, p 3, edition of July, 1942

Sj. Panikkar attended all three Round Table Conferences in 1931-33, as Secretary to the Princes' Delegation, was Foreign Minister in Patiala and is now Foreign Minister and Vice-President of Council, Bikaner. Therefore, we may take the figures supplied by him to be true.

Hindusthan Year Book, 1941, writes—'There are 584 States in India varying in size from Hyderabad with a population of 14 millions . . . . to the State of Bilbari, a tiny speck too small for the map, having a population of 27 souls.'—P. 16.

The above will show that the number of Native States in India is far below seven hundred.

Kshitinath Sur

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

KASHMIR : The Playground of Asia : *By Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University. Published by Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad (1942). Pp. vii+345 with 33 illustrations. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The learned author devotes nearly 40 pages to the Bibliography of literature relating to the Happy Valley which he has been visiting since 1897. So we touch here a book of life rather than a mere guide book. And yet he has given us a most reliable guide to all the positive features of Kashmir and brilliant descriptive sketches of the various sights and scenes of the country. While reading the book we feel as if we are being conducted by a sympathetic friend through a gallery of grand landscapes. In the first part of the book, the author gives us general information on the history and geography, the arts and crafts, followed by practical and statistical items in the second part. The third section deals with the descriptive and reflective passages of rare charm, not forgetting the flowery guests of Kashmir, month by month. The author, we feel, has devoted quite a fortune in collecting rare books on Kashmir and also in visiting and revisiting the beauty spots. So we get the personal touch everywhere and we admire his graphic quality and profound love of Nature. For the average tourists, he has given plenty of secular details and 33 excellent pictures to enliven his narrative. The price is quite moderate and we recommend the book of Dr. Sinha as undoubtedly the cheapest and best handbook on Kashmir available in these days.

The name of the famous French traveller Victor Jacquemont appears wrongly as Jocque Mount in the Index and there are other misprints which should be removed. In referring to the merit of the book *The Charm of Kashmir* by V. S. Scott O'Connor, Dr. Sinha might have mentioned that the artistic value of the book was heightened by the fact that Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, Father of the Modern School of Painting in India, collaborated with O'Connor by contributing to the volume some of his outstanding water-colour pictures. Let us hope that in the future edition of his book Dr. Sinha would add a Who's Who of the memorable Kashmiris like Pandit Motilal Nehru to whom he affectionately dedicates the volume.

ABANINDRA NUMBER OF THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY, May-October, 1942 : *Pp. 135 with 60 plates + 10 illustrations (portrait studies). Price Rs. 8 only.*

The publication of the volume under review demonstrates once more that Abanindranath even in his 70th year has not ceased to be a "problem." His pupils and pupil's pupils have collaborated with his friends in producing this charming issue of the Quarterly but they have not succeeded in clarifying the issues involved in the apparently sudden emergence of a new and creative school of Indian painting under the inspiring genius of Abanindranath. There are tantalizing gaps in the study of Benodebihari Mukherjee on the "Chronology of Abanindranath's Paintings" but that happens to be the only essay in the volume, provoking further research. He seems to suggest that 'up to the year 1895' the artist followed 'pure European technique' undergoing training under Sig. Ghilardi (or Gilhardi ?) and C. Palmer; but the date of his contact with those European artists has been given by Mukul Dey as 1897 and after. Meanwhile in 1895-96, the artist started his Radhakrishna Series (left by the Bibliographer in a confused sequence) and Abanindranath had painted his first significant picture *Jhulan* or Swing in 1896 in partially Indian (not *pure* European) style. That was considered by Mr. O. C. Gangoly to be the starting point of the new school and the picture was reproduced, along with the *Ritusamhara* picture, "Abhisarika"* and "Buddha and Sujata" pubished in the *Studio*, London, as early as 1902, with Mr. Havell's article. Mr. Havell joined the Government School of Art in 1896 and he came to know from Harinarayan Bose, a junior teacher of the school giving lessons at the Jorasanko house, that a promising artist of the same family, Abanindranath was busy painting his "Krishna-lila" series. Was his contact with Ghilardi (as narrated by J. P. Gangoly) before or after his meeting with Mr. Havell who is reputed to have shown him the first samples of Mughal-Rajput painting? Havell would induce Abanindranath to accept the Vice-Principalship of the Government School of Art (15th August, 1905) when Abanindranath would open a discussion on the Art of the East and of the West in the pages of the *Bhandar* (1312 B.S.=1905) edited by Rabindranath. The poet-uncle was the first not only to discover the talent of the artist-nephew in stagecraft (1888-1898) but was also the first to engage Abanindranath in book illustration work (1891-92) while editing the *Sadhana*. Abanindranath illustrated the poet's *Chitrangada* (1892) dedicated to the artist. The influences of Rabindranath and of Havell have not been sufficiently brought out in the Bibliographical notes or in the other articles in the volume. Mr. Kanti Ghosh refers to a Norwegian painter from whom Abanindranath learnt the technique of water-colour before his trip to Monghyr; but neither Mr. Ghosh nor any of his collaborators cared to enquire *when* and *how* did the first touch of Far Eastern (Sino-

* The first reproduction *Avisar* was alleged to be the illustration of a poem by Chandidas but we clearly read the name of Govindadas in the colophone copied artistically by Abanindranath.

Japanese) art come upon our artist with the advent of Okakura Kakuzo (1901-2). Okakura visted the art centres of India like Buddha-Gaya, Sarnath, etc., with Dhammapala, Vivekananda and Nivedita; and Vivekananda visited the Chinese and Japanese art collection as early as 1893. So apart from the Western, the Far Eastern influences on Indian art have also got to be followed closely (as I have suggested in my article published in the *Udbodhan*, Kartick, 1349) in order to unravel the mystery of the Indian art-revival in the last decade of the 19th century through the works of Abanindranath. His Buddha and Sujata was already in 1901-2 accepted as a grand piece to be reproduced by the editor of the *Studio.* When Mr. Havell published (July, 1908) his *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Abanindra's fame was world-wide, for we find Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener vying with one another to patronize the new school. The Indian Society of Oriental Arts was founded in 1907 (references to the early days of the memorable society are disappointingly poor) and Justice J. G. Woodroffe published another article on the "Modern School of Indian Painting" in *Kokka*, December, 1908. The title of the famous art journal started by Okakura in 1889, has been mis-spelt as Koka and likewise the names of eminent Japanese artists like Yokoyama (not Yokahama) Taikwan and Hashimoto (not Hisimato as in pp. 125-26) Gaho. After the death of Swami Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita (as recently pointed out by the Editor of *The Modern Review* and also by Sir Jadunath Sarkar) was the great champion (1902-1912) of Abanindranath, Nandalal and their school. Gradually we find Ananda Coomaraswamy, who then lived at Campden, showing some Tagore pictures to W. Rothenstein. The latter met Abanindranath and his group in 1910 and later on invited (1911) the poet-uncle to come to England, for Rothenstein was fascinated by Nivedita's translation of Rabindranath's *Kabuliwalla* published in *The Modern Review.* That led to the publication of the English translation of *Gitanjali* (1912) and the first Nobel Prize (1913) to Asia, opening a new era in the artistic and cultural collaboration of the East and the West. With the first exhibition of Abanindranath's paintings in England and France, we enter into a new phase of co-operation and mutual understanding which would be clearer when we would explore the art creations of Abanindranath scattered abroad, through presentation and purchase. We are thankful to the Visva-Bharati for affording us an opportunity to think and seek along the exquisite Beauty-paths laid out for us by the immortal Artist. Thanks to Abanindranath's masterly guidance, Indians of today and tomorrow would find it easy to enter into the dreamland of Art from China and Japan to Persia and Arabia, not forgetting the art of Europe and America. May his works ever live in our soul as the challenge of India to the spirit of barbarism and as the earnest of India's fraternal collaboration with the world in the realm of Beauty. We congratulate the Editor of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* on this valuable publication and recommend it to all libraries and cultural institutions of India and abroad.

KALIDAS NAG

INDIAN ECONOMICS, VOL. I. SEVENTH (REVISED) EDITION: *By Jather and Beri. Published by Oxford University Press, Calcutta. 1942. Pp. xii and 531. Price Rs. 6.*

The present edition of Volume I maintains the reputation of its previous volumes as a thorough and up-to-date source of reliable information on matters relating to Indian organisation of production. Important changes will be found in many of the chapters with the latest available information incorporated. The impetus given by the present war to the exploitation of mineral resources has been noticed in Chapter II and its effects on the different types of Indian industries have been indicatd in the last Chapter (Chapter XIII). Latest available figures relating to the Census of India (1941) are given in Appendix I. Reports of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, relating to the future of the Zamindary System and the Permanent Settlement, will be found in Chapter XII. The main recommendations made by the American Technical Mission, 1942, have also been briefly reviewed in the last Chapter. The problems of post-war economic reconstruction are surveyed in Appendix II together with an outline of the several Reconstruction Committees recently set up by the Government of India. The book will thus be found interesting as well as useful both by the students and the general public.

P. C. GHOSH

THE MIND AND FACE OF NAZI GERMANY: *Edited by N. Gangulee, C.I.E., Ph.D. Published by John Murray, London. 1942. Pp. 175. Price 5s.*

This is an anthology of excerpts from the writings, speeches and slogans of Nazi leaders regarding their political and racial doctrines. No one of importance is left out; Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Rosenberg are there as well as Spengler, Rauschning, Strasser and a host of other writers who have had any intimate touch with Nazi Germany. Professor Gangulee who has shown remarkable industry in collecting the materials of his anthology from various sources, German as well as English, and in classifying them under such heads as "The German-Nordic Religion," "The Myth of Race Purity," "The Glorification of War," himself admits in his Preface that he originally intended to utilize these data for writing a book on the crisis of western civilisation. It is but natural, therefore, that some of the statements included in this anthology hold good not only in case of Nazi Germany but also other imperialist powers. It may be argued that some quotations from Rauschning's *Hitler Speaks* might have been rather omitted as they have become somewhat stale by constant repetition in anti-Nazi literature, and that shorn of their context some of the statements are unintelligible, if not misleading. The author's prefatory remarks are however more valuable than the jumbled jargon incorporated in his anthology which can hardly be fully understood except in the background of German history and western culture as a whole. Prof. Gangulee regards Germany as the central problem of Europe. He concludes: "It is now becoming all too clear to us that so long as Germany proclaims violence as the central creed of her political philosophy, so long as the notion of race-purity, based upon what Hitler calls the 'iron logic of nature,' runs through her inter-racial relations; so long as her state-craft defies all moral values and insults humanity, Germany must remain an irreconcilable enemy of civilisation."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

"INDIAN PROVINCIAL FINANCE, 1919-39": *By Dr. B. R. Misra, M.A., Ph.D. (London), LL.B. With a Foreword by Dr. Vera Anstey, D.Sc. (Econ.). Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 7-8.*

The book under review is a thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Economics of the University of London. The author, who is at present Head of the Department of Economics, Benares Hindu University, acknowledges with gratitude

"the invaluable help" received from Dr. Vera Anstey "in the preparation of this work.". "Without her guidance the work would never have seen the light of the day." It is clear that Dr. Anstey was able to exercise a tremendous influence upon the author, who evidently considers her the greatest authority on all Indian questions, economic, financial, educational, social and political. Dr. Misra clinches each issue by a quotation from Dr. Anstey's book "Economic Development of India" and concludes invariably by agreeing with her. One wonders whether it is on this account that Dr. Anstey was so much impressed by Dr. Misra's "untiring pursuit of knowledge, his deep desire to consider all aspects of his chosen theme, and his independence of thought." Dr. Misra has indeed proved a most apt and faithful pupil of Dr. Anstey and it is my belief that no Anglo-Indian writer could have excelled Dr. Misra in putting forward the official and the British standpoint on all problems discussed or even touched upon in the book with greater faithfulness, ease or clarity. It may be that this was done from a mistaken sense of chivalry or in the belief that it would be easier to secure the approval of the Anglo-Indian or British examiners, or it may be that Dr. Misra really regards the British standpoint as the only purely academic or "economic" and scientific point of view devoid of all sentiment and political prejudice. Be that as it may Dr. Misra is not likely to enhance his reputation by the publication of Indian Provincial Finance, 1919-39.

In this book Dr. Misra has reviewed the history of Financial Relationships between the Provinces and the Government of India and has described the financial arrangements existing in Indian Provinces. He has also discussed the working of these financial arrangements during the period of Montford Reforms. "The Provincial Governments were given real freedom to work the Reforms in a limited sphere. The transfer of financial control was perhaps the greatest line of advancement. Nevertheless, the Reforms were regarded as a niggardly gift and a sham."

"This, however, is an extremely shallow view of the Reforms. . . . From the Reforms did emerge a steady, though slow, process of administrative devolution from the Government of India to the Provincial Governments, which has profoundly affected the whole course of India's future constitution" (pages 80-81). His views on Provincial Autonomy introduced in 1937 are equally illuminating: "The responsible Government of India must be different from that of England. For responsible Government is not an automatic device which can be manufactured to specification. Hence Provincial Autonomy in India has been moulded to suit social conditions and national aptitudes. It is from this point of view that some necessary safeguards have been inserted in the Instrument of Instructions. These safeguards have not lowered the value of Provincial Autonomy but have strengthened the executive" (page 110). Dr. Misra defends the working of Finance Departments under Executive Councillors in the Provinces and the exclusion of a Minister's salary from the vote of the Provincial Assembly (pages 142-143). Coming to the Heads of Provincial Revenue and beginning with land revenue, Dr. Misra, like Anglo-Indian apologists, tries to shift the blame from the British Government to the landlords and concludes with a quotation from Dr. Anstey: "More important than the reduction of taxation or of the land revenue is the need to extend protection against rack-rents" (page 163). He sums up his views on taxation in the Provinces in a most complacent manner. "The one general conclusion to which we have come from the study of the Indian Tax System, is that *the total burden of taxation in India is not excessive*. This assertion is in harmony with the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Anstey that India does not appear to have been obviously overtaxed" (page 215). Dealing with Provincial Expenditure Dr. Misra defends the proportion allotted to nation building departments and concludes: "The state policy in the Agricultural, Veterinary, Forest, Irrigation, Co-operative, Public Health, Medical and Industries Departments, though slow, has been constructive and successful."

"It is doubtful whether a more energetic policy, which would have meant increased financial pressure and increased taxation, largely to be paid by the peasantry, was desirable. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the state in India, in comparison with other countries, has performed some functions which elsewhere are usually performed by landlords or private enterprise" (page 245). Dr. Misra devotes a separate chapter to "Summary and Conclusions." Section I sums up the recent tendencies in Provincial Finance and Policy. Section II deals with the present outlook. He writes: "The present outlook of provincial finance has mainly been judged from a narrow point of view. . . . . I am convinced that no change in the system of provincial finance can result in a rapid advancement of the conditions of the life of the people unless certain fundamental obstacles are removed. Three obstacles occur to me. . . . My own conclusion is that a rapid advancement in the economic or social life of India, through any system of public finance or system of Government is not possible unless the torrential increase in population is stopped. My assertion is supported by Dr. Anstey's observation . . . . (page 298). *Second,* the power of Government of India is overrated. . . . . The Government of a country, however strong its finances may be, must necessarily find it a heavy task to inaugurate rapid social uplift. Perhaps if the attention of the national leaders had been more directed towards social than political work, many of India's most pressing present-day economic and social problems would by now have been solved (page 298). *Thirdly,* the proper place and functions of local authorities in the national tax system have not been realised. . . . We reformed and expanded our provincial tax-system, leaving the local taxes as they were, and upon this flimsy foundation we wanted to build a programme for the re-organisation and expansion of social services" (page 299). The Third Section of Chapter XIII is devoted to "Possible Lines of Progress." After suggesting the making of the tax-system progressive and abandoning "the present passive policy of balancing the budgets" and mobilising national resources for economic development, Dr. Misra warns: "In practice the mobilisation of national resources is fraught with great difficulties. False national pride or vested interests may lead to the whole-hearted adoption of protective tariffs as the most important method to reach the ideal described above" (page 300). Dr. Misra ends this chapter and the book by the following significant paragraph: "In conclusion it can be said that the future of provincial finance depends not only upon the discovery of new taxes, and inauguration of particular schemes of development or new lines of policy, but in the main fundamental social reforms and re-organisation, directed towards controlling the size of the population, breaking up the existing over-rigid social stratification . . . ." (page 301). It is not necessary to add any comments. The words of Dr. Misra speak for themselves and echo the views of his guide, Dr. Vera Anstey.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

BENGALI STAGE : *By Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Published by Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohanbagan Row, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

Any work from the industrious and careful pen of Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji hardly requires an introduction, but speaks for itself. The present sketch is a short English version of his more elaborate and fully documented history of the *Bengali Stage* written in Bengali, but it does not lose its interest on that account. It is meant chiefly for the general reader, but no pains are spared to make it full, accurate and interesting, and the specialist will find much in it that is valuable. The author gives copious quotations from contemporary literature to ensure its exactitude, but he tells his unencumbered story in an easy, clear and attractive manner. It involves much diligent and intelligent research, but also skill in the marshalling and presentation of a mass of facts; and no better work can be recommended to the busy reader who wants to have a short but reliable account in English of an extremely interesting subject.

S. K. De

SCIENCE OF PRANAYAM. Revised and Enlarged Third Edition : *By Swami Sivananda Saraswati. "Ananda Kutir," Rishikesh (Himalayas). Publishers : P. K. Vinayagam & Co., 31, Broadway, Madras.*

The book, published in the Himalayan Yoga Series, aims at giving a popular exposition of a number of Yogic processes including Pranayama and its various types which have been dealt with in some detail. Special mention is made of the physical benefits accruing from the practice of each process. General directions as regards the diet and daily routine of work of an aspirant Yogin are given in an appendix. The book is one of the many that have been published in recent times (two of which were noticed in these pages in February and July, 1933) to popularise Yoga practices particularly from the point of view of their immediate reaction on the human body. That the book enjoys some popularity is indicated by the fact of its passing through three editions within six years of its first publication in 1935. But it suffers from occasional printing mistakes and vague expressions which, of course, are in some cases unavoidable in a book of this type.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

WHERE WILL JAPAN MOVE NEXT? WHEN? *By K. B. Vaidya. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Pp. 80. Price annas eight.*

In this little book the writer examines the possibility or otherwise of Japan attacking Russia, Australia and India and expresses the opinion that danger of a Japanese attack on Russia is most unlikely at present. Although the position and the resources of Eastern Australia are more inviting to Japan, obstacles to an invasion of that continent are so very formidable that she will think seriously before taking such a venture. The question of India is different as Japan has already reached the Indian border by occupying Burma. The writer's reading of the situation is this that Japan is very likely to invade India by land, air and sea from bases near about.

This is a timely publication (October, 1942), and a useful study. The writer has a good grasp of the subject he discusses.

IMPERIALISM UNMASKED : *By Mr. Louis Fischer. Pp. 54. Price annas eight.*

HE FOLLOWS CHRIST : *Pp. 44. Price annas eight.*

These two booklets are Hamara Hindostan publications (Bombay) under the General Editorship of Mr. J. P. Gupta. The first one contains articles originally published in *The Nation* of America which give "very illuminating portraits of British Administration in India and the failure of the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942. The second one contains articles of Mahatma Gandhi on Jesus Christ, Tolerance and Truth, etc. It also contains an article by Prof. H. C. Mookerjee, M.L.A., on Mahatmaji who is described as a True Follower of Christ. A short life sketch of Mahatmaji is also added at the end of this book.

The publishers are doing a good service to the country by publishing these booklets at cheap prices.

A. B. Dutta

BIRTH CONTROL SIMPLIFIED (Describing Effective and Inexpensive Modern Methods of Avoiding Pregnancy) : *By A. P. Pillay. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. With 52 illustrations, 10 diagrams and 4 tables. Pp. 1-138. Price Re. 1-14.*

"From time immemorial, women have abhorred frequent child-births, just as much as they dreaded sterility." Normal instincts of individuals of both sexes for mating and for having children have received considerable check owing to economic stress coupled with the growing consciousness of individual responsibility and the craving for higher standard of living in modern times. Marriage is now considered a luxury and is postponed if not avoided. In partially mitigating the dam on innate sex urge, science of contraceptives has come to the aid of partners in coition and of the married couple. With enlightenment on methods of contraception and their efficacy in warding off responsibility of rearing of children, people are leaning more to their use as a routine business. A good working knowledge of the methods is now a necessity for the adolescent. The book under review imports essential informations about the Physiology and Anatomy of the sex organs and makes out a case for contraception for certain definite conditions. It is a very good book worth reading by every boy or girl. The price is cheap for the quality and quantity of the matter. The methods are dealt with very lucidly. The introduction is really useful while the book as a whole is quite up-to-date. With certain additions and alterations the book should be translated in modern Indian languages for the dissemination of useful knowledge. The slogans may be omitted to make room for knowledge on methods of staying erection with a chapter on the Psychology of Sex.

M. N. Banerji

BRAIN BUILDING FOR ACHIEVEMENT : *By Herbert N. Casson. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.*

In this revolutionized environment of a machine age, the human brain should no longer be a mere museum of ancient knowledge, its existence lies in its working powers. At this hour of confusing political opinions when democracy staggers into moral chaos as in America, when socialism becomes another name for barbarism as in Russia, Mr. Casson has admiration only for the individual-liberty ideal of Great Britain. But, he has a great dislike for the dictator, an individual who may or may not be wise, humane and self-controlled.

Any body proceeding to hand this book over to the Indian students as any secret of success in their examinations will be very much disappointed. Mr. Casson has still a nobler purpose than this in which respect he never

holds a brief for the Pelman system of instruction. This famous *Efficiency Magazine* editor of London does not like that only the competent few will create and maintain civilisation. According to him, every man and woman in the nation should at least feel all the national problems as essentially personal.

A man has two brains. His creative powers are the effects of the Front Brain. The Back Brain is old—300,000 years old, containing the instincts—rage, hate, fear, greed, cruelty and lust. Giving some practical hints on brain development, he goes to suggest use of spare time, possession of a worthwhile purpose, perfection by teaching, test of ideas by action, control of the back-brain, touch with people, travel to foreign countries, and knowledge of the art of recuperation. The author supports his hints with illustrations from great lives out of different spheres of activities.

SANTOS CHATTERJI

THE OTHER WORLD : *By Mr. M. K. Spencer. Published by the New Book Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 2 only.*

In this little volume of 229 pages, the author has dealt with high spiritual matters in a very scientific way. The author has defined Spiritualism as the Science of Truth. It is a happy blend of Science, Religion and Philosophy and is a link between the Finite and the Infinite. It bridges the two worlds—the spiritual and the terrestrial.

The messages of the Spirit World to man reveal that there is one law which governs both the terrestrial and the celestial world, *viz.*, the great Brotherhood of Love. God's law is all based on love. It is law as well as love.

It is not correct to say that spiritualism took its birth in America sometime in 1848 due to the researches made by the famous Fox sisters. India is the centre of world's religious and spiritual thought and it has travelled from India to other countries. India was and is always conscious of the knowledge of spirit communion. The Rishis of India are the World's glory and nothing was unknown to them and they spoke about their spiritual experience in mystic language in the Vedas, Upanishads, Smritis, etc.

Spiritualism declares to man the great truth which is often forgotten by us that nothing happens here by chance and that this world of ours is only a microcosm of the world beyond. As is said in Sloka eleven of the third chapter of the Bhagavad Gita, the remedy for all the evils of the life on earth will be found if the two worlds work in co-operation, but for this is needed absolute honesty of purpose, absolute reliance on God and in His benefaction, love for truth and a sincere desire to serve suffering humanity. Jacob like our Ravan dreamt of a golden ladder extending from earth to heaven for spirits, angels and virtuous men to ascend and descend—the ladder whose foot rests in the deep mire of man's sins and failings but whose summit is lost in the glorious Light of Nirvana.

We have enough of evidence of matters highly spiritual both in our Mahabharata as well as in the Bible. But we must always remember that the centre of spiritual adoration is God and His name when taken in earnestness, sincerity and devotion is sure to drive away all the evils of life. This book will be found a stepping-stone in the right direction.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

BENGALI

MAHATTARA YUDDHER PRATHAM ADHAYA: *By Dr. Hiranmoy Ghoshal, Ph.D. (Warsaw). Published by the National Literature Co., Calcutta. Pp. 339. (illustrated). Price Rs. 3.*

The author was caught in the whirlwind of the Second World War of 1939 when he was engaged as a lecturer on Bengali and Hindi at the University of Warsaw. Before that, he made extensive cultural tours through Great Britain, France and other countries. So in the volume under review, he has given not only a graphic account of the opening days and months of this global war, but has also made highly suggestive statements with regard to the triangular conflict inherent in the European system divided basically into the *Latin, Teutonic* and *Slavonic* cultures and races. Dr. Ghoshal is one of the very few Indians who returned to India mastering the Slavonic languages along with those of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon groups. So his narrative carries the stamp of authenticity when touching the Polish and allied problems. He has given us already artistic adaptation into Bengali of the Tales of Poland; and, in the volume under review, he gives a most moving drama of the Polish Tragedy of 1939. His sympathy for the slaughtered Polish nation would be shared by thousands of Indians who would have the chance of being guided by an expert hand, while surveying the chequered history of a heroic people. Dr. Ghoshal has succeeded in giving to his countrymen not only a reliable episode of the outbreak of the war, but has narrated the same in a Bengali prose style at once brilliant in its inventive skill as it is moving through the undercurrents of profound sympathy. We wish that the author could be encouraged to complete his valuable survey by publishing a complementary volume without which the end of the present book seems abrupt and tantalizing. The typography, the select pictures and general get-up of the volume would attract all book-lovers.

KALIDAS NAG

RABINDRA-GRANTHA-PARICHAYA : *By Brajendra Nath Banerjee. To be had of : Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta. Price annas eight only.*

The author has done a great service to the students of Rabindra literature by bringing out this thoroughly dependable book. Research with the vast and varied Rabindra literature will be easier now that such a trustworthy catalogue has been published. All the books written and edited by the Poet and published since 1878 have been arranged chronologically. The Appendix has been immensely valuable. It contains early poems and songs of the Poet. The author has taken great pains to collect them.

Valuable notes have been added in appropriate cases to explain changes made in subsequent editions or any historical sequence.

Rabindra-Grantha-Parichaya will serve as a golden key to the treasures of Rabindra Literature.

D. B.

SAHITYA SANDARSHAN : *By Srish Chandra Das, Lecturer, Dacca University. Published by Messrs. Chakravarti, Chatterjee & Co. Price Rs. 2.*

It is a nice handbook on principles of literary criticism. Bengali is now being seriously studied in colleges and the publication of a book like this is most opportune. The writer has rendered a valuable service to the teachers and the taught, as well as to others, who are engaged in literary pursuits. His exposition is precise, clear and agreeable.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

NACH GAN HALLA : *Edited by 'Maumachhi.' Published by Madhuchakra, 1/1, Giris Vidyaratna Lane, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book under notice is a novel kind of students' annual. It tends to emphasise only the aesthetic sense

of the children of tender age. It contains poems for recitation, comic poems, short dramas, as well as articles on acting, dancing and music easily intelligible to them. Magic also forms a section. The book will be entertaining to the younger folk.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

BACHUN KI KUCHH SAMASYAEN : *By Kalulal Srimali. Published by Vidya-Bhavana, Udaipur, Rajputana. Pp. 301. Price Re. 1-8.*

It has been truly said that the twentieth century is the century of the child. For, never before has the personality of the latter been analysed and appraised with such insight and integral outlook. And the credit for this contribution to our understanding of the nucleus of social human life goes largely to the psychologist.

In India, however, the problem of the basic value and behaviour of the child has not been studied with the attention it deserves, even among those who are engaged in the field of education. And the few books that are available on the subject are either translations of the well-known works on the same theme in the west or adaptations. Seldom does one come across a thesis, which is marked by independent observation and application of the fundamentals. The book under review, however, fulfils this desideratum.

The author who is an experienced teacher in Vidya-Bhavana, Udaipur, that most progressing of schools in the north, deals with several types of "problem children," the peevish, the provocative, the restive and the delinquent, and suggests workable remedial and reformative measures. The tiny tots, their world and their toys also engage his attention. He discusses, besides, crucial questions like co-education, sex-education and the relation between society and school. His treatment reveals a very wide reading on the subject, for throughout his book he has tried to hold the balance between opposing views and has refrained from being doctrinaire or dogmatic. In short, *Bachun Ki Kuchh Samasyaen* is a helpful companion to every instructor of children in the home, in the class-room and in the extra-curricular atmosphere which impinges on the life of a student.

G. M.

TAMIL

TAMILAN HIRUDAYA (THE HEART OF TAMILS) : *By Namakkal V. Ramalingam Pillai. Published by Tamil Pannai, Pallathur-Devakottai. Tamil Pannai Series No. 1. Feather-weight paper. Calico bound. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The author, an artist by profession, is no less proficient in his literary productions. He has been for the last twenty years and more an ardent admirer and humble follower of B. G. Tilak, V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, Barathi and Gandhiji, and helping the spread of every movement with his simple songs of praise and patriotic fervour. There is not even a hamlet in Tamil Nad that has not heard his Satyagraha song sung when the movement was last raging throughout the country. His other equally famous songs—the greatness of Tamils, an appeal to Tamil youths, what is freedom and who is a Chandala—abound in eternal values of convincing truths and call for action. All these and many more valuable songs are included in this collection. The book deserves therefore to be in the hands of every Tamilian for his inspiration and guidance to active and useful life.

MADHAVAN

TELUGU

KANNATALLI : *By Sri Vidwan J. J. Sastri. Printed at Laxmi Swadeshi Press, Anantapur. Pp. 32.*

This booklet contains two long poems in elegant verse. The first part brings out vividly a series of recollections at the sad demise of the poet's mother. Broadly speaking, the motherhood portrayed here stands for Indian Motherhood. In the second part, Nature is interpreted as a Divine Mother after the manner of the Pantheists.

The poet has an eye for familiar things and expresses his feelings in terms of imagination. With suggestive metaphors, the poems are full of emotional fervour.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

SHRI HEMCHANDRA ACHARYA : *By Dhuma Ketu. Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1941. Thick Card Board. Pp. 234. Price Re. 1-8.*

A critical biography of the *Panini* of Gujarat, based on all available material up to date from the pen of a noted writer and critic, this book will take a high place in the vast literature that has gathered round the life and life-work of Hemchandra Acharya who flourished eight hundred years ago. The way in which the very traditions about this outstanding personality in the history of old Gujarat, have been tested in the light of modern research is a special feature of this work. For instance, the belief is that the Acharya missed no opportunity to advance the cause of Jain religion with Suddharaj Jayasinh : in fact he was a fanatic that way. The result of the author's test makes him out to be an extremely tolerant person, who held the Brahmin's religion in high regard. There are several other similar instances given throughout the work and it is that aspect of it which makes it valuable.

KUMARNAN STRI RATNO : *By Indulal K. Yojnik. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Printing Press, Baroda. 1942. Paper Cover. Pp. 240. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is the third edition of a book written eighteen years ago and noticed at that time. Rapid and violent changes during the interval between the first and third editions in the social and domestic life of Gujarat make the narratives read like pages of past history and Mr. Yojnik states as much in his Preface to the present edition; otherwise they furnish interesting reading.

LAGNANI BEDI : *By Bipin Jhaveri, M.A., and Kanti Barodia, B.Com. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. 1942. Thick Cover. Bound with illustrated jacket. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a very good translation of the well-known Marathi author, P. K. Atre's play on the "Fetters of Marriage." The art and humour of the original are fully preserved and the language used is simple and expressive.

(1) JINDAGI NO ANAND, (2) MODHANO BAGICHO : *By Dr. K. D. Jila. Printed at the Anand Sagar Press, Navsari. 1941. Paper Cover. Pp. 48:24. Price annas ten.*

The Joy of Living and the Garden of the March are Nos. 23 and 24 of Dr. Jila's Dental Series, meant to instruct the general public as to the necessity of observing strict rules in respect of oral hygiene and specially the preservation of teeth. The contents are so well set out that any one can follow them.

K. M. J.

LAW IN WARTIME

BY P. RAJESWARA RAO, B.Com., B.L.

RULE of law thrives in peace time. According to Prof. Dicey :

> "Rule of law in the first place, means the absolute supremacy of predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power and excludes the existence of arbitrariness, of prerogative or even of wide discretionary authority on the part of Government."

Order is the outcome of reign of law. Hence law and order are the pre-requisites of peace. There is subtle difference between the law enforced within a country and the law that regulates the relations between different sovereign States. The former is the ordinary law enforced by every country within its territory and the latter is called the international law with no sanctions behind it save public opinion and various treaties and engagements. Violation of law is the root cause of all disorders and disturbances. Violation of law within a country results in revolutions, rebellions, civil wars and the like and disregard for international law leads to wars and world conflagrations. Even in peace time, no sovereign State likes to assume the responsibility of enforcing the provisions of international law for fear of offending the alleged guilty nation. Hoare-Laval pact sought to sabotage the Abyssinian cause for this very reason. That is why the League of Nations could not secure respect for international law on vital matters. Japan in spite of its unprovoked aggression, active hostility and manifest violence escaped scot-free all these years. Indecision during the Spanish civil war which was in fact engineered by the fascist powers and the subsequent policy of appeasement of the aggressor by the democracies culminated in the present war. In wartime innumerable impediments prevent the reign of law. We have had experience of one world war. Again we are in the midst of a second world war. At this juncture it is very necessary to understand and appreciate the rule of law both in the national and international spheres.

In normal times citizens of democratic countries enjoy a number of rights and privileges. Foremost of them are, the freedom of speech, of association and of action within the limits of law. Usually Governments do not interfere with the liberties of their citizens so long as the public peace and tranquillity are not endangered. Even in a case of dispute between a citizen and the Government, justice is administered by the courts of law without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. Under a dictator's regime the conditions are quite the reverse, even in peace time. Under an autocracy, citizens cannot claim anything as a matter of right or privilege; they have to depend on the will and pleasure of the dictator and his caucus at all times. In peace time the relations between different sovereign States are regulated by the provisions of the treaties concerned and the acknowledged canons of international law. There may of course be lapses here and there; and they are usually tolerated.

Under war conditions the Government gradually resumes almost all the powers hitherto enjoyed by the people. Then the State authority will be so strong, so pervasive and so penetrating that it will virtually become autocratic in character and content. Hence the existence of the war powers, emergency powers and the inherent powers in every democratic constitution is significant. All the available forces are pressed into the service of the State. The voice of the citizens grows feebler day by day. As a rule, national parliaments meet at long intervals, whenever they meet they merely ratify the decisions of the Cabinet. Important work is transacted in secret sessions. Some times foreign States are taken into confidence behind the back of the national parliaments. The British cabinet consulted the Government of the U.S.A. in arriving at important decisions regarding the Herr Hess episode without the knowledge of the parliament. The parliament is as ignorant as a man in the street regarding the Malayan muddle, bungling in Burma, losses in Libya and the like. All that they know is the information doled out by the cabinet at its convenience. Even the national parliaments hesitate to assert their position and insist on their rights, for no one likes to create a crisis and change horses in the midstream, unless something very serious takes place. This is the secret of Mr. Churchill 'winning debate after debate in the parliament, while losing battle after battle at the front.'

Things that are inconceivable in peace time become every-day experience in wartime. The short-lived non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and the united front presented by the collaboration of the U.S.A., Great Britain, Russia and China are indeed thrilling instances. In order to achieve such extraordinary results the obstacles set up by the national and international laws and the

diametrically opposite ideologies have to be surmounted at a stretch. Curiously no uniform policy is followed while implementing these sudden and surprising moves. The ban on the publication of *Daily Worker*, the organ of the communist party of Britain, is not lifted even after Russia became an ally. Communists continue to be suspected and harassed throughout the British Empire. In spite of tall talks of democracy and self-determination no serious and sincere efforts are made to solve the political deadlock in India.

Legislative powers are delegated to the executive to facilitate quick decisions. Even in Great Britain the experience of such a process is not of recent origin. There are a good many number of instances of such delegation even as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Gradually delegated legislation became a feature of the ninteenth century. The practice received a special emphasis during the last war and is of daily occurrence at the present day. The judicial committee gave an impetus to a large-scale delegation by the leading decisions in *The Queen* v. *Burah* and *Hodge* v. *The Queen* by holding that the colonial and dominion legislatures have plenary authority to provide for the extension of an Act by an executive fiat or to clothe the executive with a rule-making power to carry out the purposes of the Act. Regarding this theory of delegating power to make regulations ancillary to legislation, it has been suggested that there is no power to pass skeleton legislation and empower the government to clothe the bare bones. Such a process it has been argued is not delegation but abdication, *i.e.*, it cannot create and endow with its own capacity a new legislative power not created by the Act to which it owes its existence. The only effective check on delegated legislation is the judicial jurisdiction to test the vires of the rules enacted with reference to the scope and intendment of the main enactment. Of late, even this power of judicial review has been sought to be curtailed by various parliamentary devices, such as a provision that the publication in Gazette shall be conclusive evidence that certain requirements of an Act have been complied with or that a rule shall not be liable to be questioned before a court or a provision that a rule shall have the same effect as an Act of Parliament.

Under democracy the liberty of a subject is a matter of prime concern in war as in peace. It will be a sorry day if that ever ceases to be true. It is therefore both inevitable and right that public attention should have been immediately arrested by the notable dissenting judgment delivered by Lord Atkin in the House of Lords. This case arises out of the well-known regulation 18-B, which authorises the detention, in effect—the imprisonment, by the Home Secretary of any person whom he deems it necessary to hold confined in the interests of national security. In a recent unsuccessful debate on the same regulation, Commander Bower (Conservative) declared in the House of Commons that it was fundamentally wrong and opposed to traditions of British justice that any one person should sit in judgment over the personal liberty of his fellow citizens. Commander Sir Archibald Southy who is also a conservative added that the Home Secretary was the judge, the jury and the court of appeal. Obviously that is not a power which the House of Commons willingly granted or which anyone gladly sees exercised. Imprisonment without trial or appeal to the court is a defiance of Habeas Corpus Act and of Magna Charta itself. In peace time it would be inconceivable. But in wartime the principle that the safety of the State is the highest law is still accepted. Lord Atkin's dissent in *Liversedge* v. *Anderson* will when this war is ended take its place with Lord Camden's judgment in *Entick* v. *Canington* and the parallel dissent in the last war of Lord Shaw in *Rex* v. *Halliday* as a classic vindication of a principle which the English believe central to the maintenance of civil liberty. To meet this criticism there is at present an advisory committee presided over by Sir Norman Birket. According to the last returns laid before parliament in 1468, out of 1583 cases so far heard, the Home Secretary acted upon the committee's recommendations. There are still 546 persons in detention. Lord Atkin said in his dissent that the argument of the Attorney-General might well have been addressed to the Star Chamber. There would be safeguards in judicial proceedings which the present procedure does not secure. There is the historic assurance of the independence of the judiciary. There is also the duty incumbent upon the Home Secretary to make a case for his decision, capable of satisfying a court whose mission is to safeguard the liberty of a subject as a matter not less vital to our future than the expediency of the moment. It is today commonplace among lawyers that the dissent of Lord Shaw in 1917 was justice and not the majority opinion against him. Lord Maugham's violent criticism of Lord Atkin's judgment in his letter

to the *Times* raises an issue of judicial etiquette, which no doubt will be settled by tactful discussion among the judges themselves. It is perhaps worthwhile to recall the remark of Prof. Harold J. Laski, that the silence of Lord Atkin is not less emphatic than the indignation of his colleague. It is a silence more likely to be felt in history.

The law of sedition in India has been a source of irritation and humiliation in peace time. The wording of the Section 124-A of the Penal Code which deals with it, if literally construed and applied, would rope in a surprisingly large number of persons as propagators of sedition, who in the administration of that law in England would be outside its pale. We all remember that shortly after the enactment of this new section of the Penal Code, the term "disaffection" was attempted to be construed as want of affection. Mahatma Gandhi described it as the prince of the penal sections. Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was pressed into service to deal with the political agitators during the Viceroyalty of Lord Reading the legal luminary, which synchronized with the tenure of our distinguished constitutional lawyer Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Law Member to the Government of India. Subsequent measures like the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Princes Protection Act and the Press Act made the matters worse. At present the arm of the Defence of India Act is spreading far and wide. The rules thereunder are tightening its grip day by day. There is no escape from it. It would pass the wit of man, certainly the wit of a constitutional lawyer worth his salt to comprehend its far-reaching implications and device an escape through it. Freedom of expression of one's opinion on public affairs either in the press or on the platform has contributed to the strength and glory of the democratic ideals. At this juncture it is refreshing to find a restatement of the law of sedition as applicable to India in the decision of the Federal Court in *Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar* v. *the Emperor*. The learned Chief Justice of India in his considered judgment observed that acts or words complained of must either incite to disorder or must be such as to satisfy reasonable men that that is the intention or tendency. The time is long past when the mere criticism of Government was sufficient to constitute sedition, for it is recognised that the right to utter honest and reasonable criticism is a source of strength to a community rather than a weakness. Criticism of an existing system of Government is not excluded, not even expression of a desire for a different system altogether. The right of every organised society to protect itself against attempts to overthrow it cannot be denied, but the attempt which has seemed grave to one age may be the subject of ridicule in another. Abusive language even when used about the Government, is not necessarily seditious, and that there are certain words and phrases, which have so long become the stock-in-trade of the demagogue as almost to have lost all real meaning. Sedition is a grave offence, a prosecution for which is a formidable weapon in the hands of the Government; but for that very reason it is all the more necessary to remember that opinions, and even the violent expression of opinion, do not necessarily fall within it. No doubt the occasion and circumstances of a speech are to be taken into consideration. All that deserves to be said on the question just at this juncture when the enemy is at the gate has been said with dignity, clarity and forcefulness and the Government would do well to take note and remember the general principles that should deter or determine them in setting the law of sedition in motion in respect of any speech or writing.

"When the war comes," we are told, "the law goes." History records few periods marked by such world-shaking developments as have occurred in the last decade. Dictatorships have displaced governments of the people. Government of law has been discarded in favour of government by men. International law and treaties have been flouted. The liberties and values which free men had come to take for granted have been in many countries destroyed and are everywhere in danger. It is interesting to note that the best international jurists (in the scholastic sense) have always been the Germans and Italians. Needless to say that international law was seriously taken only by small nations, as their security and existence depend on it. In Czechoslovakia and Albania it enjoyed an equal status with the constitution. It is wrong to think that international law ceases to exist altogether in wartime. Even the Axis powers thought it fit to respect the neutrality of Turkey and Switzerland. Protecting powers like Spain, Switzerland and Argentina are permitted to look after the interests of the allied national in the countries overrun by the enemy and *vice versa*. So far there is no gas warfare on a large scale. The international red cross has adequate scope to attend the sick and disabled in the various theatres of war. As far

as possible only military objectives and strategic centres are attacked... There are now proposals for the exchange of disabled and sick prisoners of war between the belligerents and to supply foodstuffs to some of the Nazi-occupied countries to prevent famine. Postal service and other amenities to the prisoners of war are not interfered with.

Besides, international law is undergoing some curious changes. The attitude of Spain is described as one of "non-belligerency." This novel term is newly added to international law. The sympathies of Spain are undoubtedly with the Axis powers. The only limitation is that sympathy is not openly translated into effective action. Prior to its entry into the war the U.S. A. also occupied a peculiar position by virtue of the lease and lend operations. The Pan-American Conference at the instance of Columbia, Mexico and Venezuela wanted to insist on the rupture of relations with Japan, Germany and Italy, because Japan was the first to attack the U.S.A. and the other two declared war immediately. This is an attitude consistent with the acknowledged principles of the Munro doctrine. But the original resolution had to be modified at the instance of Argentina and Chile. The result is a recommendatory resolution approving a formula for rupture of relations with the Axis powers in accordance with the laws and circumstances of each country. Indeed, it is a loose and in some respects a lamentable interpretation and timorous fulfilment of the Munro doctrine. We are told that Abyssinia is liberated and Negus is on the throne again. But the country is flooded with a number of military and political advisers. Prof. A. B. Keith, a great authority on constitutional law, felt that the British were imposing on Abyssinia what was nothing short of a protectorate. He asked that why should the youth of the United nations be sacrificed to add a new territory to the British Empire. He suggested that the only honourable course was to make an alliance with the Emperor of Ethiopia and hand him money and skilled administrators and they should work as servants only. The advice should be given not by a British agent but by a British minister or ambassador. Lastly, the British Premier sought to exclude India from the benefits of the Atlantic Charter, though Major Atlee, the Deputy Premier, proclaimed that the charter would apply to India as well. President Roosevelt did not of course make any public statement regarding the application of the Atlantic Charter to India. But in an interview with Sir R. K. Sanmukham Chetty, the President was reported to have concurred in the view that notwithstanding what Mr. Churchill might say, the world has taken the Atlantic Charter as one of universal application, and not confined to any particular race, region or religion. Sir Sanmukham further added, perhaps rightly, that India would consider Roosevelt as a guarantor of the pledge implied in the Charter to the Indian people and that India would look to him to ensure implementing of the principles contained in the Charter. After all Altantic Charter is a commitment by two parties. An interpretation of it by one of the parties to it is not quite the proper thing. Attempts are being made in high quarters to question its legality and propriety. They contend that at best it might be described as an understanding between those that happen to be the heads of two governments, arrived at somewhere on the Atlantic, obviously outside the territorial limits of their respective States. It is argued that the result of such an understanding is only an expression of opinion or enunciation of attitude and can never be a valid commitment. The instances cited so far are merely illustrative and not in any sense exhaustive.

Even in the midst of a war, unprecedented for its intensity and magnitude and with no parallel in the history of the world, the subject of law continues to receive the attention it deserves. In spite of the frequent bombardment of London by the enemy, Privy Council continues to work as before. Of course the judicial output of the Privy Council since the beginning of the war is rather poor. Even in the midst of checks and counterchecks the arm of law continues to spread far and wide. It is interesting to note that the Government of India have now under consideration the question of expansion of the appellate powers of the Federal Court and of vesting it with jurisdiction to hear appeals which now go to the Privy Council. The Government of India circulated their proposals to the various High Courts and their Bars for eliciting their opinion thereon. The proposals received overwhelming support from various High Courts, the solitary opponent being the Calcutta High Court. But public opinion in Bengal itself as voiced by their representatives in the Central Assembly is entirely one with the rest of the country. The reason for extension of jurisdiction is not merely the sentimental ground of making India self-sufficient in the judicial

sphere, though it is an all-important and all-embracing reason. Due to war and the incidental difficulties of communications the Privy Council section of one High Court, it is understood, has not received any communication from London for months. Besides, the working of the Federal Court has shown that such extension is imperative in the interests of the country itself. The Rao Committee prepared the ground for the codification of Hindu law. It is understood that two Bills will be placed before the Central Assembly shortly. It is a proof positive of the fact that even wars cannot interfere with the expansion of law. In the fitness of things Mr. H. G. Wells came out with his declaration of rights of man, which gave rise to a thought-provoking discussion in the press and on the platform. There is also an insistent demand for a Pacific Charter to supplement the Atlantic Charter. The rehabilitation of law and order in the post-war world is engaging the active attention of the thinking men all over the world.

Administration of law is the civilized man's mode of settling disputes. Settlement by combats, fights and wars is the primitive man's method. It may be of interest to know that rule of law forms the basis of even ancient Hindu jurisprudence, though the expression may not have had precisely the same significance. In the Vedic and the Upanishadic texts there is a frequent reference to the monarch being under the sway of law. "By upholding the law," says the *Arthasashtra* "the king becomes the realm-sustainer." The *Brihadaranyakopanishad*, emphasises the idea of the law being the king of kings. Prof. Jayaswal and Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar, in their interesting and instructive treatise, have thrown considerable light on the subject. We are in the midst of a struggle against a combination of powers bent on flouting all the rules of international law and attempting to introduce into the relations between the nations the law of the jungle. It is in such crisis that it is the duty of the lawyer to inform and lead public opinion. It is important for the lawyer to bear in mind that he is as much a citizen as a lawyer. He has to fight a big battle in defence of freedom, for the maintenance of the representative institutions and for the preservation of the most precious elements of our democratic civilization. Every endeavour should be made to maintain the prestige of law and respect for it. It is hoped that the rule of law continues to be the governing factor in the adjustment of legal relations and determination of legal rights between individuals and as well as nations.

VASANT PANCHAMI

BY CYRIL MODAK

'Tis not in petals of the rose
Alone the blush is seen,
The pain-empurpled violet glows
A purple-robèd queen;
The blood in my own pulses flows
To beat of tambourine,
While saffron-mantled Spring
On sunlight-swing
Doth Sing,
Sing,
Sing !

To flame her breath has touched the sky,
To nectar turned the dew;
And in my heart her body's sigh
Has left a sigh for you !
'Tis festival of hope,.....Come nigh,
Let heart greet heart anew,....
While saffron-mantled Spring
On sunlight-swing
Doth sing,
Sing,
Sing !

A youth-intoxicated breeze
Has caught my heart, a leaf,
And whirls it in mad ecstasies
The while: 'twill come to grief,
Love, save my heart; I'll give as fees
Of songs a golden sheaf,....
While saffron-mantled Spring
On sunlight-swing
Doth sing,
Sing,
Sing !

Once let my parchèd lips touch thine,
Once to my joyless soul
Hold thee.... I will not spill the wine
Of kisses from that bowl !
The tortured world will seem divine
'Neath martyr's gloriole....
And saffron-mantled Spring
On sunlight-swing
Will sing,
Sing,
Sing !

THE METALLIC ORE RESOURCES OF THE U. S. S. R.

By Academician A. E. FERSMAN,

Stalin Prize-winner and the Director of the Institute of Geological Sciences, U. S. S. R.

The gigantic plans for the industrialization of the Soviet Union and the constant care of its government to strengthen the country's defensive power, have created an ever-increasing demand for ores both iron and non-magnetic metals, especially in the eastern parts of the country where, far from the political frontiers, large industrial centres were springing up.

To the Soviet geologists fell the responsible task of searching for and studying about new, large deposits of metallic ores. Under the guidance, with the consent, help and support of the Soviet government during its existence of twenty-five years, a very considerable progress has been made in this field.

In 1901 Russia's known resources of iron ore were estimated at 1,500 million tons, and were the fifth largest in the world. But after extensive geological researches over a number of years, the surveyed resources of iron ore, according to the figures published by Academician Gubkin in 1938, had risen to 267 thousand million tons, and Russia now occupied the second place in the world in respect of iron ores in general and rich ores in particular. As regards the surveyed resources of individual metallic ores today, the Soviet Union holds the first place in iron, manganese and lead; the second place in zinc, nickel; the third place in copper and chromium.

In the decade preceding the present war (1929 to 1939), a particularly large increase was noticed in the deposition of survey. According to the All-Union Geological Fund, the known iron ore resources per head of the population of the U. S. S. R. amounted to 56 tons on January 1, 1929 and 1,567 tons on January 1, 1939. The resources of manganese ore per head of the population on the same dates were 1.6 tons and 4.7 tons respectively.

But these figures alone do not exhaust the value of iron ore deposits of the U. S. S. R. They possess two other features: first, their extreme diversity in the chemical composition, and secondly, their wide geographical distribution over the entire territory of the country. The Soviet Union has ores of high purity, as in the Urals, or with high admixture of titanium, sometimes vanadium, or of the character of natural alloys containing certain admixtures of chromium, nickel and cobalt. There are ores with a high percentage of phosphorite, and exceedingly pure ores containing only a thousandth of one per cent phosphorite. There are ores with very heavy iron contents as those of the Magnitnaya Mountain—65%—and pure ores containing only thirty-five or forty per cent of iron, but of a high quality and immense deposits.

The prospecting and the surveying carried out in the past few years has shown that in the U. S. S. R. there are five iron ore deposits, each containing over a thousand million tons and distributed all over the country: from the Kola peninsula in the north to the far east.

But, as we know, the value of iron ore deposits depends not only on their character, but also on the admixtures they contain. In this respect the Soviet Union is not badly off, notwithstanding the fact that the geographical distribution is not always favourable. This defect is, however, being corrected by the more recent discoveries. In the past few years, for instance, large deposits of manganese have been discovered in western Siberia, and this opens up new vistas of the supply of this metal to the large steel plants of the Urals and western Siberia.

An important alloy admixture in the steel industry is chromium. There are large deposits of this metal in the Urals where it is widely used in the other branches of the industry as well. Of the other metals used in the steel alloys we know numerous deposits: wolfram, as well as molybdenum and vanadium. As regards the deposits of nickel and the rare metals which accompany it, the Soviet Union may well lay claim to the second place in the world, although it was not so long ago that the Soviet Union was considered to be poor in this metal: it was being smelted only in the Urals where plants were built only in 1934-35.

Of the non-ferrous metals the Soviet Union is richest in copper, and the largest deposits of that metal, as well as soft lead and zinc, are to be found in Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan, the adjacent parts of the Altai and Central Asia, contain enormous resources, both of these metals and their satellites: cadmium, indium, bismuth, antimony and arsenic.

In certain deposits of the Tianshan there are also uranium, radium, thorium. However, as far as the extraction is concerned, the Urals will still hold the first place until the erection of large plants in Kazakhstan and Central Asia is complete.

If on the map we were to trace meridian's fifty-five degrees west of Greenwich, and ninety-five degrees east, we should circumscribe the zone of non-ferrous metals only in the Caucasus, the Kola peninsula, the far east and also the remote regions which are still unsurveyed. The north would be excluded. Outside this region also lie tin deposits. In its western part copper predominates; in the eastern lead, mercury and silver.

The Urals, Altai, Tianshan, Kazakhstan steppe comprise deposits of diverse non-ferrous metals, and there can be no doubt that the prospective results will be very considerable when a large number of surveyors will pierce the plains and fields of the western Siberia and Kazakhstan.

A prominent place in the picture is held by various aluminium ores, and especially bauxites: deposits of which are known in various parts of the Soviet Union—near Leningrad and Moscow, in Bashkirin and the western and eastern Siberia. However, the principal deposits are concentrated in the Urals.

As the surveyed deposits of non-ferrous and rare metals increase, mining also expands.

According to the data supplied by Voznesensky, the Chairman of the State Planning Commission, in 1932-40 the output of aluminium ores increased by 180 times; molybdenum concentrates, 20 times; tin $10\frac{1}{2}$ times; nickel 11.3 times; copper 6 times.

The vast resources of the various metallic ores, discovered during the period of the existence of the Soviet government, in the eastern regions of the country, are of immense importance today when the Soviet Union is engaged in war with Hitler's Germany. These resources are more than adequate, and are being exploited on a far greater scale than ever before.

THE LATE HAJEE E. M. PURUK

Great Loss to South African Indians

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

I HAVE just received a cablegram from South Africa announcing the sad death of Hajee Esmail Mohammed Puruk, President of the Natal Indian Congress and the Grand Old Man of South Africa, who has passed away peacefully at his residence in Durban at the age of seventy-six. He had been in poor health for some months but death came unexpectedly. His association wtih me for the last several years had been a very close one, and I had come to regard him with the greatest affection. To say that the death of this patriotic Indian is a great loss to the community is no exaggeration. By his death, the Natal Indians have lost a brave comrade, a faithful friend, a generous benefactor and a great leader. He had been so closely associated with all the activities of the Natal Indian Congress for a number of years that it is difficult to imagine how his vacant place can be filled. As the President of the Natal Indian Congress, he discharged his responsibilities by drawing largely on his private resources to finance its public activities.

Born at Kathore (Surat) in 1867, he arrived in Natal from Mauritius with merchandise in 1884 and opened a store in Durban eventually developing one of the biggest business houses in the Province. Apart from commerce, he extended his interests in industry, taking controlling share, and afterwards becoming proprietor of the Glandale Sugar Mill and the Inanda Tea Estate, and was one of the largest employers of the Indian labour. While not seeking the lime-light of publicity, he was interested in Indian affairs, encouraging both with money and service. During the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's term of office as Agent-General, he had placed his beautiful bungalow in Currie Road, Durban, at the disposal of Sastriji. His business acumen was unparalleled and this gave him the power of purse and he used it liberally for the welfare of his countrymen in South Africa.

Hajee Puruk was a great Indian. His generosity knew no bounds. He was a noted philanthropist. His various charities will ever live as a colossal monument to his memory. He was loved by one and all. The generations to come will also remember him for his charity and selfless service. Has any one in South Africa done as much as late Hajee Puruk? His noble example might well be copied by the Indian merchants in South Africa. All may not be able to do so much, but I feel sure that many might do something of the sort on a smaller scale.

The news of his death will no doubt be a shock throughout the South African Indian world and a blow to the struggling community. He was looked upon as the leader and guide of the Indian settlers and there was no movement in which he was not consulted and nothing was done without his advice and consent in the struggle for existence in South Africa. To those of us who saw him and consulted him often, the loss is cruel, heavy and irreparable. Whatever be the future, we know that his life was exemplary, and that to those of us who are still stumbling on the world's great altar stairs, his words and actions will be an incentive to mount to the highest step, as he would wish, and to join in the labour of doing all that can be done for the people whom he loved. I sincerely offer my heartfelt sympathy to Suleman, Mohamed and family in their sad bereavement. May Parmatama grant eternal peace to the departed soul,—is the fervent prayer of the writer.

December 31, 1942

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE WAR

American Universities are doing their best to fulfil their part of the task of achieving victory and building a better world for the future.

Realizing that total war is war on all fronts and with all weapons, the universities and colleges in America are aiding the war effort with special vigor. Their contribution is in two fields : research work for the U.S. Government, and training of manpower for the prosecution of the war. At the same time American educational institutions continue their regular academic courses training the young people of the Nation for the future, as well as for the present. Curricula have been expanded and the school terms speeded up and shortened in most universities.

The Office of Scientific Research and Development was recently formed by the United States Government to assist in the prosecution of the war by mobilizing the best scientific ability of the Nation to discover new and better instruments of warfare. Its object is to give soldiers the best possible equipment ; thereby to give them the best possible fighting chance against the enemy. Its purpose is to enlist the ingenuity, skill and knowledge of American scientists and engineers for the production of new instruments, devices and mechanisms of warfare. Since the majority of the most talented scientific research men are to be found in the universities of America, the Office of Scientific Research and Development has contracted with universities for carrying on specified research projects in their own laboratories. According to President Carl T. Compton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the foremost technical institutions in America, contracts had been entered into with 94 universities and colleges up to May 6, 1942. Some 663 approved research projects were under way, involving 7,500 research scholars.

War Training Courses

American universities are also contributing to the war effort by training manpower for the prosecution of the war. From July 1 to August 22 of this year, 1,686 war training courses were approved, to be given by 156 colleges and universities. By the end of the year, more than 500,000 students were enrolled in these courses. Comparing that number with the total annual student enrolment—1,350,000—in the 1,700 colleges and universities of the United States, the magnitude of this war service becomes apparent.

Shortly after the United States entered the war, plans for accelerating academic courses were set up by various colleges and universities. Departments of physics and chemistry, and schools of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, engineering and business management decided to go on a basis of continuous operation. Many colleges of arts and other professional schools joined the accelerated programme. In addition to shortening regular terms by having longer day sessions, and fewer holidays, acceleration meant long summer terms for 1942.

At the request of the universities, some $5,000,000 has been appropriated by the United States Congress for use as grants to universities, to help students taking special courses as doctors, dentists, chemists, physicists and management engineers, all of whom are essential to the war effort.

Post-War Planning

In addition to their function as agencies to which the nation can turn for many types of specific training, American colleges and universities are charged with the responsibility of making the issues of the war understood, and planning for the peace to follow —a peace based on enduring principles of justice and humanity. Dedicated to this high purpose, the curricula of liberal arts colleges are being modified to serve this purpose.

Regarding the wartime programme of American universities, John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, has stated the view of American educators. He said:

> "In the emphasis, eitirely proper and necessary in wartime, upon the training of scientific and technical specialists for which the colleges and universities are the source, we must not forget that the liberal arts are indispensable in the education of free men for a free world.
>
> "The United States will not fulfil its part in the present world revolution solely or even mainly by the use of military and naval might. Our part in establishing a new and better world order will be as much spiritual as it is material. War may remove certain obstacles to the attainment of this better world, but war itself cannot create goodwill and freedom and true democracy.
>
> "It is to the liberal disciplines of the schools and colleges that we must look, therefore, for the development of persons fit for freedom—men and women who can accept the moral responsibilities of liberty under law; and who will work co-operatively to help all nations to achieve the higher freedom in which the full meaning of our common brotherhood can be realized. I am confident that our American universities in wartime will not fail in fulfilment of either part of the task, not only of achieving victory, but also of ushering in that better world."

Courtesy : U. S. Office of War Information

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Gandhiji's Entrance into Politics

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India early in January, 1915, partly because the work which had kept him in South Africa was practically finished and partly because many friends like Gokhale and Sir Pherozshah Mehta had, for a long time, insisted on his presence in our motherland so that they might utilise his services in national work. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

In South Africa, he had already taken the vow of chastity to which he now added that of poverty for, in coming to India, he was surrendering a lucrative practice which at that time was yielding over £3,000 a year. It is therefore correct to assume that he came to us as an unselfish public servant desirous of taking his place side by side with the lowliest and the poorest and of suffering hardship and poverty with them. These were some of the reasons which made India welcome him as the Mahatma, the Great Soul, of modern India.

Gandhiji attended the Congress of 1915 but he did not take any active part in it.

As a matter of fact, when Motilal Nehru and others who knew something of his activities in South Africa urged him to enter politics, he refused to do so saying that he preferred waiting for the call and for the right time. There was also the fact that Gokhale whom Gandhiji regarded as his *raja guru* had made him promise that he would refrain from making any public pronouncement on Indian politics until he had been in our motherland for at least one year. This was because Gokhale regarded some of the views to which he had given expression in his *Hind Swaraj* published in South Africa as extreme and he hoped that contact with and first-hand knowledge of Indian problems would tone them down. Faithful to the promise he had given, Gandhiji made home at Ahmedabad where he established his Satyagraha Ashram.

Making this industrial centre his headquarters, Mahatma Gandhi undertook long and laborious tours all over India to acquire intimate knowledge of the actual condition of the people.

The reputation he had won in South Africa ensured his welcome everywhere.

As now, he travelled third class and championed the cause of third class passengers urging on the railway authorities their obvious duty of reducing the overcrowding and removing the many disadvantages to which these people were subjected. At the same time, he exhorted his countrymen to practise courtesy in travel and to resist bullying from railway servants and fellow-travellers.

It was also at this time that Gandhiji utilised every opportunity that presented itself to point out the wickedness underlying untouchability and told his countrymen that they could not be regarded as fit for Swaraj so long as they tolerated this great evil. It was during this period also that he took the leadership in the Champaran, Kaira and Ahmedabad struggles which have been referred to elsewhere.

Just before Mr. Montagu's visit to India in November, 1917, Mahatma Gandhi was the first to suggest the scheme of a monster petition supporting the Congress-League scheme of reforms and organised with outstanding success the work of securing signatures in his native province of Gujerat. Broadly speaking, up to this time, this was the only occasion on which he took an active part in politics.

At the request of the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri he gave his views on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report immediately after its publication.

Dated the 18th July, 1918, it was in the form of a letter addressed to Mr. Sastri. It undoubtedly proves that he considered the proposals as an honest effort to fulfil the pledge given by Mr. Moutagu in the House of Commons. He advised his countrymen to regard the proposals sympathetically though at the same time he admitted that they needed further liberalising. It ended with an appeal to support Britain in the war which was still going on.

This letter possesses a special significance proving as it does that, up to this time, Mahatma Gandhi had not the slightest desire to embarrass the British administration and also that he was more than willing to help it in all possible ways. It may be regarded as the first public utterance of Mahatma Gandhi on Indian politics.

At this time, Gandhiji could not be regarded as an All-India figure. People respected him as one more interested in fighting injustice which affected the masses than in politics as they understand it. This was natural in view of the leadership he had supplied in the Champaran, Kaira and Ahmedabad struggles. They did not realise the extent to which his hold on the masses was gradually extending.

He was not, however, considered by the public as a man of outstanding political importance.

It was noted that his way of thinking and of approaching a problem was different, that with all his humility, he had confidence in himself flowing not from conceit but from the consciousness of power, that his influence over his audience was due to the sincerity of his purpose which was readily acknowledged by his hearers and commanded their respect.

One is inclined to the opinion that, but for the blunder it made in passing the Rowlatt Act against the unanimous opposition of India, Mahatma Gandhi would have continued to co-operate with Government though, at the same time, he would not have hesitated to point out what he considered its mistakes.

Mahatma Gandhi attended the War Conference at Delhi in April, 1918.

Not being the man to confine this support to words only, he undertook long and arduous tours in his own province, Gujerat, to induce the masses to join the Labour Corps. His health broke down under the strain and his life was despaired of.

Gandhiji's friends removed him for medical treatment to the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad. In the meantime, the war had come to an end and with it the need for men.

It was while he was making a slow recovery that he read a summary of the Rowlatt Committee Report in the papers.

He told Vallabhbhai Patel that India must enter her most vigorous protest against any legislation based on its recommendations. In that connection Mahatma Gandhi observed that the struggle could be carried to a successful issue even by a handful of genuine Satyagrahis and that had it not been for the weak state of his health he alone, if necessary, would have given immediate battle.

In the meantime, Mahatma Gandhi was corresponding with prominent Indian politicians. At the Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad, there are copies of letters addressed by him to Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, dated the 8th February and to the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, dated the 9th February, 1919. In the second of these he says, "I can no longer render peaceful obedience to a power that is capable of such a piece of devilish legislation; and I invite all to join me." There is also a copy of a wire to the Viceroy, dated the 24th February, 1919, in which he asserted that "the Reforms are valueless without withdrawal of the Bills, which are symptomatic of a deep-seated disease in the ruling classes" and a reply to it inviting him to discuss the matter with the Viceroy for all which information I am indebted to Sree Hemanta G. Nilkantha of the Ashram.

The War and India's Wood

Geared to the war in Asia, Africa and Europe, the timber industry in India is humming. St. Nihal Singh writes in *The Indian Review*:

With the extinction of supplies of foreign woods in the country and the stoppage of further imports foresters were compelled to seek substitutes. They soon found that with her extensive and varied resources in wood India could be self-sufficing for all, or nearly all purposes, if she only willed so to be.

India is indeed fortunate in respect of raw materials. Nature has generously dowered her with wood in the bole. The area under forest, reserved and unreserved, totals 266,000 square miles, exclusive of similar tracts in the Indian States. The Forest Departments of the various provinces control between them, something like one-fourth of this area.

The woods are situated at different elevations. Some dot plains almost as flat as a table-top, often running alongside rivers, streams and even irrigation canals. Many of the hill-sides and mountain-sides are under forest. With wide variations in soil and climate, the timber yielded is of numerous species, soft and hard, light and heavy, capable, between them, of serving nearly every human requirement.

Intensive research is already enabling India to meet the requirements for aeroplane construction from her own timbers.

This she is doing, I understand, for planes meant for defence as well as civil purposes. The Indian Navy, too, is, I fully believe, able to obtain supplies, at least for the most part, from indigenous sources. The Army has certainly no need for Burma teak. It can make—it has, in fact, been making—ammunition boxes, bodies for lorries and the like from Indian woods and the articles manufactured from the home-grown products are every bit as good as those that erstwhile were made from Burma teak. Some, indeed, are better.

The experience in the civil realm has been equally gratifying. Our tea trade is no longer at the mercy of the foreign makers of plywood. The cotton and jute textile industries have been made independent of supplies of essential articles manufactured from wood brought from beyond the seven seas. Users of batteries in India need not now suffer inconvenience because woods suitable for separators are now available in our own forests. They are—in any quantity—and accessible.

In rendering India self-sufficing in these and many other respects the Indian Forest Research Institute, situated a little way beyond the western outskirts of Dehra Dun in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh has played an important part. Men who have distinguished themselves in various branches of science and technology at Indian and British Universities have laboured, separately and conjointly, to free India from this slavery.

The Russian Front

The New Review observes:

Shaposhnikov bid his time; with remarkable coolness, Stalin's right-hand man amid the stress of Stalingrad's agony prepared his plans and his troops for a counter offensive; the slow-manœuvring Timoshenko was replaced by Zukov, snow-shoes were provided for tank-caterpillars, soldiers were equipped with skis, and guns mounted on sleighs, regiments were brought from far away Siberia, and the Cossack cavalry, which has secured the privilege of keeping its uniforms of the Tzarist days, was detailed for action; all, peasants and workers, were afire with the same self-sacrificing devotion to Mother Russia.

The offensive was launched in mid-November and proceeded by stages: first there was a surprise pincer-movement which encircled Stalingrad and trapped some 22 divisions.

Then there succeeded a southern drive from the reaches of the Middle Don, which spread over the greatest part of the area in the Don's bend. An assault from the south-east on Kotelnikovo followed to go and join the Middle Don offensive and close the way of escape not only to the Nazis within the Don's bend but also to the Caucasus army which soon began retreating. The battlefield spread over the vast quadrilateral with apexes at Voronezh, Stalingrad, Mozdok and Tuapse; the fight was relentless round every machine-gun post, every redoubt, every fort; at every point it was a fight to the death.

On a sudden, the battle flared up higher north, on the central front, and engulfed Velikiye Luki; it shifted south and a three prong attack from south of Voronezh made for the railway system based on Kharkov; it rushed north on the banks of the Neva and blazed a trail across Schluesselburg to lift the siege of Leningrad; it broke through a large gap north-west of Moscow.

Every part of the front was tackled in a ceaseless offensive and the whole 2,000-mile front from Leningrad to the Caucasus range was

set ablaze in the white stillness of the wintry frost.

The offensive goes on and its full results cannot yet be estimated; but a few notes will stress its significance. First to be noted is Russia's capacity to resume the offensive on a general scale; this speaks volumes for her tenacity and resources. Neither army can now hope for spectacular conquests, and the fight has drifted into a cruel, relentless and expensive battle of attrition, a development which is bound to be rapidly fatal to Nazi resources and wrecks all the plans and hopes of the Nazi General Headquarters.

As to geographical gains, the present offensive will have been highly successful (and it will pobably be spent), when it has thrown back the front on the line occupied last winter. Apparently the Nazis hope to be able to fall back on the Kursk-Rostov line, but may be pushed further back by the latest movements south of Voronezh. Their plan is to shorten their line considerably, but what Hindenburg could achieve in 1917 when all was quiet on the western front may be impossible in the course of a general battle in the east.

The Axis armies have lost most of the ground they had conquered; their reserves are exhausted at a rate which is more fatal for them than for the Allies, Russians, British and Americans, taken together; their tanks and planes appear to have been used up in the Russian campaign as fast as they were produced whilst the Allied production is still rising to its climax; a sign of this revealing phenomenon was given by the fact that no new tank could be traced in Libya.

Post-War Reconstruction and Industries

In the course of an article in *The Mysore Economic Journal* Sir M. Visvesvaraya observes:

The developments recorded in Canada and Australia go to show that this country has missed a great opportunity to build up its industries in the present war. This was through lack of any policy in the Government of the country and lack of co-operation and interest on its part to benefit the Indian population. The people are now faced with a great struggle immediately the war ends to render secure the future food supply and income of the nation. They can neglect this duty only at their peril. It has been said there will be war after war; economic war may follow military war, and expose the industries and trade of this country to severe international competition.

We have yet to see how we shall fare in our post-war struggle to advance heavy industries to their rightful place in the economy of the country.

Our endeavour is two-fold. We want to see established in our country all the heavy industries necessary for its stability and prosperity. At the same time, we wish to rouse and energise the rural populations to work harder, to acquire greater working skill and capacity. and to learn to work in team spirit so that minor and subsistence industries might also thrive as extensively as may be necessary to increase the purchasing power and standard of living in rural parts. There is no organised attempt by Government in this respect; no authority takes the responsibility to see this class of industries advance from stage to stage.

There is none to review progress from year to year by statistical measurement which is the true test of any real advance.

The immediate test of the extent to which a district or city has begun to industrialise will be the increase, which may come to notice in any given period, in the number of new industrial establishments or units started, in the capital invested, the value of products manufactured and the number of workers for whom employment is found.

To convince the public of this country that preparations for post-war reconstruction is an important matter and that the Government of India have not been giving the attention that the subject demands, it is sufficient to explain what other progressive countries like the Members of the British Commonwealth and the United States of America have been doing in spite of their war pre-occupations.

If the matter is left to the Government, heavy industries so ruthlessly retarded in the past will have no chance even in future post-war reconstruction.

I have drawn attention more than once to several important heavy industries which have failed to materialise through failure of Government support. Among the industries so discouraged may be mentioned: Locomotives, Automobiles, Aeroplanes, Internal Combustion engines, Manufacture of dyestuffs, Shipping, Steel, and Heavy Engineering and Chemical industries generally.

The extraordinary feature in the situation is that Government have been hindering instead of helping industries.

They have no policy or plan, no unified conception of what they are doing or what they propose to do, in a matter which gravely affects the purchasing power of the 400 millions of our population.

As soon as the war is over, this country may be again exposed to the fury of international economic war.

Industries in this country have always had a hard struggle to keep themselves alive and that struggle is today intensified by the shortage of industrial raw material and small tools. There is at the present time shortage of a good many raw and essential materials required for civilian industries. If Government would look into such cases, they may be able to rescue some industries even in Bombay from stopping altogether, entailing loss of employment to large bodies of workmen.

To : the country adequate protection, it is necessary to appoint at once a representative Central Council of business men, experts and leaders in science and politics, to watch the trends and make preparations to meet all possible obstacles and opposition. It is already late to do this.

Nutrition in War-Time

There is nothing to show in India that may be considered remotely similar to the meticulous care and organisation shown in foreign countries. India has for long been in the No Man's Land of adequate and inadequate nutrition. Writes Dr. K. S. Mhaskar in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

War-time nutrition, a high-sounding term, is a matter of edification and glory to the present warring nations to show off how the difficulties of war-time have been surmounted, and how the nutrition of the populace is not allowed to fall below the minimal level of balanced nutrition.

The State desires the people to tighten up their belt as those in a beleagured city would do, both figuratively and literally and the people have set their teeth to obey with a firm determination.

But this can be done in a nation which had the waist-line already large and which badly needed some tightening. An advice like this to Indians, whose waist-line has always been insignificant, would be a mockery of their poverty and ignorance.

The piteous faces and the shrivelled bodies seen in the long queues before the grain shops in towns or in the weekly market fairs of villages, require no advice for the avoidance of waste of food-stuffs or alternative suggestions for the utilization of neglected sources of foodstuffs or the storing or canning of the excess.

There is no necessity for the manufacture of ghee and butter in a country where milk is so scarce and which has such abundant sources of equivalents in oil-seeds and vitamins. Vegetable ghee has already found a place as a substitute for the faddists, who must have their oils and fats in the form of ghee. Milled cereals, an innovation of the westerners, must yield place to hand-pounded ones, and a useful cottage industry must replace machinery. Western nations have discovered only this year that chalk and chunam are useful addition to food. Indians knew it ages ago when the first betel-leaf grew; but they received ridicule for what was considered a habit injurious to the teeth and dirty in itself. Drinking of toddy, a rich source of Vitamin B, need not be so frowned upon and made a source of revenue. India can have abundant supply of the common salt if Government so wills it and Indian medicine knows several other mineral salts—substitutes which can supply the much needed iron, manganese, etc., for the building up of bone and blood. Jaggery need not be converted into the present-day vitamin-less or mineral-less, life-less sugar. Rich sources of water are allowed to run to waste, instead of being made available for irrigation and for the raising of kitchen-vegetables.

No nutrition surveys worth the name have been made to find out the pre-war conditions of health and to institute comparisons with the present deterioration in health.

The infant death-rate, the general death-rate, the infectious diseases death-rate and the death-rate for diseases incidental to malnutrition, *e.g.*, tuberculosis, can alone tell in the next few years to what extent the population had suffered, during war-time and after, when perhaps it will be too late to undertake any remedial measures. Children, because of their demands for growth, expect better protection by way of nutritious food and are denied it.

There are lots of persons with advice to give, but none to follow; Government's hands are full with more immediate work, which hardly leaves it any time or means to tackle the problem of nutrition; a minority of the public who matter, is indifferent; the majority, who do not matter, are helpless and cannot help themselves. Nutrition in war-time still remains for Indians an idealistic dream.

Bungling And Delay

From all quarters the same bitter complaints about food scarcity are pouring in, and the Government is helplessly looking on, unable to give immediate relief. Extracts from an article in *The Indian Readers' Digest* as reproduced from *The Bombay Sentinel* are given below :

There can be no doubt whatever that the bureaucracy has bungled and bungled badly, and it is difficult to see how the situation can be improved at such a short notice.

Much can be done by importing wheat freely from Australia; but it was reported in a local journal the other day that the Australian shipments are only for the use of the Army. The Commerce Member however has stated that more Australian wheat was being made available in India, and that this is likely to improve the situation considerably.

For the present at any rate the people are living on hopes, while food scarcity is not confined to Bombay or Calcutta but is general and from every part of India similar complaints are being made.

It is difficult to accept the Commerce Member's assurance that nothing but a small quantity of rice has been exported from India, and that too to Ceylon !

Such statements have been made by public men with some reputation. *Reuter's* correspondent, too, at the time of the invasion of Iraq expatiated on the generosity of the British Government in relieving the wants of the populace by gifts of wheat from India, though we believe most of this wheat went to Russia.

Whatever it is, there can be no doubt that large quantities of wheat have gone out of India or that these exports are largely responsible for India's troubles at present.

It is not only that food is scarce in this country. Every other essential article which is required either by the poor or the rich is unavailable, and we are afraid as time goes on, and the war too goes on, matters will become more and more difficult.

There is no sense in controlling prices of foodstuffs, unless the Government is able to sell foodstuffs at those rates.

The fact that the queues are growing longer suggests the urgent need for opening more Government shops and not less.

It was a blunder to have closed down many of the small grain shops and opened a few large stores instead.

Most people require food grains and not luxuries, and it is the duty of the Government to supply food to the population first.

The Government has failed to realise that proper control of foodstuffs can only be imposed by a popular authority, an authority between which and the people there is the fullest understanding and co-operation, based on goodwill.

Any steps, calculated to impose one-sided and harsh control, as at present, are not only unjust and inequitable, but futile.

Now that inflation is going on unchecked, its evil influences are easily felt on the prices of food grains and other necessaries of life in India. The Government, moreover, has been controlling only some articles and not others and this necessarily creates a sense of frustration, bitterness and unfairness.

The Writer in India and the Publisher

Wherever there are flourishing publishing concerns, there the literary life of the country is rich, varied and full of vitality; and a literary tradition grows up which keeps correct pace with the complexities and developments of social life. In an article in *The Aryan Path* R. K. Narayan observes :

For a large country like India the growth of publishing organization is entirely inadequate. All the frustration of a writer is due to this lack. We are not wanting in writers with capacity and will, and for variety and wealth of material few countries in the world can equal India.

Publishing in India consists largely of text-book manufacturing. There are quite a number of firms Indian and foreign, with elaborate organization, whose main concern is to turn out a primer or a reader and get the official blessing on it so that the largest number of school children are compelled to take it. After this class come the publishers of directories and handbooks which will be required on reference tables; these publishers may also venture into other zones by bringing out an obscure thesis which someone labours out for a post-graduate degree. The last may be published solely for the reason that the author bears the printing charges. These publishers, no doubt, have their place in society, but where we are considering the literary regeneration of a country they cannot be counted, for they serve no one but themselves.

My analysis is of a general character. It does not deny that here and there we find a few exceptions—publishers who struggle and persevere from a sense of duty, bringing out first-class work and satisfied with small returns. But generally speaking, a publisher who starts with lofty aims goes on for only a short while and soon either falls in line with the rest or goes out of business.

There is justification for the publisher's complaint. The public in our country has shown reckless unconcern for books. Side by side with the emergence of a recognised publishing business there must be set up an effective machinery of book propaganda. People must be told that books are not in the category of luxuries but of necessaries, and that the best means of keeping up the cultural continuity of the country is for the family to allot a certain fund, however modest, for book buying.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Japan and Germany

We make the following extract from the critical and historical notes by " A Correspondent lately in Japan " in *The Month* :

Japan is a land of contradictions. The Japanese combine great æsthetic sensibility and a ruthless efficiency in war with a crude and to Western minds childish religious belief. It is no stranger than the parallel situation which has arisen in Germany, where a bogus racialism and perverted hero-worship have been foisted on a people who have contributed the greatest music and some of the greatest literature and philosophy to the world.

We are familiar with the myth of the Nordic heroes and *Herrenvolk* which the Nazis are trying to force on a tormented Europe.

We are compelled to realise that the appeal to reason is weak compared with the appeal to emotion. Never has reason been at such a discount as it is today; and with the collapse of reason, the rights of the individual have gone and standards of behaviour have crashed to unknown depths. The forces of unreason, terrible because they are blind, are destroying all that is not defended with equal ruthlessness. They are all the more formidable because backed by every material resource that modern science and technology can supply. This very efficiency and its success in an unprepared world helps to convince the Japanese and the Germans that they are born rulers and should be recognised as such. But in the case of Germany the conviction springs from a pseudo-religious belief, in the case of Japan from a genuine religious belief of a very primitive kind.

The people of Europe and America looked on at the transformation of Japan in surprise that quickly turned to admiration. A synthetic westernised state had sprung up in the Far East before their eyes, and they were impressed by the phenomenon.

The English in particular admired the discipline and self-sacrifice of the Japanese in contrast to their own easy, rather shapeless manner of life. Japanese art became a *fin de siecle* fashion. When plucky little Japan stood up to the " giant liar," Tsarist Russia, the English were inclined to applaud. In the same way many English people were romantic about the Nazis in the early days of the movement. Travellers in Germany come back full of enthusiasm for the healthy open air life which the Nazi youth was encouraged to lead, and the benefits of discipline. Hitler had regenerated Germany, he had given the Germans something to live for, a great ideal—and none knew better than the Nazis how to exploit this admiration. Both mistakes arose from a lack of the critical and enquiring spirit which asks " What are the causes behind these national phenomena ? " " What is the basis of this romantic ideology ?" It is found, as we have seen, in the mists of pre-history, in a throwback to tribalism and totemism.

Japanese nationalism has no moral, philosophical nor scientific basis.

The antique virtues admired by the west, loyalty, self-discipline, self-sacrifice, can be used for evil as well as good ends with fatal ease. Japanese standards of right and wrong bore no relation to any universal standard of truth or perfection. The Japanese never attempted to measure their own pitifully inadequate faith against the great philosophies of east and west, for the latter meant nothing to them. Their ideas were narrowed within the bounds of a temporal authority and a person of flesh and blood. Looking at the world between blinkers, they perceived nothing of world civilisation except its material excrescences. Only people who had stultified their own reasoning powers and killed their own critical faculty could so arrogantly claim a mission to rule the world or, as they would express it, to enable all men to enjoy the benefits of the Emperor's rule. *Hakko Ichiu* meaning all the world under one (Japanese) roof, is a popular slogan in Japan. It is difficult for us to realise that the titular head of an aggressive and unpopular nation is to his own people a living God. The idea would be ludicrous were it not taken seriously, as the *Herrenvolk* idea is taken seriously, by a resolute, efficient and fanatically brave people. Before the war, we took our civilisation for granted, we accepted complacently our heritage of political and intellectual liberty and believed that the virtues of democracy would bring their own reward. We have learnt from bitter experience that the totalitarian countries can outmatch us in material inventiveness, in speed and drive, in confidence and conviction. We must realise, while developing our technical efficiency to equal theirs, where our true strength lies; in our inheritance of wisdom, our belief in universal justice, our knowledge that all the acts of man are only approximations to an absolute perfection. On this is built true civilisation, European and Asiatic, which Germany and Japan are doing their best to destroy.

Churchill and Gandhi

Unity remarks editorially :

When Mr. Churchill has had to eat so many of the hard words he used to speak about Stalin and the Communists, it seems strange that he should keep on saying so many hard words about Gandhi and the All-India Congress. For if anything can be sure in this uncertain world, it is that Mr. Churchill will have to eat these words too. Only recently we have had the edifying picture of Mr. Churchill sitting down with the Russian dictator and working out common problems in the common interest of the war against the Axis powers. How long will it be before we shall look upon a similarly edifying picture of Mr. Churchill sitting down with the Indian Mahatma and working out common problems in the common interest of India, Britain, and the United States ? That day will have to come soon, if, as Miss Pearl Buck has told us, the war is not to be lost in Asia. Meanwhile, in the existing situation, the advantage lies all with Gandhi. For it is the British Premier who is now intransigent. Gandhi is still willing to negotiate. Before his arrest, he was suspending his non-violent resistance movement for a period of time which he was proposing to use for conference with the Viceroy. Since his imprisonment,

Gandhi has written the Viceroy, asking that they work together to find the way of granting independence to India without damage to the Allied cause. It is Mr. Churchill now who will not budge. "Churchill Bars India Compromise," headlines the New York *Times* in publishing its account of the Prime Minister's speech to the Commons on India. In this speech Mr. Churchill laid down the terms of the Cripps offer as final as a papal bull or an imperial ukase. "The broad principles of the declaration made by the British Government," said Mr. Churchill, "stand in their full scope and integrity. No one can add to them and no one can take anything away." But, this, of course, is ridiculous—and, as the very essence of intransigence, this is tragic. Nothing is ever final in this sense, not even the text of the Bible any more. Which means that, sooner or later, Mr. Churchill will have to change as drastically in his attitude toward India as he has in his attitude toward Russia! The hope in the present crisis lies with the great common sense of the English people and their more enlightened representatives. Mr. Churchill's speech, reports the New York *Times*, pleased Conservative members of the House, but was met with "angry interruptions" on the floor. Some members "thought the statement ill-advised and calculated to create additional difficulties in India." Others, condemning the speech as "provocative," prepared "to challenge the government in a debate on the whole question." Gandhi may patiently bide his time. The determination of the Indians, the conscience of the English people and the crisis of the war will do their perfect work!

America and India

In an article entitled "Background of the Situation in India" in *Unity*, Curtis W. Reese writes:

In the latter part of the fifteenth century Columbus set sail in an effort to find a short cut to India. It will be remembered that he stopped short of his goal. Americans for the most part have followed the example of their illustrious discoverer and have not yet reached India. This is true both culturally and commercially. We have never understood or appreciated India's spiritual aspirations, and we have had few business dealings with her.

This is unfortunate for both America and India.

With rare exceptions even the Americans who go to India do not really get there. Usually they go without the slighest understanding of India's setting in the history of the world and come away without the slightest understanding of the Indian point of view. Their conversation while there is usually limited to the English whom they meet around the hotels and on the trains or to other Americans like themselves. They see slums very much like the ones they have carefully avoided seeing in America. They are deeply touched by the condition of the "untouchables," but forget the "grandfather clause" and the "Jim Crow cars" in some of our own states. They are horrified over the stories of the riots between Hindus and Mohammedans, but forget the race riots in Chicago and East St. Louis, and our lynchings which for savagery are unsurpassed anywhere in the world. They photograph everything from adobe huts to the Taj Mahal, but fail to sense the soul of the people. When we Americans travel abroad we need a sense of history and a good memory for current events.

I want to show directly and by inference that India has the same right to freedom as do other countries, whether she uses it wisely or not, but that in fact she is as competent to administer her destinies as are the Western nations to administer theirs; and that such freedom and governmental autonomy are requisite to her social and economic development. In doing this I am not posing as a champion of the superiority of the spiritual culture of the East. Indeed I am convinced that Western utilitarianism is religiously superior to Eastern spirituality. My point is simply that India should have the liberty to work out her own destiny in the light of her own needs, and that in so doing she should have the helpful co-operation of the United Nations.

The American attitude toward India's aspiration for freedom should be actively sympathetic.

We have the feel for liberty. We ourselves were once in somewhat the position the Indians now are. Our "tea party" was not unlike their "salt parties." We have immortalized Lafayette for the aid we received in our struggle for liberty. Having become free ourselves, we developed a strong belief in our special mission to free the world. With the coming of great prosperity came a measure of forgetfulness; but the times are now ripe for a rebirth of American idealism. We should make our voice heard mightily in the councils of the United Nations, and it should be a voice ringing loud and clear against oppression anywhere and for liberty everywhere.

American Civilization

In the course of an article on War-time Journeying in *The Month*, Arnold Lunn passes the following remarks on the new American civilisation:

The new civilisation which is coming to birth in North America has many aspects, of which the most striking is the high standard of life—the consequence of mass production. But it is not only in economics that revolutionary changes are taking place. American humanism has given us the new architecture of the sky-scraper, the new art of the Disney cartoon, the new humour of the disillusioned (Thurber and Peter Arno), new dances such as the Charleston, new music such as jazz, new songs such as Negro spirituals, and a new philosophy of drink, the cocktail for a quick kick replacing the leisurely habit of wine.

To have raised the standard of living among the lower strata of society is the supreme achievement of this new civilisation of North America, a civilisation which, whether we like it or not, is the civilisation of the "brave new world" of to-morrow. It has an irresistible appeal to the under-privileged and is even making converts within the citadels of aristocratic conservatism, for the younger generation of the ruling classes enjoy American films, adopt American fashions, and read American papers such as *The New Yorker* and *Time*—"Time which antiquates antiquity and hath an art to make a dust of all things." But the older generation dread the influence of America, the great Anarch, solvent of authority, the authority of the Church, the authority of tradition, the authority of the parent, the authority of the husband, and know nothing of the religious and cultural forces in the U. S. A. which are resisting the disintegrating influence of an industrial civilisation.

Latin America

The Bulletin of International News publishes the following information about Latin America:

The title "Latin America" is a useful reminder of the historical, racial, and linguistic differences which distinguish all the territories in the centre and south of the American continent from their great neighbour to the north. While the United States is the outcome of a Puritan adventure in search of freedom denied at home, the Latin American States derive from the conquests of South European explorers who set out under the patronage of a sovereign and were accompanied by priests of the Catholic Church. The one history begins with the arrival of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth Rock; the other with Columbus's landfall in the *Santa Maria* on the coast of Hispaniola. The native peoples encountered were, in both instances, Indian tribes whose ancestors are thought to have come from North Asia by way of the Bering Strait.

Some of them had, as their buildings and craftsmanship testify to this day, developed no mean civilization of their own, and over and against this a European way of life was gradually imposed.

In the north, however, the colonists tended to live apart from the native inhabitants, who were ultimately all but exterminated, while the Spanish and Portuguese, after completing their conquests—and indeed during the course of them—freely intermarried and assiduously converted. Today, in a few States the population is predominantly white; in some it is largely Indian; but the greater proportion of the peoples of Latin America are mestizo (mixed in race). Roman Catholicism remains the predominant religion.

Although on paper the forms of government adopted in many instances bear close resemblance to that of the United States, the supremacy of the President, which in the United States is subjected to well-known checks, is often less open to challenge in Central and South America, and while democracy is the theory of government, dictatorship, though a dictatorship more and more limited, is still a practice.

Rubber and Its Uses

The review of a book under the above title, published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (May, 1942), is quoted below:

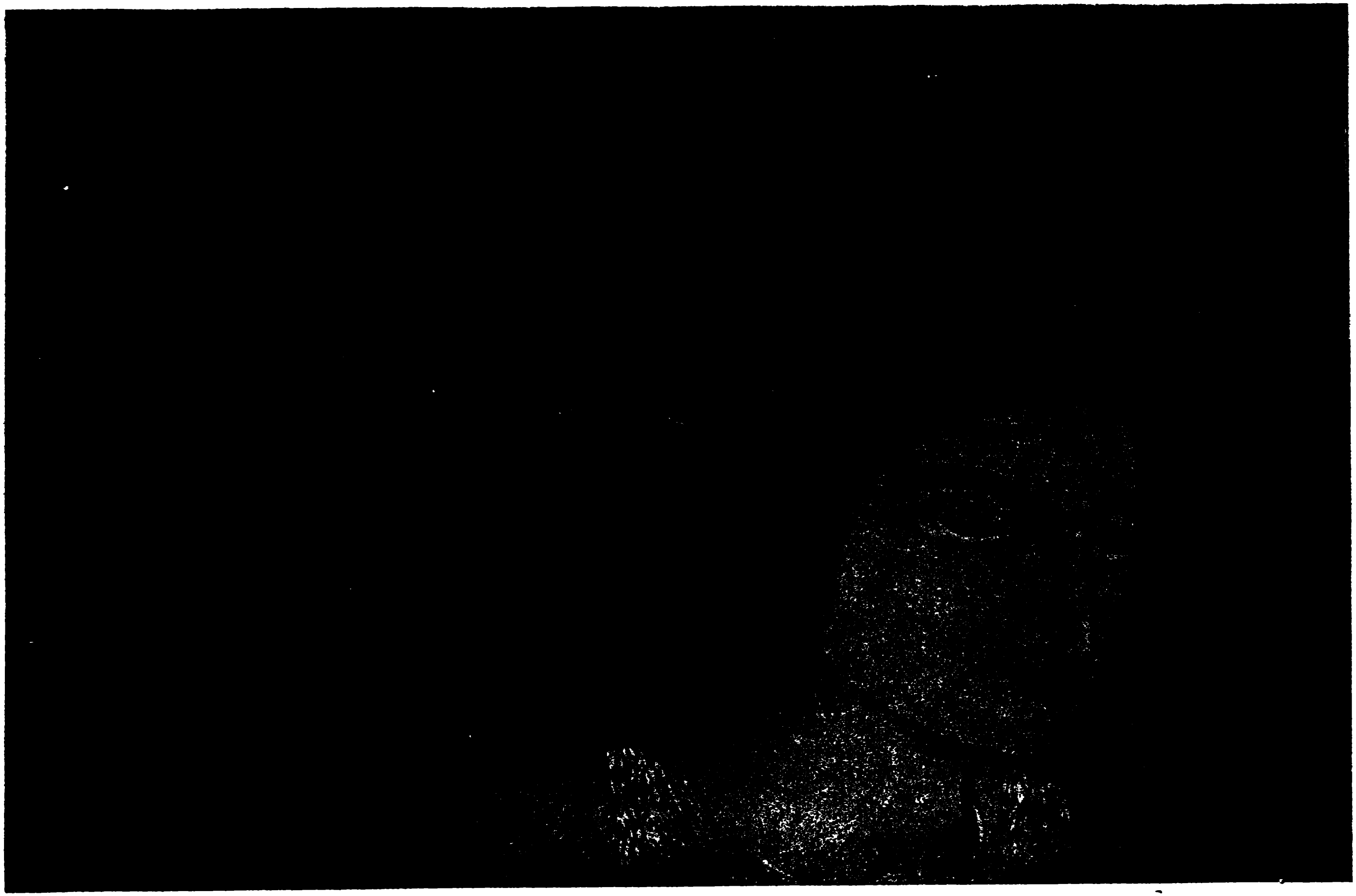
Six months ago we could have affirmed that rubber had become such a necessary part of our everyday life that it was difficult to see how we could get along without it. The Japanese have changed all that.

Rubber, as we have known it, depends on the acts of two men: of Charles Goodyear, who in 1839 discovered vulcanisation and made the manufacture of stable rubber goods possible; and of Henry Wickham when in 1876 he brought seeds of the rubber plant from the Amazon to Kew, an act which led to the establishment of the plantation industry in the East. Rubber really came into real demand with the invention of the tyre, and it was not until 1910 that the plantation industry got going in response to the first demands of the motor car industry. The price was then 8s. a pound and the acreage about 125,000. In 1940 the acreage was over 9 millions and the production 1,400,000 tons at a price of 10d. per lb. The yield was increasing as the result of applied botanical science—from 350 up to 2,000 lbs. per acre.

Some 97 per cent. of the world's rubber came from Malaya, Ceylon and the Netherlands East Indies; the United States took nearly half of this. This is what we have lost; the question is how is it to be replaced. Fortunately the chemist has looked ahead. In America there is already some production, and there are plans under way for manufacture at the rate of 400,000 tons per annum. In Britain we have no such hopes, largely because the raw material, a by-product of oil refining, is missing. Our rubber future is very uncertain unless we can hold Ceylon. The prosperity of the rubber industry was built up on the tyre, but it was itself sparing no effort to develop other uses, which were rapidly increasing. The employment of concentrated latex and of chemical derivatives of rubber with outstanding properties was spreading. The synthetic rubbers also had special applications which were complementary to those of natural rubber. All this development is held up for the moment.

Fischer's little book tells us all this and much beside. It is a type of text-book of which we want more; it contains the essentials without the details, and is of practical interest from cover to cover.

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SAKUNTALA AND HER COMPANIONS

By Ramgopal Vijayabargiya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Mr. Aney Explains

Mr. M. S. Aney addressed the Yeotmal District Association and explained to them the reason of his resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council. In the course of his address he made the following remark :

> Indians holding the high office of Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council can do much useful and beneficial work. The creating of a distinct and indisputable majority of Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council is an outstanding reform and improvement, of which progressive elements should have taken further advantage.

Mr. Aney was the Leader of the Nationalist Party before he had joined the new post. He has come out of the Council as a moderate of moderates. Even a veteran liberal leader would have hesitated to pay such glowing tributes to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Some of the new members, in expressing their opinions on the possibilities of the Viceroy's Council, say that much useful work *can be* done, but none of them has as yet ventured to give a single instance of what they *have* done during more than a year of their service. Mr. Aney could not pull up courage to face the Chimur people, when serious charges of dishonouring of women of a village in his own native province were levelled against the local officials.

In the concluding portion of the same speech, Mr. Aney stated :

> A public man must take into account the circumstances which are likely to affect for good or for bad his own capacity for utilising or exploiting opportunities which membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council affords. A Member, to be useful, must feel confident that there is at least behind him the support of the intelligent classes of his countrymen, if not of the masses. His advice and advocacy inside the Council can be effective in influencing high policies of State to the extent of the confidence he enjoys with his own countrymen outside. Arguments backed up with popular support can be more telling. If a Member loses for any reason the support and forfeits confidence even of the leading non-official spokesmen known for their sobriety and balance of judgment, he can hardly hope to succeed in making any impression whatsoever on those who rule the destinies of this nation.

It is useless to pretend that Members of the Viceroy's Council enjoy any amount of support from the intelligent classes of their countrymen. Is Mr. Aney prepared to assess the following he himself commanded before he joined his new post and after it ? He has not been able to regain the lost position. What is the following of Mr. Ambedkar either among the classes or the masses of India ? Can he not be called a self-styled leader of the depressed classes with no following ? A stock-taking would disclose that membership of the Viceroy's Council does not depend on the following a member commands. He is taken in because he is a safe man.

Criticism of Governor's Conduct Justified

Following is the judgment delivered by the Special Bench of the Bombay High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and J. J. Chagla and Weston, on the application preferred by the Printer and Publisher of "Janmabhumi," a Gujarati Daily of Bombay, against the Bombay Government's Order forfeiting the

paper's security and asking for a fresh deposit for publishing Dr. S. P. Mookerjee's resignation letter to the Governor of Bengal. Delivering judgment, the Chief Justice said:

The article complained of was published in a newspaper in the Gujarati language, and it set out a Gujarati translation of a letter written by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee to the Governor of Bengal on the occasion of Dr. Mookerjee's resignation as a Member of the Bengal Ministry. In the letter, the writer says that he disapproved of the policy of the Government of India with regard to the present political situation. He disapproved of the policy of repression, but he recognized that the Governor of Bengal was not responsible for that. The main criticism in the letter is as to the conduct of the Governor in relation to his Ministers. The gravamen of the charge, which he makes, is that the Governor of Bengal had not carried out the terms of the Government of India Act and his Letter of Instructions according to the spirit, that he had not consulted and followed the advice of his Ministers, and that he had been more favourable to the opposition than to the Ministry from which the writer was resigning. It is very difficult to see how criticism of the Governor of Bengal can do any mischief in the Province of Bombay. Even if the applicant's newspaper circulated in Bengal, I think it would be difficult to say that publication of a Minister's reasons for resigning is calculated to bring Government into hatred or contempt, even treating Government as meaning the Government of Bengal. *A Minister resigning is entitled to give his reasons for so doing, and is entitled to criticize, in proper language, the conduct of the Governor in relation to his Ministers.* Reading the article as a whole, I do not think it goes beyond the scope of legitimate criticism. The Federal Court of India recently had to consider the meaning of Rule 34(6) (e) the language of which is identical with that of Section 124A of the Penal Code, and they expressed the view that the gist of the offence of sedition and of the offence under Rule 34(6) (e) was that the act tended to promote public disorder. I doubt whether this article is calculated to promote public disorder even if it circulated in Bengal. I feel confident that there is no chance of its promoting public disorder in Bombay, or, by reason of its circulating in Bombay, in Bengal. Some of the expressions are perhaps couched in rather too strong language. The writer thinks that there had been some atrocities in the suppression of disorders, but the only remedy he suggests is public enquiry and transfer of some Government officers to different districts. I do not think, reading the article as a whole, it can be said that it involves an unfair criticism of Government, or that it incites anybody to any act of disaffection towards Government so as to come within Clause (e). It is even more difficult to see the article can be brought within the mischief of the other two clauses relied on. There is nothing in the article, to my mind, calculated to cause fear or alarm to the public or to any section of the public; nor, I think, does it deal in any way with the prosecution of war. It cannot, therefore, be said to be prejudicial to the defence of British India or to the efficient prosecution of war.

In my opinion, the orders of Government were not justified, and must be set aside with costs. (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

The letter was not published by any of the newspapers in Bengal but it was proscribed when it was published in the form of a booklet. The Government of India Act attempts to shield the Governor against criticisms in the Legislature in many respects. These safeguarding sections had probably led the officials in the Government to think that criticism of the conduct of a Governor in public was banned. The Bombay High Court has upheld justice in holding that a Governor's conduct, even in his own province, is not above criticism, and by itself, such criticism does not constitute sedition or a prejudicial act.

Petti-fogging High-handedness of a Magistrate

Edgley and Sen JJ. of the Calcutta High Court delivered judgment in the suit, *Lt. S. N. Ray vs. King Emperor*, in which a rule was obtained against the proceedings now pending against him under Sec. 75/A of the Defence of India Rules before the S. D. O. of Midnapore. The judgments are quoted below:

In his judgment Mr. Justice Edgley said, *inter alia*, that it appeared that on October 30, 1942 the petitioner was served with a notice requisitioning his motor car for Government purposes. In the petition of complaint filed on January 4, 1943, it was alleged that he had committed an offence under the D. I. Rules as he did not make over the car as directed until December 23, 1942.

The case for the petitioner was to the effect that he was employed by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and his car had been included in the Railway A. R. P. organization as far back as October 30, 1942. He maintained that the order of October 30, 1942 was ineffective as his car had already been requisitioned for Government purpose and that in any case the prosecution was *mala fide*.

His Lordship observed that the correspondence (that passed between the District Magistrate, Mr. N. M. Khan and the Railway authorities) showed conclusively that on October 26, 1942, a special permit was issued by the district authorities in respect of the petitioner's car on the footing that this car was required in connexion with the Railway A. R. P. organization. His Lordship referred to the correspondence and said that as matters stood on November 26, 1942, it appeared that even if it could be argued that Mr. Ray had committed some technical offence by not complying immediately with the requisition, dated October 30, 1942, this offence such as it was, was nevertheless condoned by the District Magistrate. Rightly or wrongly he (District Magistrate) still insisted that Mr. Ray should surrender his car, but it appeared from the subsequent correspondence that this decision of the District Magistrate could not have been communicated to Mr. Ray before December 21, 1942. It was admitted that the latter (Mr. Ray) surrendered his car on December 23, 1942, and it certainly could not be said that he was guilty of any negligence or undue delay in complying with the requisition, even if it be contended that the requisition was a valid one, the matter was one which this court was not called upon to decide in connexion with these proceedings.

His Lordship said that the sequel was somewhat surprising. On December 23, the Agent of the Railway sent a protest to the Provincial Transport Officer and a copy of this letter was forwarded to the District Magis-

trate. The latter appeared to have taken unreasonable exception to the terms of the letter addressed by the Agent to the Provincial Transport Officer, and on December 25, 1942, he (District Magistrate) addressed what could only be described as an extremely discourteous communication to the Agent in which he said that it was presumptuous on the part of the Agent to arrogate to himself the right to sit in judgment on his action and that "I am consulting my law officers with a view to finding out whether or not you have made yourself liable to any action for having described an act of mine as District Magistrate as high-handed."

His Lordship remarked that having regard to the terms of the District Magistrate's letters, dated November 25, 1942 and December 17, 1942, it was extremely difficult to understand why he should take any steps to prosecute the petitioner after the latter had surrendered his car on December 23, 1942. It was difficult not to attribute the steps taken by the District Magistrate in this matter, at any rate, in some degree, to the unreasonable attitude which he had adopted on receipt of a copy of the Agent's letter, dated December 23, 1942.

Speaking for himself, His Lordship could not regard this as a *bona fide* prosecution, and, this being the case, the rule must be made absolute and the proceedings quashed.

In a separate judgment, Mr. Justice Sen agreed, and said, *inter alia*, that it was quite obvious from the facts (set out by His Lordship) that this prosecution was a *mala fide* one. It did not require very much intelligence to draw the conclusion that the Magistrate was impelled to launch this prosecution, not because he thought that this disobedience deserved punishment, but because he was offended by the letter written by the Agent and General Manager of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway to the Magistrate's Appellate authority.

"*The D. I. Rules give very wide powers to the Magistrates and because of this wideness of powers given to the Magistrates the rules should be carefully and cautiously worked.* The rules are meant to be worked for the purpose of meeting conditions which have arisen owing to the war. In my opinion, the rules have not been worked in the present case with this object in view. *This prosecution is an example of pettifogging high-handedness arising out of the Magistrate's exaggerated notions of his dignity.* Prosecution should be instituted in order to punish persons for wilfully disobeying orders and not for the purpose of gratifying such exaggerated notions of magisterial dignity as this Magistrate (Mr. N. M. Khan) seems to have."

The Court made the rule absolute and the proceedings against the petitioner were quashed. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

In order to understand the circumstances which made such pettifogging high-handedness and *mala fide* action possible on the part of a magistrate, one has to trace the reasons very far back indeed. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in his letter of resignation sent to the Governor of Bengal levelled part of his criticisms against the Governor on such grounds alone. Blind attempts at re-establishing the "prestige of the Government" lead to acts which produce the exact reverse of the results sought, and the authorities in India should be deeply grateful to the High Courts of Judicature at Bombay and Calcutta for the sobering comments they have made.

Comparative View of Atrocities

Questions relating to incidents in Midnapore since August 8 last were asked in details in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on March 5. The Leader of the European Group wanted a statement shewing the number of Government servants and non-officials kidnapped by the rebel elements, the number of persons murdered by the rebel elements, the number of Government buildings, houses and other property burnt by the rebel elements, the number of cases of intimidation and extortion by the rebel elements and the number of persons assaulted or intimidated by the rebel elements on the ground that they were supporting the Government forces. He wanted answers shewing the acts committed during periods, between the commencement of the disturbances to October 16 (the date when cyclone passed over the district) and from October 16 to date.

After the Home Minister had replied to this question, Dr. Sanyal wanted to have a statement from the Government giving, item by item, corresponding losses suffered by citizens by way of "persons alleged to have been killed by Government agencies, buildings alleged to have been burnt by Government servants or under their interference and acts of intimidation and extortion alleged against Government agencies, and the number of persons alleged to have been assaulted or intimidated by Government, police or military agencies, and the loss of property involved as a result of Government action," in other words, give the picture side by side.

The Speaker, Syed Nausher Ali, was in full sympathy with the question but disallowed it on the ground that Dr. Sanyal's question did not arise as a supplementary to the question asked by the Leader of the European Group. He said, "You are asking for *a comparative view of the atrocities*, if I may say so, alleged to have been committed by police and other officers on one side and activities of the 'rebel elements' as stated in the question."

The Premier, Mr. Fazlul Huq, observed that "in order to answer Dr. Sanyal's question, it would require a thorough investigation into what has happened in the matter of allegations that have been made against the officers of Midnapore."

Mr. J. C. Gupta asked whether Government had any report regarding the loss of property and loss of lives of the inhabitants of

Midnapore or alternatively if Government would state that they were too numerous that Government had not maintained any report in that direction.

Mr. Huq wanted notice, but admitted that "this much I can say that the reports *do contain some information as regards injury caused to private individuals.*" He also said, "In the opinion of the Ministry, an inquiry into the whole affair is desirable."

These interpellations confirm the view that more than a *prima facie* case has been made out for holding an impartial inquiry into the Midnapore atrocities. Mr. Huq promised such a Tribunal a month ago, but its personnel has not yet been announced. Unreasonable delay in holding the inquiry will lead the public to think that the Civil Service is unable to defend its own action and is afraid to face truth. No Government should allow harbouring of such impressions in the public mind. The only remedy is speedy and open inquiry. If the officials had acted in good faith, there is no earthly reason of their being afraid to face a Tribunal of Inquiry.

Complications in the Food Problem

A cut motion was moved in the Bengal Legislative Assembly to criticise the irregularities in making the advance of Rs. 53 lakhs to the Director of Civil Supplies for the purchase of food grains. It was alleged by the mover that the decision to advance the amount was taken without the knowledge of the Chief Minister who was also the Finance Minister.

The Chief Minister, Mr. Fazlul Huq, in his reply said :

> I confess that I have been extremely unhappy about all that has happened concerning the Civil Supplies Department ever since the promulgation of denial policy in April, 1942.
>
> The problems were very complicated, and various factors came into play which rendered it necessary for officials to take quick action. But there were various reasons why actions that were taken did not produce the best results. As regards the officials concerned, I gladly admit that most of them were extremely brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service, and as regards the non-officials they were men who had attained the position of eminence and dignity in the public life of this country. But *it so happened that many of them not only did not actually know what they were doing and could not appreciate what the results would be of the policy they were following in consequence of their meagre knowledge of the habits and customs of the people*, as also for the circumstances prevailing in the country. *In many of these cases directions came from the Centre*, and so far as I can remember, *many things have happened to which the provincial Government not only did not give consent but have entered firm but respectful protest.*
>
> Generally speaking, Ministers were not consulted in many matters before action was taken, and, in many cases, consent was taken afterwards.
>
> Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal : That is our grievance.
>
> Mr. Huq : That has happened. I will not be telling the truth if I made a different statement in the House. (Italics ours.—ED, *M. R.*).

In India, the bureaucratic Civil Service has no link with the people and the British Civilians know nothing about the country. The British Civilians who came to India in the last century tried to understand the people, mixed with them and studied Indian history and literature. But that tradition is entirely lost, the present-day officials have pulled up all their activities into their well guarded rooms in the Secretariat. They are not responsible to the people's representatives in the Legislature. Ministers have no hand in their appointment, or dismissal. They are powerless even to transfer from one place to another even when public opinion demands it. The food problem will continue to remain complicated when the task of its solution is left to such officials, however brilliant they might have been in their Secretarial work. Some good work might have been done if the officials of the Civil Supply Directorate were made responsible to the Bengal Legislature through the Minister-in-charge of Civil Supplies.

Corruption and Bribery in Civil Supply

Allegations of corruption and bribery have been made since the beginning of Price Control in Bengal. Mr. P. N. Bannerjee, the newly appointed Minister of Civil Supplies, admitted on the floor of the Assembly that "charges of corruption and bribery were rampant." This admission has come after the public had suffered terrible inconveniences and had been defrauded to the extent of many lakhs of rupees. It has, however, done one good. It has cleared up a popular misunderstanding that the days of Clive and Hastings were over. High salary and fat allowances have failed to make some Government officials immune from bribery and corruption.

Value of the Promise

Some of the Bengal Ministers are loudly declaring that "very substantial" quantities of rice are on the way to Bengal and will arrive in Calcutta in a "very few" days. They are maintaining "strict secrecy," as regards the exact quantities of rice coming to Bengal, "in the interest of the public." Pandit Godavaris Misra has however given out the secret by telling the *A. P.* that the Government of Orissa had decided to release 25000 mds. of rice daily for 16 days for the Calcutta market in addition

to the 2 lakh mds. made available to Bengal. Sir Md. Saadullah has said that he would send 5000 tons.

The quantities of rice to be imported and on stock are being kept close secrets by the over-cautious Bengal Government, and not by Orissa and Assam both of whom are equally important military zones. Do the Government believe that an import of some 25,000 tons will fill up the void created by the export of 2·84 lakh tons from this Province? The quantities to be imported will be hardly sufficient for one day's meal for the people of Bengal.

The publication of these figures has made it clear why the price of rice did not fall by a single pice when the Bengal Government's solemn declaration of importing "very substantial" quantities in a "very few" days was made. A promise when unfulfilled may be looked upon as a palpable bluff. It is not graceful for a Government to make an unworthy promise to a starving people.

Rising Prices of Cotton

The Finance Member of the Government of India has been visibly moved by a rise in the price of cotton on the Bombay market. In the Central Legislature, he accused the speculators for this rise and said that this had put difficulties on his way to provide cheap cloth for the poor. In his opinion high cotton prices would obstruct the grow more food scheme because the higher the cotton prices, the less would be the area under food. He emphatically declared that the Government would mobilise its full resources to defeat and crush the speculator.

The Governments, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, have shown woeful lack in planning to control prices. A rise in food prices by 500% and a rise in the price of cotton textiles by 400% failed to draw even a fraction of the rebuke Sir Jeremy has now directed to the cotton traders. Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, President of the East India Cotton Association, has given him the reply very aptly:

> The increase in the price of cotton has been due to a steady demand for the actual commodity from the mills owing to a strong statistical position and soaring prices for yarn and cloth. This rise in price, which has followed the rise in price of yarn and cloth can, therefore, by no strength of imagination, be called "speculative." In fact, it has been a matter of criticism that, *in spite of soaring prices for yarn and cloth, the Government of India chose to be silent spectators of enormous margin to the textile industry, which of course brought into the Government substantial amounts by way of Excess Profits Tax.* I refuse to believe that the Finance Member, as representing the Government of India, can object to the cotton grower at last coming in for his share of a reasonable return on his labours which he did not have until very lately. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*)

The fear of a possible fall in the Excess Profit Tax collection consequent on an increased cost of production due to a rise in the cotton price is the most probable reason which has turned Sir Jeremy Raisman overnight champion of the poor.

A Vigor Plan in Making

Mr. Vigor, the new food Adviser to the Government of India, in a Press Conference, gave his conclusions as a result of three weeks' study of the food problem and said that there was no real deficiency in India as a whole with regard to rice or wheat and there need be no alarm at all. It was possible that in some urban areas consumers would be asked here and there to take millets rather than rice. Really good crops of millets were looked forward to and this would ease the situation in the rice areas, while the wheat crop was also really good. It is difficult to take these observations made by Mr. Vigor at their face-value. The price of rice has gone up by six times at a time when its price under normal conditions rules the cheapest. The Bengal Government has repeatedly said there has been a shortage of rice this season. The wheat crop has not also been good and it has been necessary to import large quantities of the commodity from Australia to ease the situation. The problem of equitable distribution, has, among other reasons, contributed to the rise of price no doubt, but the fact of shortage cannot be so easily ruled out. Such unguarded optimistic statements, under the present circumstances, are liable to do more harm than good. India lacks woefully in agricultural statistics and it is amazing how a new entrant could finish his survey within a period of three weeks.

Regional Food Commissioners

In the same Press Conference, Mr. Vigor made the announcement of the appointment of Regional Food Commissioners. In a Press Note, the Gvernment of India said that it had been decided to create several posts of Regional Food Commissioners for the better co-ordination and control of food supplies all over India, including the Indian States, and to assist all governments in the application of the all-India plans for dealing with food matters. These Commissioners will each have to deal with several Provinces and many States that lie in their areas and the duties that will fall to them

can generally be explained as co-ordination, liaison and inspection.

Nothing, however, has been made known regarding the Central Government's plan of production, if any. Increase of production is the first thing which should be done to bring down the soaring food prices, and this is the factor which demands primary attention. At the beginning of the war, Britain rushed with her production schemes first, and those of supply and rationing were taken in hand later. Government of India permitted things to drift and now find themselves in a hopeless muddle.

Permanent Settlement To Go

The Permanent Settlement is to go, and the actual cultivator is to be brought into direct relation with the Government—this important announcement was made by the Bengal Revenue Minister giving the Government's decision on the recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission. The issue was raised in the Bengal Legislature in a cut motion for expenditure under the head "Land Revenue." Mr. Banerjee, the Revenue Minister, said that there was a widespread feeling of uneasiness in the country over the existing system of land tenure. Strong public opinion demanded the abolition of permanent settlement. The landholders also found themselves in a greatly embarrassed position due to a number of tenancy and other legislations calculated to give relief to the peasants. Some of them had retrospective effects and created unprecedented difficulties.

The Revenue Minister announced the following decisions of the Government regarding the Floud Commission Report:

(a) Government accepted the policy of bringing the actual cultivator into direct relation with Government, and of acquiring, in the first instance, the interests of all classes of rent receivers above the lowest grade of cash paying under-ryats.

(b) Rates of compensation to be paid to persons whose interests were acquired should vary between 10 to 15 times the net profit according to the nature and circumstances of each estate as interests.

(c) A tribunal of a judicial character should be set up for the assessment of compensation in each case, and that the tribunal's decision should be final.

(d) Government should undertake legislations in the matter on these lines as early as possible after going through the technical formalities enjoined under the Government of India Act.

(e) In view of the financial and other risks involved, state acquisition should first be undertaken on an experimental basis in one district where the revisional operations now going on were almost in the process of completion.

The debate that followed the announcement raised no important point against the abolition itself, but the general opinion was that the requisite legislation should be undertaken after the war and not in the midst of it. The Chief Minister, Mr. Fazlul Huq, however, held a different view and said that he would be voicing the opinion of the vast majority of the members of the House when he said that time was already ripe when something really should be done. It is yet to be seen whether Mr. Huq's declared intention is real, or a mere election stunt aimed at countering the victories of the Muslim League in the bye-elections.

The present-day landholders will have little to lose by the abolition of Permanent Settlement if fair compensation is paid to them.

Condition of Peasants after the Abolition

The future condition of peasants after the abolition of the Permanent Settlement will depend on the system of tenure enforced. Mr. Fazlul Huq is personally inclined to play the role of Akbar in collecting revenue on the basis of produce. He wants to assess revenue at one-sixth of the gross produce. What he proposes to do is to go back to an old system of revenue collection when social conditions have completely changed materially and psychologically. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives the manner of revenue collection as follows:

(1) The peasant is submissive and revenue paying.

(2) Eight months in the year they pay the revenue by degrees.

(3) Themselves bring rupees and mohurs to the appointed place.

(4) The practice of crop division does not exist.

(5) Always there is cheapness.

(6) They do not insist or object to the measuring of the crop.

(7) Assessment of revenue proceeds on *nasaq*. (Moreland thought, *nasaq* should mean 'summary assessment' and not 'estimate.' According to him, Sir John Shore missed its full significance by taking *nasaq* to mean 'estimate' in place of 'summary assessment.')

Summary assessment on produce was possible when the peasants were comparatively well off, had no crushing burdens of debt on their shoulders, when all the lands were more or less equally fertile and when pressure of population on land was not high. There was, then, no outside agency in India to drain off the wealth of the country to the progressive impoverishment of the masses.

Does Mr. Fazlul Huq think it possible for him to restore these social, economic and political conditions when he chooses to enforce the old time method of revenue collection?

Indian Bania Beats the British

In the Central Legislature, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta characterised the 'food situation in the country as a "battle of bread" in which, the *bania* has beaten the British hollow.' (*Commerce*).

It was rather a queer sight to find the European Group in the Bengal Legislature abandon their old policy of maintaining *status quo* and moving a censure motion against the present Ministry on the issue of their failure to deal with black markets and profiteering. Mr. Mehta's observation will explain the reason on this injured innocence.

Dwijesh Chandra Chakravarti

In the death of Sj. Dwijesh Chandra Chakravarti we have lost a good administrator and a personality well-known for his beneficent and cultural activities. He was for many years the Dewan of Gouripore Estate in Assam. Numerous educational and co-operative organisations, and large-scale agrarian reform measures came into being under his direction so that Gouripore became a progressive Estate and linked itself with modern forces in Bengal and Assam. His wife Anindita Debi was a distinguished Bengali writer known by her pen-name *Banganari*. He leaves behind him two sons, one of whom is Sj. Amiya Chakravarti, the well-known litterateur.

Position of Ministers in Bengal

The position of the Bengal Council of Ministers had recently been the subject of discussion on the floor of the Bengal Legislature. A member in detention wanted to know whether it was a fact that the Governor had chosen to act in many vital matters, in disregard of the wishes of the Ministers and had depended on the advice of a section of permanent officials. He also wanted information about the number of instances, if any, in which the advice tendered by the Ministers had not been accepted by the Governor, and what steps if any, the Council of Ministers had taken or proposed to take to meet the situation.

The Chief Minister at first declined to furnish the information asked for, but when pressed, admitted that "there were cases in which the advice tendered had not been accepted by the Governor acting in his discretion." He however declined to give the exact number of such instances in obedience to the oath he had taken while accepting office.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, in a statement to the Press, published on Nov. 24, had clearly stated that in many vital matters the advice tendered by the Ministers were brushed aside by the Governor. The bunglings at Midnapore and with the food problem were instances in point.

These were functions within the scope of ministerial responsibility, and outside the Governor's special responsibilities. The Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governor lays down that "In all matters within the scope of the executive authority of the Province, save in relation to functions which he is required by the said Act (Government of India Act) to exercise in his discretion, Our Governor shall in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him be guided by the advice of his Ministers, unless in his opinion so to be guided would be inconsistent with the fulfilment of any of the special responsibilities which are by the said Act committed to him, or with the proper discharge of any of the functions which he is otherwise by the said Act required to exercise on his individual judgment." The Instrument of Instructions authorises the Governor to act, ministerial advice notwithstanding, in exercise of his special powers only when such action is necessary for the due discharge of his special responsibilities and functions. In Assam, the Council of Ministers has been practically superseded by Maj.-Gen. Wood, who is acting there virtually as a dictator holding his authority from the Governor-General. The helpless position of the Assam Ministers under such circumstances had been the subject of discussion in a recent sitting of the Central Legislature. In both the Provinces, the Ministers were absolutely helpless in the matter of rice purchase, which certainly did not come under any of the special responsibilities of the Governors or the Governor-General. Does not such action clearly nullify both the spirit and letter of the Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governors? It would have been more graceful if executive authority were exercised by a Governor under Sec. 93, instead of over-riding the legitimate rights and functions contemplated under the Act.

Government Pamphlet on Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances

A few days after Gandhiji had begun his fast, the Government of India issued a pamphlet setting forth the material on which they have framed their conclusion fixing the responsibility of Gandhiji and the Congress for the distur-

bances that followed the passing of the A.-I. C. C. Resolution in August last, and the subsequent arrest and detention of Gandhiji along with a number of prominent Congressmen since the 9th August last. Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Home Secretary to the Government of India, in his preface to the pamphlet says that their review does not disclose all the information in the possession of the Government as they think that there is a large volume of evidence which it is undesirable to publish at present. Forty-one out of 86 pages of the pamphlet are devoted to a detailed recital of the allegations made by Government against Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress High Command while the rest contains so many as fifteen appendices bearing on these allegations. The case that the Government have attempted to build on the evidence they have succeeded in securing falls into two parts. In the first three chapters of the booklet an attempt is made to trace the rise and growth of the movement that, in the view of the writer of the publication, Gandhiji's writings and the speeches of Congress leaders between April and August of last year have given rise to, culminating in the "Quit India" agitation. The authorities have also drawn their own inferences of the real motives and aims of the Congress Resolutions as also of the contemplated character of the whole movement. Chapters IV to VI attempt to set out the actual nature and course of the disturbances that followed the arrests and the part played in these, as assumed by Government, by "known" Congressmen and then put forward their final conclusion. The conclusion arrived at by Government after they have drawn what they describe as "a composite picture" of the movement is set forth in the following words :

> "In the face of all this evidence—the evidence of the atmosphere produced by Mr. Gandhiji's writings in the *Harijan*, the evidence of the speeches of the members of the Working Committee before and at Bombay, the evidence of the programmes involving violent action distributed at the time of arrests, the evidence of the form of the uprising, the evidence of known Congressmen personally proved guilty of violent action, the evidence of the pamphlets broadcast in the name of the Congress—only one answer can be given to the question as to who must bear the responsibility for the mass uprisings and individual crimes which have disgraced and are still disgracing the fair name of India. That answer is—the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi."

S. K. L.

White Paper on Congress Responsibility

A *Reuter* press message dated the 24th March transmitted from London announces that the Government of India's statement relating to their case against Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress has just been released there in the form of a White Paper. The document constitutes a 50,000 word official paper. It begins its recital of the Government case from April 9, 1942 when Mahatma Gandhi first publicly called upon Britain to withdraw from India. It declares that from that date until the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held in Bombay in August last, the Congress High Command and, in subsequent stages, the Congress as a whole "were deliberately setting the stage for a mass movement designed to free India finally from British rule." The charge framed by the Government of India is put forward briefly in the following words: "The only explanation that fits all known and established facts is that the Congress produced and to the best of its ability directed widespread disorders amounting in some areas to nothing short of open rebellion which followed the arrests of August 9. The White Paper wholly ignores the popular Indian point of view that the disturbances occurred as a result of the widespread resentment caused by the action of Government in arresting Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders and the extremely provocative policy followed subsequently by the authorities at various centres. Since the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders various statements have been made by responsible spokesmen on behalf of the British Government in this country and elsewhere besides the authoritative statements contained in the Government pamphlet on Congress responsibility published in India and the White Paper issued in Britain of which only a summary has been received in this country. There is a sort of family likeness in all of them inasmuch as the same logical manner is laid open in almost all of them, the same set of examples are mentioned in support of the Government case, the same arguments are used, self-same motives are ascribed, identical inferences are drawn, and almost the same words, phrases and sentences appear and reappear in the statements. Before we express our considered view of the merits of the case put forward by the authorities and the spokesmen and commentators they have employed to carry on propaganda on their behalf we propose to describe as briefly as possible the nature of some of the materials on the basis of which the British Government have attempted to build charges of the gravest character against the Indian National Congress, Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders. We note that attempts are also being simultaneously made, in

this country and elsewhere, in as comprehensive and efficiently organised a manner as possible, with the help of India's immense resources, to deal, what Indians understand as a death-bringing blow to the movement for India's unity and political progress.

S. K. L.

Nature of Evidence

A few examples will illustrate the nature of evidence used by Government to convince the public in this country and elsewhere of the responsibility of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders in the matter of the disturbances that followed their arrest. A number of passages have been quoted from *Harijan* in support of the Government case. These passages appear in a mutilated form quite apart from the context with the result that sometimes very important and relevant passages following the words, phrases or sentences quoted are omitted. On the basis of such distorted evidence, how can it be expected that people, who have no means of being acquainted with the other side of the picture will be in a position to take a dispassionate and impartial view of the situation and make a fair and proper estimate of the value of the evidenfe placed before them ?

One of the most important charges levelled against Mahatma Gandhi was the innuendo that his declaration about non-violence was "nothing more than a pious hope," and that he knew that "the Indian masses were incapable of non-violence." The fact that such base charges should be made against Gandhiji in the face of the numberless pronouncements that he has made on the subject on numerous occasions—pronouncements set forth in the clearest, most distinct and unambiguous terms—shows a lamentable disregard for truth and fairplay in the authors of such charges. One of their quotations from Gandhiji's writings runs as follows : "Leave India to God. If that is too much then leave her to anarchy," care has been taken by the compiler to leave out the next sentence which runs as follows : "I invite every Britisher who loves Britain, India and the world to join in the appeal to the British power and, if it is rejected, to adopt such non-violent measures as would compel the Power to comply with the appeal."

In an interview with Press representatives at Wardha Gandhiji made a statement. A reference to this is made in *Harijan*. In the course of his statement Gandhiji said : "If withdrawal (of the British) takes place in perfect goodwill, the change will be effected without the slightest disturbance. . . . . Then there will be no anarchy, no interruption, and a crowning glory." Another quotation reproduces the following words, "It would be a mass movement," omitting the remaining significant words of the sentence—"of a strictly non-violent character." With reference to the charge of responsibility regarding unlawful and violent actions, Mahatma Gandhi in one of his letters to the Viceroy remarks thus : "This is a gross distortion of the reality. Violence was never contemplated at any stage. A definition of what could be included in non-violent action has been interpreted in a sinister and subtle manner as if the Congress was preparing for violent action."

The charge that the Congress, as a *clique*, wanted to dominate the National Government, if, and when formed, does not find any support in the published authoritative statements made on its behalf on the subject. The Congress offer was that if, simultaneously with the declaration of independence of India, the Government of India could not trust the Congress to form a stable Provisional Government, they should ask the Muslim League to do so, and that any National Government formed by the League, responsible to a duly elected Assembly, and subject to such agreed adjustments as might be necessary for the duration of the war, would be loyally accepted by the Congress. The statements and declarations made both by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru demonstrate the utter unfairness of the charge about Gandhiji's readiness to negotiate with Japan. Gandhiji did not indulge in any exaggeration when in writing to Lord Linlithgow on the 12th August, 1942, he said that "the Government of India was wrong in precipitating the crisis" and that the Government case "justifying this step is full of distortion and misrepresentation." The mystery about the withholding of Gandhiji's letter to Government of the 23rd September, 1942 from the public has not yet been cleared. In this letter Gandhiji wrote thus : ". . . I venture to assert that, had the Government but awaited my contemplated letter to His Excellency the Viceroy and, the result thereafter, no calamity would have overtaken the country. The reported deplorable destruction would have most certainly been avoided."

S. K. L.

Merits of Government's Case

After going carefully through the materials so confidently put forward by Government, as having proved the responsibility of the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of

Mahatma Gandhi, for the disturbances, we can unhesitatingly say that the Government have completely failed to establish the case that they are so anxious to prove and to establish which they have adopted such elaborate devices. So long as the authorities are not able to submit all the materials available to them to judicial scrutiny, they cannot expect any responsible and impartial judicial authority in any civilised Government to accept their judgment, as only such authority can decide on the value of the evidence, specially as the Government have constituted themselves as both prosecutor and judge in the case. It seems that no proper effort has so far been made to test the evidence which has been placed before the public. Besides, the accused do not appear to have been afforded any opportunity to sift for themselves and enquire into the evidence and to put forward what they have to say on it. Mahatma Gandhi, for instance, who had an opportunity of knowing, perhaps partly, of the nature of the accusations against him, speaks of the total untrustworthiness of the evidence. He observes thus in the course of his letter to Lord Linlithgow written on the New Year's Eve, 1942 : "I find that all the statements made about me in Government quarters in this connection contain palpable departures from truth." The evidence, so far as it has been made public, appears to have been based on material which no civilised government is likely to consider to be reliable and no properly constituted and impartial tribunal as worthy of credence. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said before the Press Conference at New Delhi on the 21st February, while referring to the question of responsibility for the disturbances, this could only be answered either by an independent commission or a tribunal. He further added :

> The conclusion I have formed by reading newspapers and examining such evidence as has been allowed to appear in the newspapers is this. That there were certain Congressmen who took part in the disturbances I have no doubt. I am not prepared to draw the inference from this that the Congress as a body either inspired this active rebellion or could be legally responsible for it. These are facts which require to be investigated by an independent tribunal. I am not prepared to accept the verdict of Government any more than the contention of any Congressman that no Congressman took part in it.

The *Statesman* makes the following significant remarks while writing on the White Paper :

> "Much of it is impressive; none needs recapitulation here. One generalisation may suffice. The Congress party is large, long-established, well-organised, its leaders are highly intelligent men. That such a body, under the rough risks of war, should have discussed for many weeks, as it did last summer, the inauguration of a mass movement amounting to rebellion, but should have omitted to plan in very practical fashion for the movement's progress whatever might personally befall them, has never seemed to us a credible proposition."

This is the opinion of the most influential organ representing British interests in India. That the authorities are not able to put up a better case in support of the very grave indictment that they have made must cover them with discredit in the eyes of all impartial and fairminded people.

S. K. L.

Foreign Opinion on the White Paper

The telegraphic summaries of the views of the British and American Press on the White Paper received in this country do not show that it has produced the effect that the authorities had expected from its publication. The nature of the propaganda that is being carried on in these countries in support of the British policy in regard to the Indian situation as a whole will be apparent from the statement made by the London correspondent of *The Bombay Chronicle* to the effect that :

> "A long queue waited outside His Majesty's Stationery Office to buy Government's White Paper on India, long extracts from which were featured by the evening newspapers, *The Evening Standard* under a six-column streamer heading "Gandhi Planned Viceroy's Capture."

It may be recalled in this connection that sometime ago in a cartoon that appeared in the well-known and widely circulated British paper, *Punch*, a tall Indian soldier, assumed to be a Mahomedan, was depicted as having found out a member of the Congress Party, wearing a Gandhi hat, betraying India to the Enemy, thus suggesting that Gandhiji is inclined to accept Japanese advances and thereby calling in question his good faith. Our information is mainly derived from *Reuter's* telegraphic messages and we find that *The Times* and other Tory papers, as a matter of course, support the Government view and policy. *The Manchester Guardian*, describes the White Paper as a speech for the prosecution and then observes :

> The White Paper does not touch the problem which when all is said and done confronts us in India. We cannot satisfy the nationalist demand by an indefinite repressive policy, however serious the offences that are punished. Someday we have to talk, negotiate and construct a political settlement.

The Daily Herald finds fault with the "self-righteous outlook" of the Government of India and observes that it does not think that "the world will be very interested to read the Government of India's indictment of Mr. Gandhi.

The world at war is interested in the future. Let us quarrel no more about past responsibility for disgracing the fair name of India. Let us try harder to secure India's partnership in redeeming the fair name of civilisation."

The Northern Echo complains that the Government of India is doing nothing "to bring peace and goodwill in India nearer today or tomorrow."

"That remains as urgently desirable as ever and unless some active steps are taken to promote them peace and goodwill are likely to remain a distant prospect."

According to a *Bombay Chronicle* telegram received from its London correspondent, *The Daily Worker*, in an editorial, under the title "Whitewash Paper," describes the White Paper as "a document that reflects gravely over the honesty and competence of those engaged in its compilation." It adds:

"Those responsible for the deadlock-at-any-price policy as typified in this insincere document must be forced to change their tune. By the adoption of a policy of sincerity, agreement with Indian people can yet be reached."

The message further quotes the opinion of the political correspondent of *The Daily Herald*, who says that they do not accept the doctrine of exclusive Congress responsibility for failure to achieve a settlement on the Indian problem. Some of the progressive members of the House, it is stated, do not intend to allow it to exclude the wider issue of India's future from discussion. They propose, therefore, to renew their pressure on the British Government to find ways for reopening negotiation with a view to an early end of the present deadlock. The Special Correspondent of *The Tribune* quotes the opinion of Mr. Menon, Chairman of the India League of London. In the opinion of Mr. Menon the White Paper has failed to pin violence on Mahatma Gandhi as it "is based on odds and ends of statements put by irresponsible or non-existent organisations." It is pointed out that the part of the White Paper about the plot to imprison Lord Linlithgow can be attributed to "'only a particularly mischievous leaflet' from unrevealed sponsors." The same paper's special correspondent at Washington states that although the White Paper has received considerable publicity, Government officials decline to make any comment. The message quotes the opinion of impartial and well-informed circles, "that it is not expected that the story will arouse much comment because the facts mentioned in the White Paper are viewable now chiefly in retrospect."

S. K. L.

Gandhiji's Fast and its Reaction

A very welcome effect of Gandhiji's fast along with the events succeeding it has been that it has served to focus the attention of public opinion in the country, representing different shades of opinion, to the question of a proper settlement of the Indian problem. The spontaneous manner in which members of all the communities, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and Britishers have joined their voices in demanding that the British Government should release Gandhiji unconditionally and thereby pave the way to a settlement of the Indian problem, abundantly testifies to this important fact. Efforts are, however, sedulously been made to produce the impression that only Hindus are concerned in the matter. Nothing could be further from truth. We have seen how well-known Muslim leaders from different provinces, such as Sir Haji Kasem Mitha, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, Mr. Alla Buksh (ex-premier of Sindh), Maulana Ahmed Said, Secretary Jamait-ul-Ulema) Hind; Mr. Zahiruddin, President Momin Conference, Mr. Abdul Qayum (voicing the feeling of Pathans of the Frontier Province), Mr. Humayun Kabir, Member of Bengal Legislative Council and Secretary, Hindu-Muslim Unity Association, Dr. Asraf, Dr. Shaukatulla Ansari, General Secretary, All-India Independent Muslim Party's Federation, Mohammad Ahmed Kazmi, Member, Central Legislative Assembly, etc., joined the promoters of the Leaders' Conference, held at New Delhi in February last, under the Chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, at which three hundred public men from different parts of India representing various communities, creeds and interests, workers, communists, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and British missionaries met and gave expression to the universal desire of the people that in the interest of the future of India, and of international goodwill Mahatma Gandhi should be released immediately and unconditionally, with a view to facilitating the resolution of the Indian deadlock speedily and effectively. It is worthy of note that both Houses of the Legislature in Bengal, with predominantly Muslim members, also expressed their concern for Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Sajjad Zahir in a review of the Urdu Press on Gandhiji's fast in a recent issue of *People's War*, the organ of the Communist Party of India, says that

"There has never been, in recent times, a greater rally of Muslim League opinion over an issue of this nature." The writer adds: "The Bengal Muslim

League Assembly Party's vote for Gandhiji's unconditional release, the statement of the General Secretary of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, the statement of the Hon. Haji Mohammed Hussain of Allahabad, a Muslim Leaguer in the Council of State, demanding Gandhiji's unconditional release—all these show which way the entire Muslim League is moving. Responsible League leaders have declared in the United Provinces that they desire Gandhiji's release. The entire Urdu Press of the League says it would like to see Gandhiji *released.*

The numerous utterances of Muslim leaders in different provinces, many of them belonging to the Muslim League, that have since Gandhiji's fast found publicity in the Press demonstrate in as obvious and plain a manner as possible how Muslim feeling has been stirred. This feeling finds expression in a letter that Mr. Abdul Gani, Vice-chairman, Berhampore Municipality, Bengal, has addressed to Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League. He writes thus :

> "Mr. Gandhi having undertaken a fast for 21 days, an historic opportune moment has arisen for the Congress and the Muslim League and other political parties to solve the present political *impasse* in India.
>
> "We deem it an urgent necessity at this moment to put pressure upon the Government of India for his release from Jail, so that the different political bodies may meet together for the solution of the present deadlock."

It is to be hoped that proper advantage will be taken of this reaction, by leaders of all communities, to put their heads together, with a view to exploring avenues for reconciliation and for resolution of the present deadlock.

S. K. L.

Will Gandhiji Be Tried Before a Court of Law ?

At question time in the Council of State at New Delhi on the 24th March, the attention of the Government was drawn to the Viceroy's remark in one of his recent letters to Mahatma Gandhi which runs thus :

> "You may rest assured that the charges against the Congress will have to be met sooner or later, and it will then be for you and your colleagues to clear yourselves before the world if you can."

Raja Yuvaraj Datta Singh asked Government, if it had been decided to bring Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues of the Congress before a duly constituted court of law for trial. With regard to the Pamphlet "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances" he asked when did the Government propose to disclose all the information in its possession and also "a large volume of evidence which it is undesirable to publish at present."

Mr. E. Conran-Smith, Secretary, Home Department, replying said that the Government were not prepared to make any statement on this subject at present.

Mr. H. Imam : Does this reply mean that Government do not propose to take action ?

Mr. Conran-Smith : My reply means nothing more than what I have said.

S. K. L.

Mr. Churchill Speaks His Mind

Mr. Churchill's recent broadcast was an interesting study into the psychology of the die-hard imperialist. It was barren of all hope to those peoples of the world who were either in a state of subjugation to the western peoples or under a state of political domination by the westerners prior to this war. Putting aside the statements regarding the military situation, if one scrutinizes the future world as portrayed by Mr. Churchill, one is struck by the medieval character of the scheme. There must be no talk or promise as regards the advancement of the peoples of the world for it may "impose great new expenditure on the state without any relation to the circumstances which might prevail at that time." Of course, untold treasure and "blood and toil and tears" must be provided for the war, but once the war is over the imperialist with his following of war-profiteers, financial jugglers and monopolist freebooters must be left in peace to enjoy and further enlarge their spoils. Whatever there is in his "four-year" plan is vague in the extreme, and is in the way of a very thin gilded sugar-coating for the pill he is offering to the masses of his own people. There is no idle chatter about "Four Freedoms" and the Atlantic Charter seems to have been relegated to the depths of the Western Ocean.

The unemployed must be "toned up." There will be no scheme for the rebuilding of Europe—let alone the dark nethermost regions of the rest of the world—providing a rational scheme of employment for all. Agriculture must be further increased, of course within the British isles, and Public health cared for. Education must also be established on a national basis, but he does not mention how these are to be done *and why*. The Totalitarians of the Axis did all this to a far greater extent and with a far greater efficiency than did Mr. Churchill's country but now the world knows to what end all that was done. Great emphasis was put by him on the control of exchanges and currency systems, and in this matter he not only looks ten or fifteen years ahead but his Government has "put before them (the U. S. A. and the British dominions) and our friends and Allies some tentative sugges-

tions for the future management of exchanges and of international currency which will shortly be published." The world will wait with bated breath for this scheme which will undoubtedly let the profiteer enjoy his loot while the rest of the world will groan under the economic fetters imposed on them by the Big Three of the United Nations in general and the British Commonwealth of Nations in particular !

Turning to the political side of the picture, one sees a complete "liquidation" of Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" and the Atlantic Charter. We Asiatics have been definitely put beyond the pale, in peace as in war, only China is going to be rescued from her torment in some distant day. Even Europe can only expect another League of Nations, from which the France that Mr. Churchill so extolled at the time of her collapse has been excluded, in which the Imperial charter of the world will be held, jointly and severally by the Big Three of the United Nations. There is no promise, no hope for the rest of the world in the immediate future beyond a pious hope that "one can imagine that under a world institution embodying or representing the United Nations, *and some day all nations*, there should come into being a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia." Mr. Churchill *does not* say whether the Council of Asia would come into being "sometime next century—but it may well be in the century after—" but the people of Asia know what to think.

Mr. Churchill has spoken, it now remains for Mr. Roosevelt to speak. M. Stalin would probably be too busy now about the immediate future of his own country, as he was at the time of the Casablanca conferences.

British Propaganda Against Indian Nationalism

While according to Mr. Churchill Asia must wait, others of his ilk in Britain are only too impatient to take Time by the forelock. The typical piece of poisonous propaganda quoted below is a good indicator as to what will happen to the British promises to India after the war.

> The Hindu desires, by the power of the ballot box, to obtain control of the Empire of India as the inheritor of the British Democratic raj, though he has never ruled over an Empire of India in the last 2,000 years and never at all in Northern India for 700 years. The Mahommedan says he will fight rather than agree.
>
> The question must be asked a second time : On what do we found our belief that India can be a democratic federation to be ruled by the Hindu vote ? What ground have we got for thinking that India will not again break up into separate Kingdoms ? What is there even in European history to suggest such a result ? The American example is the reverse of what we find in India. In America a homogeneous people formed a federation into which people of foreign races have been or are being assimilated. The mould was already in existence. In India, we are asking for a federation while removing the model.
>
> What hope can there be of success unless we face the idea of division of India ?
>
> Sir Lionel Haworth, Lt.-Col.
> —*19th Century and after.*

Comments are superfluous but we would like to remark that the gallant gentleman's ignorance of Indian History is only matched by his eagerness to requite the salt he took in this unfortunate land.

The Colonial Question

The following remarks of the *Economist* re. the Colonial question may well be read in conjunction with Mr. Churchill's speech.

> There have been too many Colonial Secretaries in recent years and too little Colonial policy. It is the habit nowadays to use the Colonial office like the Board of Education, as a convenient seat in the perpetual game of musical chairs, which has been so outstandingly the characteristic of "national" governments, especially in war time. Yet both the Colonial office and the Board of Education will be the chief ground of the Government's good intentions in the matter of reconstruction; and if the political chiefs, good, bad and indifferent, are continually going out as soon as they come in, the scope for making bold broad new programmes required is obviously much restricted.—*Economist*, 28-11-42.

Resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq

It is announced that Mr. Fazlul Huq has resigned his position as Chief Minister of the Government of Bengal, and that the Governor has accepted his resignation. At the meeting of the Legislative Assembly, held on Monday, the 29th March, the circumstance under which Mr. Fazlul Huq had to submit his resignation, was disclosed. When the House met to resume consideration of the remaining items in the Budget, Mr. Kiran Sankar Ray, leader of the official Congress Party, asked, with the permission of the Speaker, the question, as to whether it was a fact that the Chief Minister had already laid down his office as it was rumoured in the city. Mr. Fazlul Huq, in response to the question, made a statement detailing the circumstance under which he had been compelled to submit his resignation to the Governor. He said that the Governor had sent for him on Sunday (March 28) night when the question about the formation of a National Cabinet was discussed. Some of the proposals that were made in this connection he could not accept consistently with self-respect. Mr. Huq added : "His Excellency the Gover-

nor suggested to me that I should formally tender my resignation. I said I could not do so unless I had time to consult my party and my colleagues. To this the Governor did not agree and I had to sign a letter of resignation." Further questions elicited the information that the letter of resignation had been kept typed and ready at the Government House for the signature of Mr. Fazlul Huq, and that he was asked to choose between signing the letter and being dismissed. It is stated that he had also been asked to repudiate Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherjea's statement but he did not agree to such an ignoble course of action.

S. K. L.

The Resignation and After

The next question that arose at the last meeting of the Bengal Legislative Assembly was, what was the position of the Ministry after the resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister ? Mr. Huq pointed out that the responsibility of the Ministry was joint and several. He gave his opinion that, under the circumstances, as a matter of fact, constitutionally, the Cabinet ought to be *functus officio*. He was not sure whether any formal resignation had been tendered by the other Ministers. Thereupon the Speaker of the Assembly, the Hon. Mr. Syed Nausher Ali, made the following pronouncement: "In view of the statement made by the Hon'ble Chief Minister that he has tendered his resignation and that the resignation has been accepted, and in view further of the fact that the responsibility of the Ministry is joint and several, the Ministry in my opinion has ceased to exist. Consequently, no business of the House whatsoever can be transacted unless a new Ministry is formed." In the circumstances the Speaker adjourned the House for a fortnight.

A difficulty arises as to what will be the effect of all these proceedings on the final adoption of the Budget. The Budget had already been considered and only a few items remained to be discussed for its final adoption by the 31st March. In view of the ruling given by the Speaker, that as the Ministry has ceased to exist and, consequently, no business of the House whatsoever can be transacted, unless and until a new ministry is formed., and as the House has already been adjourned for a fortnight, we do not see at the time of writing how the budget can be finally sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly before that date. The view has been expressed that in the circumstances, so long as Mr. Fazlul Huq enjoys the confidence of a majority, the only possible course for the Governor seems to be to adopt either the procedure of suspending the Constitution under Section 93 of the Government of India Act and take over the administration in his own hands as had been done in the case of the Congress provinces or to re-summon Mr. Fazlul Huq to his former post. A suggestion has emanated from official sources that the view that with the resignation of the Chief Minister, the other Ministers have become *functus officio* is not a correct view and that therefore they may function as Ministers. This view does not appear to have been accepted by the other Ministers. They hold the view that in the circumstances that have occurred, they have ceased to be Ministers and, therefore, the Council of Ministers already stands dissolved.

It is stated that Mr. Fazlul Huq together with his colleagues in his Cabinet was invited to meet the Governor at Government House on Tuesday, the 30th March, that they have been asked to see His Excellency again at 11 o'clock on Wednesday, the 31st March, and that the Governor is awaiting advice from Delhi. An *Associated Press* message states that telegrams have been sent on behalf of the Ministry and the Progressive Coalition Party (Ministerial Party) to the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy in connection with the present political situation in Bengal following Mr. Fazlul Huq's resignation. On the authority of the *United Press*, it is understood, that from its enquiries in Parliamentary circles it has learnt that a representation has also been sent to the Viceroy, urging him not to sanction the application of Section 93 of the Government of India Act in Bengal, in view of the fact that a Ministry has been functioning supported by a substantial majority and that the Progressive Coalition Party is willing to work the Constitution. The facts and circumstances leading to the present deadlock in the Province and the resignation of the Chief Minister have been described in the representation.

S. K. L.

The Governor and the Bengal Ministry

Since Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherjea resigned the position he held as Finance Minister of the Government of Bengal, and both he and the Chief Minister set forth the extremely onerous conditions under which the Council of Ministers of the Province had to carry on their duties, the public has been confronted with a persistent report, forecasting the development of a keen

anxiety in certain high and interested quarters, to bring about a reshuffling of the present Ministry by its conversion into what has been described as a "national" Ministry. There have been abundant reasons to justify the fear that this really meant an attempt to resuscitate, if not wholly, at least partially, a former Ministry that had been responsible for throwing the province, during the entire period of its prolonged existence, into a long and unexampled spell of communal disharmony and tension. We desire, therefore, to enter an emphatic protest against the extremely arbitrary, unconstitutional and unwise way in which His Excellency, the Governor of Bengal, has acted, on the pursuasion of his perverse and indiscreet advisers, in forcing Mr. Fazlul Huq to resign his office as Chief Minister and has thus brought about the present deadlock. The most surprising thing was that Sir John Herbert should venture to act at a time like this in total disregard of the spirit of the constitution and in utter contravention of the terms laid down in the Instrument of Instructions, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Fazlul Huq still enjoyed the confidence of a majority in the Legislative Assembly and when three divisions in cut motions had already established the fact that he had a clear majority behind him. The party to which he belongs, immediately on the announcement of his resignation, placed on record their sense of confidence in him and a crowded public meeting held in Calcutta on Tuesday, the 30th March, gave expression to the public feeling in the Province by a spirited protest against the ill-advised and high-handed manner in which the Governor had proceeded in the matter. The removal of Mr. Allah Baksh from the Premiership of Sind, the resignation by Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherjea of the office of Finance Minister along with the statement that he made on his resignation, the declarations that Mr. Fazlul Huq has made from time to time in the Legislative Assembly about the way the Ministry were checked, thwarted and opposed by officials in the performance of their legitimate duties, and, finally, Sir John Herbert's latest performance demonstrate in as complete a manner as possible the wholly illusory and unreal nature of Provincial Autonomy in India about which the authorities are in the habit of discoursing with such eloquence in England and elsewhere. The public meeting held on the 30th March, acted very properly in referring to certain actions of the Governor since the formation of the Coalition Government and expressing the opinion that "in the best interests of the Province, Sir John Herbert should not remain any longer as Governor of Bengal."

S. K. L.

Communal Representation in the Services

At a meeting of the Council of State held at New Delhi on the 29th March last, the Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman made an important statement on the subject of communal representation in the Services. The statement runs thus:

"I very much welcome the questions asked by members of both the Houses both in this session and in the last session. Some of these questions have brought to light certain defects on account of which I made the statement the other day in the Council that I am prepared to look into the question of properly safeguarding the interests of the Muslims and the minority communities. As the Hon'ble Mr. Conran-Smith said the other day in connection with a resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam, the real difficulty is in the question of promotions and I am very glad to say that the office memorandum of the Home Department of September last is a very valuable document. It is going to place the question of promotions on a very satisfactory basis. I am absolutely certain that if the departments apply the rule mentioned there about seniority, it will give satisfaction to the members of the Muslim and the minority communities. I do realise that every administrative department must not only be efficient but must also be representative of all the communities on a proper basis, and I fully realize that merit sometimes degenerates into favourtism, communal or individual. I am absolutely certain that the office memorandum of the Home Department is going to place the question of promotions on a sound and scientific basis. What the office memorandum says is if there is a vacancy, the man next in seniority, whether he is a Hindu or Mussalman, if there is nothing against him, must naturally get the promotion. I think it will give a great deal of satisfaction when the rule comes to be applied in practical working in every department. Once again I give this assurance that no administrative department could ignore the claims of the Muslims and the minorities to a proper share in the administration of the country."

S. K. L.

National War Front and Rabindranath Tagore

The Tagore Society, of Bombay, have very appropriately recorded their most emphatic protest against the way in which the National War Front is using the writings of Rabindranath Tagore in carrying on its propaganda. We are glad to find that *The Bombay Chronicle, The Bombay Sentinel, The Free Press of India*, etc., have been prompt enough to express their strong disapproval of the misleading manner in which the National War Front has quoted from the writings of the poet torn from their context. The Executive Committee of the Bombay Tagore

Society have adopted the following resolution on the subject:

The Executive Committee of Tagore Society, Bombay, do hereby put on record their strongest disapproval of the manner in which the National War Front have sought to exploit the Poet's name for purposes of propaganda in an advertisement which appeared in the *Times of India* of February 26th, and presumably in other papers. The committee considers that it is nothing short of a sacrilege to broadcast quotations from the Poet's writings divorced from their context and to twist his statements for political ends.

The N. W. F., we feel, could stoop to such dishonourable expedients only because they know that the departed Poet can no longer raise his voice in protest against such wilful misrepresentation of his views. But Tagore's voice has not been silenced yet. It is needless to repeat how deeply Tagore felt the injustice done to India in withholding freedom and democracy to her during a war which was professedly being fought for these ideals. Lest the public be misled by N. W. F. propaganda, we should like to place before them the following lines from Tagore's memorable message on "Crisis in Civilisation," delivered in May, 1941, three months before his death:

> "We know what we have been deprived of. That which was truly best in their own civilisations, the upholdings of the dignity of human relationship, has no place in the British administration of this country. In its place they have established, with baton in hand, a reign of "law and order," in other words a policeman's rule; such mockery of civilisation can claim no respect from us. . . .
>
> "The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind them. I had at one time believed that the springs of civilisation would issue out of the heart of Europe. But today when I am about to quit the world that faith has gone bankrupt altogether."

In view of the above, we hope the National War Front will have the decency to withdraw the offending advertisement at once. They should also make due amends, in whatever way they think best, for the grave injustice they have done to the memory of the great Poet.

Mr. K. R. Kripalani in an article, published in the current issue of the *Visva-Bharati News*, (of which a forward copy has been sent to us), exposes the ignoble manner in which the poet's writings are being exploited by the National War Front. In concluding his article the writer says:

"We have no desire to discourage those who, inspired by honest motives and by love of their country, wish to mobilise Indian opinion and resources to defend, *by whatever means*, the soil of their country against foreign aggression. We respect their good intentions and their endeavours. But we would request them to refrain from associating the Poet's memory with this slogan or that which, whatever their merit, do not adequately represent the basic spirit of his life's work and message.

"Moreover, it should not even be necessary for their purpose. There are innumerable 'leaders' in India, the mere mention of whose names almost always calls forth cheers in the houses of Parliament, whose messages, statements, interviews and clarion calls might be utilised by the National War Front, specially as the Whitehall is never tired of advertising that it is they who represent the real India that matters. Why have recourse to the words of a poet whose appeals, while he lived, were never heeded by those who have today become the saviours of this world?"

S. K. L.

Dr. P. Guha Thakurta

Death has occurred of Dr. Prabhu Guha Thakurta, Publicity Officer of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board. He was formerly a professor and journalist, and also made his mark as a litterateur. He is survived by his widow, son and two daughters. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

Research Publications of Prof. J. B. Chaudhuri

A recent book on Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning by Prof. J. B. Chaudhuri is a scholarly work which will act as an indicator towards the cultural *rapprochement* between the two communities of India between whom such a wide gulf has been dug of recent years.

The other research works of this very painstaking and scholarly professor which may be mentioned in this connection are: (1) The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature of which six volumes have already been published. (2) The Dûta-Kāvya Sangraha of which four volumes are out. (3) The Contribution of Bengal to Smriti Literature in three volumes. (4) The Kosa-Kāvya Sangraha in three volumes. (5) The Position of Women in the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit Literature in two volumes. (6) Muslim Patronage of Sanskrit Learning in two parts. While working as a lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies, London University, Dr. Chaudhuri was entrusted (1934-37) with the revising and seeing through the press, the Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Books in the India Office Library (Part I) which was left unfinished by Dr. Pran Nath. It drew eulogistic comments from eminent Oriental Scholars like Prof. Turner and many leading journals. Three subsequent volumes of the Catalogue (Parts II, III, IV) were made by Prof. Chaudhuri ready for the press.

THE BATTLE OF HALDIGHAT

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

The Scene Described

Akbar arrived at Ajmir on 3rd April 1576 and ordered Man Singh to lead out an army for bringing the Maharana of Udaipur to terms. Chitor had been won by the Mughals from the Sisodia chieftain in 1568 and the Lord of Mewar had been driven into the hills to take up his residence at Goganda, 16 miles north-west of Udaipur as the crow flies, surrounded by a net-work of hills and jungles, and standing 2757 feet above sea-level.

This Goganda was Man Singh's objective after starting from his own base at Mandal, a place midway between Ajmir and Chitor.

As the traveller turns west from the holy city of Nathdwara, 30 miles north of Udaipur, he crosses the snaky Banas river twice and at the end of seven miles reaches on its southern side the large village of Khamnor*, a revenue collector's seat in the Mewar Kingdom. Proceeding three miles further south by winding paths over an almost treeless stretch of uneven rocky soil, he comes to a square-sized plain embosomed among the hills and dotted with mango and *babul* trees whose green shade refreshes his eyes after the glare from the sand and rock that he has just passed over. A perennial spring tumbles down from the hill on his left and waters many small corn-fields on the lower ground to the right of the path. In this plain a force of 2000 or 3000 men can easily encamp. Just beyond it, the hills almost close the square round, then recede a little for a few hundred yards and at last approach very near so as to form the Haldighat pass, 4 miles in length. This defile is so narrow that two horsemen cannot ride abreast in it, and at places even men can walk only in single files. The hillsides on the right and left rise abruptly, covered with thorny grass and scrub or exposing the bare jagged rock. The track is uneven and made rough by the irregular heights of the stones that form Nature's road-way under foot. Within the defile the rocks when crushed yield a bright yellow sand looking exactly like the turmeric (*haldi*) powder with which Indians spice their dishes. Hence it is fittingly known as *Haldighat*. After 4 miles the pass ends, the hills begin to recede, and a wide undulating path leads to Goganda.

Hearing that Man Singh had reached the village of Mohi on the Banas river, a little to the east of Khamnor, Maharana Pratap Singh left Goganda in order to strike the first blow, instead of waiting to see his last capital attacked and taken. In the morning of 18th June his army debouched from the Haldighat and marched upon the enemy's camp. Man Singh immediately took up the challenge, and then followed a battle which will be ever remembered in Indian history.

The Rival Armies Marshalled

A force of 5,000 men had been assembled under Man Singh's command, including a picked body of mounted archers from Central Asia,—Uzbaks, Qazzaqs (the same race of horsemen as the Cossacks of Russia), and Badakhshis, noted for their skill in shooting arrows with precision while fleeing or whirling round and round. The core of the invading force was formed by the clansmen of Man Singh, and these Rajputs fought with a degree of valour which matched that of the Sisodia defenders. Above all shone the Kachhwa prince's cold calculating brain, ever alert eye, and power of prompt action at every change in the tide of combat, against which the primitive weapons and disjointed individual valour of the Rana's followers dashed themselves in vain. The Mughals had a numerical superiority of five to three.

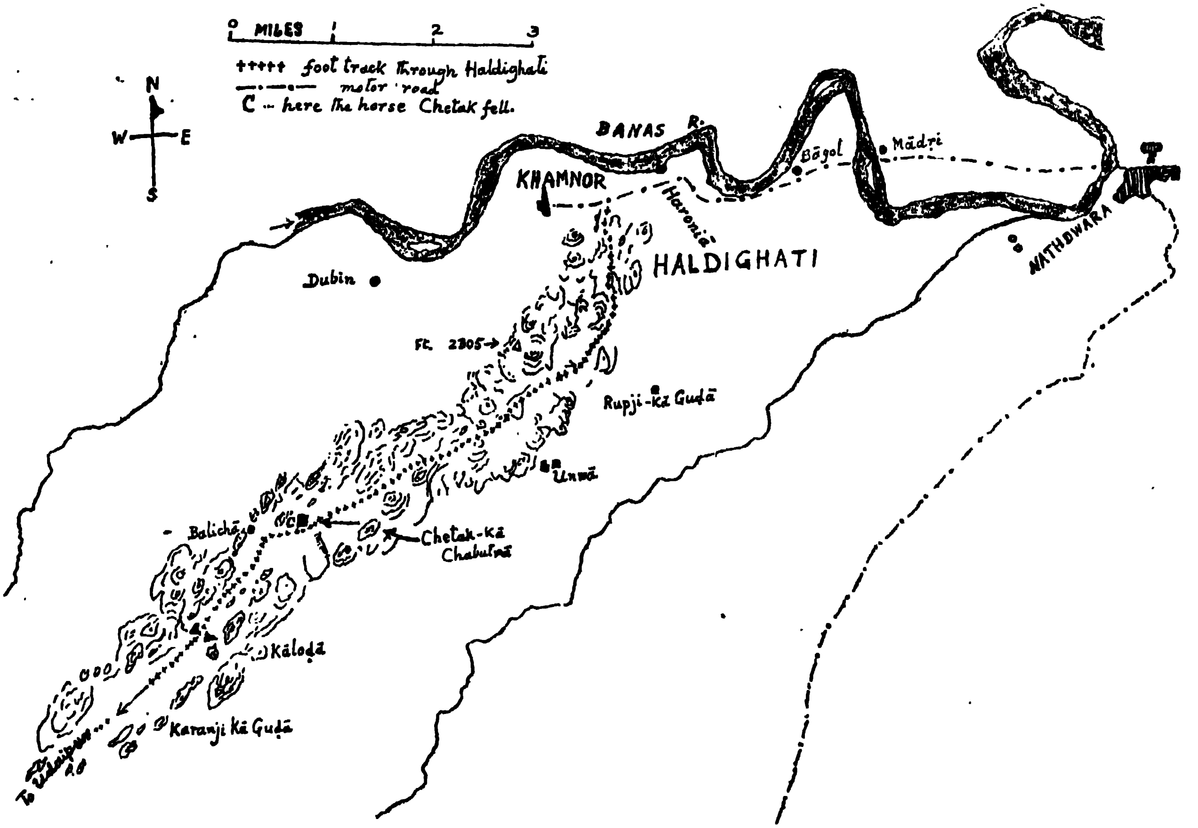
Man Singh marshalled his ranks in the highly methodical Turkish order: besides the five regular and closely inter-locked divisions,—the vanguard, centre, right and left wings, and rear-guard,—there was the useful *Iltimsh* or "advanced reserve," a picked body of troops placed between the centre and the right wing (immediately before or behind their point of junction); and this body was kept ready to be hurried up in support of any point in the battle line that seemed about to give way under enemy pressure. Man Singh himself took post in the centre, seated on the back of a huge elephant, from which elevation his eyes swept over the entire field.

Maharana Pratap Singh was brave as a lion, but had no plan of battle (as Abul Fazl points out); the moves of his separate divisions were not carefully timed and combined so as to produce a united result. He followed the exploded old tactics of making a simultaneous headlong charge by two solid columns of cavalry and then pursuing the enemy if they broke and fled at

* This description is based upon a journey which I made on foot from Khamnor to the furthest end of the Haldighat pass in October, 1934. (*J. Sarkar*).

the first impact. If, however, the enemy divided into small self-contained units, facing round or revolving on his flanks, he became helpless as soon as the initial impetus of his charge was exhausted and his men were unprotected from the rain of missiles from three sides of them.

In the Mewar army, the Maharana himself led the centre, as was the invariable rule with the commander-in-chief. His right and left wings were respectively commanded by Ram Sah Tonwar (the dispossessed Rajah of Gwalior) and Bida the Jhala Chieftain. The post of the greatest danger, at the head of the vanguard was fittingly taken by Ramdas Rathor, the seventh son of Jaimal, the martyred defender of Chitor during Akbar's siege. But as the Maharana had staked his all on a desperate frontal charge, he kept no rearguard and no reserve for any emergency; indeed, his total strength was too small to permit him these precautions without hopelessly weakening his attacking columns and taking the momentum out of his attack. Hence, his initial success could not be followed up, nor his early check overborne. His only tactics were "the wild-boar rush of Petain" described in Capt. Liddel Hart's History of the World War I.



THE MAHARANA'S CHARGE

It was three hours after sunrise on the 18th of June when the two advancing armies first clashed together. From the mouth of the pass rolled out a raging torrent of Mewar horsemen led by Ramdas the son of Jaimal. The impetuosity of their charge swept away the Mughal front line of skirmishers in a twinkle and rolled them up upon the vanguard, which itself was shaken.

The confusion here was made worse by a severe reverse sustained by the Mughal army on its left wing, where Ghazi Khan and Lunkarn were broken and pushed back by Ram Sah, simultaneously with the attack on the front division. The fugitives from this wing burst through the Mughal vanguard and fled for shelter to their right wing, where the obstinate valour of the Sayyids of Barha alone was upholding the imperial cause in spite of heavy slaughter by the Sisodias' left wing (under Bida Jhala). But even the Sayyids seemed about to

give way when the advanced reserve (under Madho Singh Kachhwa) arrived in support of the sorely pressed van. Ghazi Khan too came up with the broken remnant of the left wing.

Man Singh Restores the Battle

At this crisis of the battle Man Singh himself hurried up to the front and plunged into the fight. Behind him came Mehtar Khan with the imperial rearguard, beating his kettledrums and shouting to hearten his comrades. This spread the rumour that Akbar himself had arrived by one of his lightning marches to lead the battle. "A cry went up from the combatants, and the enemy (*i.e.*, the Rana's troops) who were continually becoming more and more predominant, lost heart." By this time the momentum of the Sisodia attack had been spent and the battle line was stabilised; the rival hosts were now locked together in a death embrace, and hand-to-hand fighting raged all over the field. "The warriors on both sides yielded up their lives but preserved their honour." (Abul Fazl.)

The deadlock could be removed only by employing four-footed artillery. The Maharana sent his famous elephant "the rank-breaking *Lonā*" to clear a path. Man and horse quailed before it. But the imperialists countered the move by driving forward their own "Pearl among elephants" (*Gajmuktā*) to oppose it. "The shock of these two mountain-like forms threw the soldiers into trepidation, and the imperial elephant was wounded and about to fly when ... a bullet struck the driver of the enemy's elephant and he turned back. But just then Pratap Tonwar brought forward *Rām Prasād*, which was the head of their elephants, and threw down many gallant men." At this time of wavering, two of the Mughal elephants. *Gajrāj* and *Ran-madar*, were brought up to oppose *Ram Prasad*. But the driver of *Rām Prasād* was hit by an arrow in a vital place and thrown down to the ground by the shock of the charge. Then the driver of the imperial elephant with the greatest agility leapt from his own elephant on to the back of *Rām Prasād* and secured that noted elephant, which had often been a subject of conversation in Akbar's Court, and thus made it one of the spoils of the imperial victory.

The hand-to-hand combat was now resumed. Kachhwa and Sisodia grappled together in deadly rivalry. Ram Sah Tonwar (the ex-King of Gwalior) with his three gallant sons, who always kept in front of the Rana, "performed such prodigies of valour against the Rajputs of Man Singh as baffle description. Similarly, the young heroes who acted as the bodyguard of Man Singh performed such exploits as were a perfect model." This is the grudging testimony extorted from the bigoted Al Badayuni, an actor in this fight. In the heat of their onsets, the two supreme commanders once approached each other, but happily never came within reach of their spears. The Maharana was mostly opposed to Madho Singh Kachhwa, who led the all-important reserve. "Showers of arrows poured on the Rana who was wounded" by arrow and spear.

It was now midday. The contest had raged obstinately for three hours, and the Sisodias who had been under arms and moving for six hours, began to faint from the intense heat of mid-summer in that treeless plain shut round by hills.* There were woeful losses on their side; Ramdas Rathor met with his father's heroic end by falling on the field. Ram Sah of Gwalior with his three sons,—Salivahan. Bhan and Pratap Tonwar,—perished "after showing extreme obstinacy of resistance, and there was none left to be his successor." (*Al Badayuni*). There were many others among the noble slain, of lesser note but no less valour than these.

The Final Scene of the Struggle

One act of the purest Rajput devotion was to light up the closing scene of Haldighat. By this time the tide of battle had turned irretrievably against the Maharana; his wings had been crumpled up and crowded upon his centre, which was hemmed round on three sides by the exultant imperialists. In the confusion the hope of Mewar himself was all but surrounded by the enemy and about to be cut off. But it was not to be, so long as there remained a single Rajput true to his chieftain. Realising the crisis, Bida the Jhala baron promptly snatched away the royal umbrella from over the head of Pratap Singh and rushed forward with it shouting that he himself was the Maharana and defying the imperialists to face him. The ruse succeeded; the Mughal captains, each eager to win the honour of being the Maharana's captor, crowded round Bida. The pressure on Pratap Singh was released, and his faithful adherents seizing his bridle turned his horse's head and led their wounded and bleeding chieftain out to

* When I traversed the Haldighat on foot in 1931, though the month was October and the time afternoon, the water in a metal flask which I was carrying with me turned hot. (*J. Sarkar*).

safety through the pass in their rear. Bida met with the death he had coveted. With his fall the struggle ended; the remnant of the Mewar army dissolved and fled through the pass or up the hillsides, leaving five hundred of their number to consecrate with their life blood the Thermopylae of Rajasthan. On the generally-accepted calculation that the wounded number three times the dead, the Mewar army on that fatal day endured casualties to the extent of fully two-thirds of its total strength. From this we can judge of the fury of the fight. The imperialists lost 150 men in killed, besides several hundred wounded.

There was no pursuit. The victors, no less than the vanquished, were worn out by the heat of the sun and the fatigue of the long-drawn struggle. Man Singh next day crossed the Haldi defile and took unopposed possession of Goganda which the Maharana had vacated.

Retrospect of History

At Haldighat, Man Singh won and Pratap Singh lost. The Maharana staked his all in a hopeless contest with the imperial Crown of Delhi in the full flush of its youthful vigour and the swelling tide of its conquests in the east and west, north and south of India. After a life-long struggle, he closed his eyes as a cityless fugitive, an almost landless king, a dweller in grass-covered huts, a father of famished children. But the highest human endeavour is not measured in terms of pounds, shillings and pence. The laurel-crowned poet of Asia has sung :

> What voice is it that I hear from the land of dawn,
> Proclaiming, "Fear not ! fear not !
> He who gives up his life, keeping nothing back,
> Shall never perish, never perish !"*

Fame after death has made ample amends for Pratap Singh's sufferings in life. The name of the general who lost the battle of Haldighat will live to sustain and uplift the spirit of man at every arduous call of duty so long as the history of India is read. It is the losing side who have made that yellow defile a haunted holy ground for pilgrims of Indian patriotism.†

But the historian of Man Singh may plead that the Kachhwa prince too had chosen no ignoble part, that he was the greater statesman of the two. He lent his help to uniting India under one sceptre and imposing an imperial peace upon the hundreds of petty potentates, eternally wrangling and raiding one another's territory, each eagerly cherishing the independence of his small plot of land as the sole object of his life. Pratap was an independent prince. Man Singh was a servant; but the servant of a master who had set out to give India's millions a long unknown peace, justice, universal toleration and "careers open to talent." It was only by sweeping away the obstacles in the path of such a policy that a united India could be rendered possible, and an Indian nation could be dreamt of. To the first honest and conscious effort at realising such a dream did Man Singh devote his life. The history of India since that day has shown which of the two chiefs opposed at Haldighat was the more far-sighted patriot.

Futile Result of Mughal Victory

From the lost field of Haldighat, Maharana Pratap Singh fled away, abandoning his capital Goganda and taking refuge among the steep hills and dense jungles of the Aravali range near Kumbhalgarh. The chiefs of Jalor and Sirohi soon afterwards yielded to the imperial generals penetrating into their countries, and Nadot was occupied in force, which "made the strife-mongers of that country obedient, and the roads of ingress and egress from the Rana's country were closed." The strategic encirclement of the portion of Mewar still in Pratap Singh's possession was completed. (*Akbarnama*, III. 267). But the Mughal detachment had to entrench at Goganda in self-defence and to subsist on their draught cattle and the mango-fruit, as the region was sterile and grain-porters found the roads to it from the plains quite unsafe. Following the Rana into his unexplored Aravali fastnesses was impossible. Hence, Man Singh and Asaf Khan after exhausting the scanty local supplies within reach of their daily foraging parties, "came out of that stony land into the open plain" and joined Akbar who had arrived at Ajmir on 26th September.

Thereafter, Akbar himself marched towards Goganda on the pretext of hunting, but really to overawe all rebelliously-inclined people. This was specially necessary, as the retirement of the Mughal detachments was followed immediately after by the renewed disturbances of the Maharana, the Chief of Idar and others.

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* Tagore,—

उदयेर पथे शुनि कार वाणी :—
भय नाइ ओरे भय नाइ
निःशेषे प्रान ये करिवे दान
क्षय नाइ तार क्षय नाइ ॥

† In October, 1934, the Governor of Chitor told me that every year about 200 gentlemen (many of them Bengalis) used to visit the Haldighat pass on historic excursion.

Akbar started from Ajmir on 11th October 1576, and the Maharana again went into hiding.

Akbar halted for some time in the village of Mohi (on the north bank of the Banas river, a few miles from Kankroli, in the south of the Raj Samundar lake), and set up military posts at Mohi, Madar (midway between Udaipur and Goganda) and some other places, to keep watch and intercept the Maharana when he would next descend into the plains.

On 27th November, 1576, the Emperor left Mohi and started for Malwa, *via* Udaipur and Banswara, and the Maharana at once resumed his raids into the plains.

EDUCATION AND VOCATIONS IN INDIA

By A. N. BASU,
Calcutta University

I think each one of us, at some time or other in his life, has wished that he had been born with a silver spoon in his mouth. It would have solved so many of our problems; it would have at least saved us from the worry of earning our livelihood; for, nothing is more annoying in this life than earning one's livelihood. But we have to earn our living, at least most of us have to do that, and for that we have to take up a vocation, we have to choose and build up a career. And to most of our young men this choice of a suitable career, this selection of a proper vocation is the most difficult problem in life. For, an unhappy choice may and often does lead to many difficulties which concern not only the individual but also society at large. It affects not only individual welfare but also national well-being. From the standpoint of the individual a wrong choice of vocation may not only create economic difficulties but also be responsible for much wastage of human energy and material; it surely leads to much unhappiness and misery. It creates economic and social misfits who, because of maladjustment in their personality, become potential sources of social and national danger. And thus ultimately an unhappy choice of vocation has far-reaching social and political consequences.

Sociologists and psychologists are agreed that many of the evils of the present-day society, at least a good number of them, can be traced to vocational maladjustments.

Times were when there was hardly any problem of vocational selection. Ancient Indian society had found a solution of the problem through its caste system. The system of castes enforced that a son should follow the vocation of his forefathers and a system of apprenticeship extending over a number of years gradually educated and initiated a son in the profession of his father. There was also a system of checks in the shape of politically and economically powerful guilds, whereby society prevented the overcrowding of any particular profession and this system worked, at least in those days, more or less satisfactorily. Thus the onus of selecting a proper vocation was on the society and not on the individual. This system no doubt had its disadvantages, but for the ordinary individual it had some clear advantages; it saved him from a lot of worry and uncertainty. He did not have to seek his vocation, he did not have to select which type of education he would have. Everything was practically preordained for him. A teacher's son always becomes a teacher, a warrior's son a warrior, a craftsman's son a craftsman. Sometimes perhaps a craftsman's son found himself lacking in the qualities that made a good craftsman and yet he would be forced to take up the craft of his forefathers. In such cases there were bound to be difficulties; but such cases were rare. Generally speaking, the average individual, living from his earliest days in the environments of a particular craft and being consciously educated in and apprenticed to that craft, did easily and naturally pick up its rudiments and gradually adjusted himself to its requirements. Under a system like this at the worst he would be an indifferent practitioner of the craft but he would at least be saved from the worry of selecting his proper vocation all by himself. And in this connection we must not forget that in spite of its rigidity the system did allow certain amount of relaxation within certain limits. Specially gifted pupils sometimes were allowed to take up a profession other than that of their forefathers. So cases of vocational maladjustment, in those days, were rare. It may be argued that society in those far-off times was much less complex

than it is to-day and so an easy solution like the one described above could be found. It would be true, but that fact need not detract our attention from the essential feature of the ancient system. It was that society made itself primarily responsible for the selection of a proper vocation for the individual and it so organised itself that an ordinary individual was freed from the burden of a great responsibility, a responsibility which only a few of us can be expected to carry on our shoulders. This characteristic of the ancient Indian social system may serve as a pointer to us when we discuss the question with reference to our own times.

II

To-day the old social order has broken down. The old economic system has been completely disrupted. Political changes have been largely responsible for this disruption but it has been further hastened by the industrial revolution through which we are now passing in this country; and the final collapse of the old order will be complete before many days are past. With the disappearance of the old socio-political organisation the entire machinery of social welfare has been thrown out of gear. The old Indian caste system of hereditary vocations is gone and gone with it is also the sense of security enjoyed by the ordinary people under an established social order. To-day a Brahmin's son may and does no longer necessarily follow the vocation of a Brahmin, a craftsman's son the craft of his forefathers. The economic value of such professions to-day may be nil or very little and in the struggle for existence a young man may have, and in fact is often forced, to take up a profession which might be quite alien to that of his forefathers. But does present-day society in India like society in the old days guarantee him the economic security without which the individual cannot live and live effectively or does it even provide him with the means for equipping himself properly for that particular profession? Or in other words, are the vocations properly organised and correlated with the needs and requirements of national life and is the educational system so organised as to provide the best type of vocational education for each individual member composing the society? These are the two fundamental questions concerned with the problem of vocation and vocational selection in modern India.

Incidentally, one basic fact about Indian national life of to-day must be noticed; it is that whereas in old days society and State were practically the same (that is, the organisation of society had behind it the sanction of political power) it is no longer so. The State in India to-day maintains a separate existence and the organisation of society has nothing to do with the organisation of State. The State controls the economic life of the country but it has no relation with the social life of the people. This inherent conflict between the State and society is responsible for many of the social and economic maladjustments which are so common to-day. After all we must realise that when we talk of vocations we have entered into the larger domains of economics and politics. The fact can hardly be ignored that it is the economic and political forces which really guide the course of the life of a nation at every step. The political and economic conditions alone determine which vocations will be open to the people and how these vocations will be organised and co-ordinated. When these conditions are properly adjusted then and then alone the problem of vocations can be satisfactorily and permanently solved. The problem is intimately connected with the industrial, economic and political structure of the national life and it would be futile to expect an effective solution of it without reference to other bigger problems connected with our national life. Here we shall primarily discuss the educational aspect of the problem.

It is necessary to remember in this connection the fact that our attention has been drawn to this problem only recently. This fact is significant. It shows that until recently the problem, at least as far as we were concerned, had not become acute, that up till a few years ago some sort of a balance had been maintained between the avenues of employment, that is, the vocations and the number of people preparing for such vocations. But of late that balance has been completely disturbed and acute unemployment has been the result. This widespread unemployment has forcibly drawn our attention to the question of proper distribution of vocations and sound vocational selection.

Incidentally, we may also note that when we talk of unemployment we generally do so with reference to the middle-classes only. Among the masses the problem of unemployment had made its appearance long before it did among the middle-classes. To give an example, the growth of rice-mills had brought about unemployment among a section of the village population which had hitherto maintained itself by husking rice;

(among them there were many women specially widows). Then again the introduction of mill-woven cloth had practically thrown the indigenous weavers out of employment, it also killed the widely practised art of spinning. The gradual destruction of other cottage industries also led to similar results for other artisan classes in our society. The result of all this has been widespread unemployment among the masses. A few new vocations have no doubt been opened under the new economic and industrial order, but their number has never been sufficient to find employment for all those who have been thrown out of employment because of the disruption of the old order. This state of affairs has been in existence now for many years, but not until the middle-classes were affected did we (except of course the professional economists) pay any serious attention to the problem. Anyhow, now that we can no longer ignore the fact of widespread unemployment among all sections of the people what shall we do, how shall we find a solution of the problem?

It has been suggested that our system of education has been at fault and has been responsible for this unemployment. It has been alleged that our present system has not made any provision for vocational education and consequently it has failed to provide us with the training for the different avenues of life. The implication of this charge is that had there been a well-organised system of vocational education in the country there would have been no unemployment. How far this charge is true we shall presently examine; but assuming for a moment that it were so the fact remains that in our country uptil now education has been confined among the so-called upper classes of society and that the implied solution could at best touch those classes only without affecting the larger aspects of the problem, that is the problem of unemployment among the masses.

Will a better system of vocational education, by itself, solve the problem of vocations even for the middle-classes? Let us suppose that we have all the different types of vocational institutions that one finds in an advanced western country, that we open a large number of technical and vocational schools and make provision for every form of technical and vocational education. Will it necessarily solve the problem of vocations permanently?

Perhaps it would be well to point out that the present system of education far from being non-vocational in character has been strictly of a vocational type. Did it not educate the people to become lawyers, doctors and clerks? Was it not conceived primarily and mainly, though not solely "for providing training for the middle-class young men to take up subordinate offices in the government" and did it not till recently successfully fulfil this expectation? In fact there can be no doubt that to this extent the present system has been thoroughly vocational in character.

But the difficulty lies elsewhere. It is the result of the working of the economic law of demand and supply. Whenever supply exceeds demand there is difficulty and it has been so in the case of vocational education too. So long as jobs could be had without much difficulty, so long as the number of young men coming out of our educational institutions was not much greater than the number of jobs available, there was not much criticism against the present system. It is only when the saturation point was reached, when the supply far exceeded the demand that we began to criticise the present system and question the vocational value of this system.

It would appear from what I have just said that a mere provision of vocational education cannot by itself solve the problem of vocations, that however much we may increase the number of technical and vocational schools we can never be sure that our efforts will necessarily lead to the provision of a suitable vocation for each one of us, a vocation which will not only bring happiness and economic security but which will also give us the opportunity to offer the best in us to the nation. It will be possible only when the different vocations are co-ordinated on a nation-wide scale, when new vocations will be open to absorb those who can find no employment to-day, not because they have no specialised training but, as I already said, because the economic, industrial and political condition of the day do not permit either the opening of such new avenues of employment or the proper co-ordination of the different vocations. Then and then alone we can prevent vocational maladjustment and not before that. And in this matter the State must take up the responsibility as in old days. The State must bring about this co-ordination and the State must see that new avenues are available to the people for earning a decent living. There is no other agency which can undertake this task. The State alone can undertake it and the State must undertake it.

III

One fact about the present system has

however to be admitted. If the system has been vocational it has been so in an extremely limited manner. Its outlook has been very much narrow in character. The vocations it has been trying to cater for have been very few in number, and while they served, to some extent, the interests of a section of the people the wider and larger interests of the nation as a whole were left unserved. The vocations it catered for were, generally speaking, analogous to the learned professions of older days, such vocations carried with them the prestige of class privileges; those who joined them were the intellectual elite in the country. But a system like that could produce a few lawyers, doctors and engineers, and clerks, but a nation requires the services of many other types of workers and for them the system did practically nothing. Thus the system was not only limited to a section of the people, but, what is perhaps worse, was extremely narrow in its character.

It is necessary for our national health that this narrow character of our educational system should be immediately removed and the system thoroughly overhauled and a new orientation given to it. We must be sure that the new system so overhauled and reoriented, does not drive all its pupils along a limited number of vocations as the existing system at present does, but that it encourages them to venture along new paths and to explore new avenues of life. The new system must also provide diverse types of courses, suitable for different needs of different people. It is also imperatively necessary that the system should be extended to include all sections of people, that each one of us shall be provided with ample educational facilities, no matter from what station or class in life we may come from. Then and then alone can there be any effective correlation between national needs and educational facilities for meeting such needs. We must bring about a correlation between vocational education on the one hand and trade and industry on the other and this we must do on a nation-wide scale. No partial solution will be effective.

But the problem of vocational selection will, even then, remain unsolved. How shall we decide who shall take up which vocation? Unless this problem is solved there will still be a large amount of vocational maladjustment. It is, as I have already said, a very common experience to find young men trained for a particular vocation discover too late that for physical, intellectual, temperamental or other reasons they are not fitted for that vocation. In such cases they have either to make a change (and it is often too late to change) or they have to adapt themselves somehow or other to an uncongenial environment. The result is that on the one hand they never find that satisfaction which comes only to those who are properly adjusted to life and on the other hand the vocations which they joined never get the best from them. This is a sad wastage both from the point of view of the individual as well as of the nation. The nation has the right to demand the best service from the individual just as the individual has the right to demand that the nation should make proper provision which will enable him to give that service to it. When the demand of the nation cannot be fulfilled not because there is no provision but because the individual is led to choose the wrong avenue of service, it becomes an individual as well as a national tragedy. Unfortunately for us such tragedy has become a common feature of our national life to-day.

As I have already pointed out, ancient Indian society found a solution of the problem of vocational selection through its system of hereditary vocations. It would be too late in the day to talk of reviving the system. We have to find a new solution. In western countries this is being attempted through vocational guidance. The State there acting through its educational agencies not only provides for diverse types of vocational education suited to all classes of people, but it also selects who will take up which vocation and having found that out provides the suitable type of vocational education for the individual. The basis for such selection is a study of the requirements of each vocation and of the personality of the individual desiring to take up that vocation. Each vocation needs a particular type of personality, each vocation requires certain essential qualities in those who will take it up. Mechanical ability is essential for an engineer whereas a lawyer may do without it. An executive must possess the quality of arriving at quick decisions whereas a legislator may take time to come to a decision. Tact, sociableness are qualities essential for success in certain professions while in others we may not require them to the same extent. A musician need not necessarily have good eyesight but one who has to depend every moment upon good eyesight, say a printer, will be at a tremendous disadvantage if he lacks it. The muscle sense must be properly developed in certain professions whereas they are not necessary in certain others. Literary abilities

and vivid imagination will be of great service to one taking up journalism but they will not be required to the same extent by one who is going to be a scientist. In fact there are qualities which while they are essential for certain vocations, place their possessors at a disadvantage in others.

It, therefore, becomes essential that we study the abilities, aptitudes and temperaments of individuals and correlate them to the needs of the vocations they will take up in life. Such correlation is the basis of vocational guidance. Properly organised vocational guidance not only ensures success in vocations but it also guarantees us against much wastage of human energy and effort and it also saves us from a lot of heart-burning and unhappiness.

Vocational guidance has to be scientifically organised. It has its own special technique and psychologists and educators have to be trained in that technique before they can give that guidance.

Vocational guidance means two things: analysis of the vocation and analysis of the person for whom the vocation is meant. It means firstly a scientific study of the requirements of different vocations. This is technically known as vocation or job-analysis. In job-analysis an inventory is made not only of the needs and requirements of that particular job in the matter of personal qualities of the individuals who would take it up but also of its economic aspects, that is the extent to which that job is being practised, the maximum number of persons that it may absorb, the remunerations that it offers and such other things. It would be clear that job-analysis would require the co-operation between the educators and all those who have vocations to offer, *i.e.*, men in trade, commerce and industry. Unless these people co-operate vocational guidance will become meaningless.

It is perhaps necessary to mention here that even before job-analysis can be undertaken another thing has to be done; it is a study of all the different jobs that a nation has at its disposal and their co-ordination with national requirements. A nation requires farmers, shop-keepers, lawyers, teachers, doctors and many other types of workers. It may not have either too many farmers or too few teachers. There will be always an optimum number for each profession, a number which may not be exceeded if the economic health of the nation is to be preserved.

A complete vocational survey is, therefore, essential for every nation. Such survey will be based not merely on the present economic and industrial position of a country but it must also take into consideration the part the country should play in world affairs in future. It must be based on national resources in the present and in the future.

On the basis of a complete vocational survey of the nation national trade and industry must be regulated, the different vocations co-ordinated and correlated. The next step will be a study of the vocations or vocation analysis. Then we shall study the individuals. We shall study his abilities, aptitudes, temperaments, his likes and dislikes, his intellectual possibilities and emotional requirements, in a word the entire personality of each individual. We must obtain a personality profile. Then by correlating this with the requirements of the different vocations we shall find out which particular vocation he should take and try to place him there. It will then be the task of the educators to give him the particular training that that vocation demands.

It would appear from the above that for an effective solution of the problem of vocations we have to depend upon many factors. These factors can be co-ordinated only by the State. The State alone can undertake the vocational survey I have just spoken of. The State alone can induce the trade and industry to organise the vocations. It is also the State that alone can organise vocational guidance for the individual and complete and build up a well-rounded system of vocational education for all.

So the State must take up the responsibilities not only of selecting a vocation for the individual but also of providing him with the necessary training for that particular vocation and how it will discharge these responsibilities I have just discussed.

In India as yet we have no comprehensive vocational survey of the nature I have envisaged, the essential co-operation of the State on one hand and trade and industry on the other is as yet to be achieved, we have not yet built up an efficient system of general and vocational education and we have no agency for vocational guidance even with regard to the limited number of vocations open to our youth. Need we wonder that there is widespread vocational maladjustments in the country? Perhaps better times are coming and coming soon. Let us be ready for that. Then when the occasion for reorganisation of our national life in all its aspects will come, we shall not be found wanting.

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THE PROBLEM OF COTTON MANUFACTURES DURING THE PRESENT WAR

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Among the many new developments which the present war has brought in its train, one of the most distressing is the deprivation of the people of adequate supplies of essentials of life at reasonable prices. Next to food, clothing is the most important item in the consumption budgets of most of the consumers; and the availability of cloth only at soaring prices is a matter of deep concern. Reports from commodity markets show that the prices of cotton goods are registering uninterrupted rise, in several cases record levels have been reached and price increments occur with a noticeable regularity, *e.g.*, in the case of *saris* and *dhotis* price per pair has been rising in some weeks at the rate of almost one anna per day. It was estimated in October 1942 that the prices of longcloth, drills and domestics had advanced by more than 174, 197 and 215 per cent respectively since the outbreak of the war. The standard longcloth which was quoted at 9 annas a yard in the first week of the war was quoted at 35 annas a yard few months back. Statistics of prices, wholesale and retail, make an unhappy reading; and the black-market prices, which far exceed the controlled prices and elude statistical computation, reveal a still worse state of affairs. From consumers' point of view, the situation needs immediate improvement, it having become specially acute for poor class and lower middle class people. The Index Number of the cost of clothing to workers has considerably increased and is increasing from month to month as is testified by the following table :

Cost of Clothing Index Number of Workers

	Sept. 1942	Oct. 1942	Rise in One Month
Bombay	146	161	+15
Sholapur	134	139	+ 5
Nagpur*	219	239	+20
Jubbulpore*	225	255	+30
Madras	146	152	+ 6

(* August, 1939 is equal to 100)

It would thus be seen that it has become gravely important to thrash out this problem thoroughly in its causational bearings and remedial aspects, from war as well as post-war angles of vision. An obvious cause of soaring prices of cotton goods is the much-debated inflation of currency, a factor which cannot be safely ignored. During the peace-time price-level might not vary directly with the quantity of the media of exchange, for the rate of investment, degree of employment and other like factors have also an appreciable bearing on the price structure; but during the wartime when conditions of full employment are more proximately realised, this relationship becomes quite close. Since the present war began, more than Rs. 500 crores worth of new currency has been added to circulation and it has naturally led to a spurt in the price-levels, wholesale and retail alike. The only factor which could have offset its effect is a corresponding increase in the total output and number of total transactions; but it has not been associated in a proportionate measure with an increase in output. Industrial output in the factory stage has certainly increased and so has the output of unorganised industries while the agricultural production also shows slight improvement. But the total output has not increased to the same degree so as to arrest the soaring tendency of prices.

Increase in currency has been associated with a decline in the quantity of cloth available to consumers, despite the working of the cotton textile mills at the highest pitch with their total output much above the pre-war mark. This has been mainly due to the fact that this industry has to supply defence requirements and to clothe armies fighting in the various theatres of the war : 35% of the total capacity of cotton textile mills is now devoted to war needs. Exports of cotton goods have also increased while the imports have declined on account of shortage of shipping space and decline in non-defence output of foreign mills. All these factors have conspired to cause an actual shortage of cotton goods available to consumers as is evident from the table given below :

(In Million Yards)

Year	Production	Imports	Exports	Re-Exports	Internal Consumption
1937-38	4,084·3	590·8	241·3	12·5	4,421·3
1938-39	4,269·3	647·1	177·0	15·7	4,723·7
1939-40	4,012·4	579·1	221·3	16·7	4,353·5
1940-41	4,269·4	447·0	390·1	43·5	4,282·8
1941-42	4,479·0	181·5	779·4	85·2	3,795·9

Recent political disturbances dislocated cotton industry in various centres by causing unrest and migratory tendency in the labour force, and gave temporary setback to the monthly output of cotton textile mills. At the same time, the Government throttled the Khaddar Bhandar movement owing to political reasons, which led to the disruption of an efficiently organised system of indigenous production and marketing of cloth which was the only cheap type of cloth available to the public during the present wartime. The indices of cotton consumption in India which exceeded July, 1941, figure by 18·3 points in the same month one year after, actually declined for the months of August and September as is shown by the following table :

INDEX NUMBERS OF THE CONSUMPTION OF COTTON IN INDIA

(1935 : 100)

	1941	1942
July	149·5	167·8
August	149·1	137·9
September	154·2	136·9

While the temporary decline in the cotton mills' output seems now to have been overcome, as the first impact of the shock has spent itself up, the handloom industry lies broken to pieces and the industrious weavers and spinners and small Khaddar Bhandars are no longer able to employ themselves to the satisfaction of an elemental want of the people.

The question of shortage of cotton goods is, of course, a serious problem for consumers but it is an equally grave puzzle for the producers of raw cotton. Our cultivators produce more raw cotton than what can be consumed within the country; and the surplus which hitherto went to Japan and other countries, has ceased to find an outlet now. It has been estimated that the total output of raw cotton in 1942-43 is going to be 84 lacs of bales, out of which 42 lacs of bales will be consumed by our mills, 3·5 lacs by other consumers and 4 lacs will be exported, leaving a surplus of 34½ lacs of bales of cotton which must somehow be disposed of. Like consumers of cotton goods, producers of raw cotton also hopefully look to an increase in the output of cotton cloth as the only method of their economic salvation during these hard times.

Leaving inflation out of account here, which is a problem in itself and must be solved as early as possible, there seems to be an urgent need of increasing the output of cotton cloth as fast as possible so as to meet the demand of the poorer consumers and to provide a market for the large quantities of surplus raw cotton hanging like a millstone round the neck of raw cotton prices available to cultivators. As a matter of fact, this measure would be a partial antidote to inflation itself inasmuch as the latter can be corrected as much by increasing output as by decreasing the quantity of circulating media. This is the only fundamental and basic solution to the present difficult problem, though this solution itself is beset with problems and requires patient thought.

Before pursuing this line of argument, it would be better to pause and critically examine certain remedies popularly suggested for improving the present state of affairs. It was represented before the Hon'ble Commerce Member some time back that exports of cotton manufactures from India should be stopped or at least reduced, while the defence requirement should be carefully checked and kept under rigorous control. If these suggestions are accepted, some additional quantity of cotton goods would certainly be released to the public but it is doubtful if the situation would improve to any appreciable extent. The suggestion that the export of cotton manufactures should be completely stopped would probably be found too radical to be accepted by the Government, though exports to foreign countries can be put on pre-war or like basis with greater ease. But this would add only 200 or 300 million yards to our internal consumption. Again, with the Government engaged in a life-and-death struggle the grimness of which can by no means be underrated, it cannot be hoped that they would reduce the defence consumption of cloth. The argument is not that the Government should continue to export cloth to the utter ignorance of home demands, but the point is that the Government attitude being taken for granted, much relief cannot be expected from these sources. Besides, this suggestion would not solve the problem of raw cotton producers, nor would it offer a partial corrective to inflation.

Much value cannot be attached even to the proposal that the output of cotton mills should be increased still further, because this cannot be done due to a variety of reasons. Our mills are already working to their full capacity and our capacity for further industrialisation is seriously limited on account of dearth of machinery which we do not produce and which cannot at present be imported due to shortage of shipping space. War conditions similarly place a limitation on the availability of

chemicals, skill, etc., which can no longer be easily imported. These are associated with the fact that our mills' output is further hindered on account of our cotton being of short staple and the difficulties in introducing double shifts. Any great increase in the productive capacity of our mills cannot therefore, be reasonably expected at the present time.

We are then faced with a situation where consumers are crying for more cloth and still more cloth, where producers are anxious to dispose of their stock of raw cotton which they hold in bulk, but where cotton mills are not in a position to increase their productive capacity and satisfy the two foregoing economic groups at the initial and final ends of this sphere of economic activity: What is to be done?

The only way out of the difficulty seems to be that sincere efforts should be made to revive handloom industry vigorously in the countryside. If this could be done, and this is the most suitable occasion for this, the vast quantities of raw cotton awaiting disposal would be easily absorbed, in many cases in the villages of their origin themselves; while the demand of consumers would also be satisfactorily met, especially the demand for coarse and cheap cloth, which is being seriously starved at the present moment. Incidentally, if efforts are made to develop the yarn-producing capacity of this cottage industry, the output of the cotton mills themselves would increase inasmuch as the spinning capacity of our mills is not so much developed as the weaving capacity.

While this proposal would augment the production of cloth during the wartime, would this progress or production be maintained during the post-war period when cottage producers would be fully exposed to the competition of mill-made cloth? This is a very pertinent question which requires serious consideration. Without joining the issue if the handloom industry in its present form has the tenacity and persistence to withstand mill competition, it can safely be stated that this industry can be given great strength if it is equipped with machines and tools and with cheap power. Now is the time when serious efforts should be made to distribute cheap country-made small power-driven plants to village weavers so as to enable them to produce goods cheaply, quickly and at competitive prices. It is a truism of Indian economics that if cottage industries are to play any lasting part in the economy of the country, they must be, *inter alia*, equipped with small plants and cheap power as has been done in Japan, Germany and Switzerland.

It might, again, be feared that if handloom industry is put on such a sound footing that it is not liquidated after the present war is over, then the shift of liquidation might have to be made on to the cotton textile mill industry. Even if this fear comes true, the liquidation of cottage industries would be less costly than the liquidation of factory industries. But is it essential that some liquidation must take place? It must be remembered here that no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between producers and consumers, that every producer is a consumer, and that more production leads to more consumption. Many of the new cottage spinners and weavers would themselves consume some of the goods that they produce; and the rest of their purchasing power would go to create employment for workers in other lines. If other cottage industries are also developed as items in a regular programme of industrialisation, other workers would likewise create employment for handloom workers. The economy can thus be properly adjusted and the development of handloom industry need not necessarily create trouble for the cotton mill industry in the post-war world.

The importance and urgency of the proposed measure would be more sharply understood when it is realised that the standard cloth scheme put forward by Government to provide cheap cloth for the poor is a mere palliative. Though it was conceived several years back, it has not yet borne any fruits and its future is not very optimistic. The antipathy of provincial governments is a great stumbling block while the dimensions of the operations of the scheme itself are almost microscopic. Besides the problem of the distribution, which is the Cinderella of the war-time economy of India, shows no signs of being solved and so long as that does not happen, black markets would continue to appear here, there and everywhere and the advantage of the scheme would be passed on to profiteers and not to consumers. This piecemeal measure would fail to solve the problem of poor man's cloth, which can only be solved by a whole-hearted and comprehensive policy like the one suggested above.

THE FUTURE OF GOLD

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

THE present high price of gold reflects something more than the fall in the value of our money brought about by the tremendous issue of currency and scarcity of goods on account of the war. The extent of the internal depreciation of the currency or the fall in its value may be gauged from the fact that the Index number of wholesale prices rose from 100 in August 1939 to 155·2 in July 1942 (vide *Capital* dated 19th November 1942). Since the last date the war has gathered momentum and the scarcity of commodities has accentuated; the rate of the expenditure of Supply Department has risen during the last six months from Rs. 50 lakhs per day to Rupees one crore. The Defence Department is spending more than Rupees twenty lakhs per day. These factors mut have raised the Index number of wholesale prices considerably and we might put the figure at 160 for the last month. The price of gold, on the other hand, has doubled since the war and trebled since 1931-32 as may be seen from the following:

Year 1931-32 Average price Rs. 24-12 per tola.
August 1939 Rs. 35 per tola.
November 8. 1942 Actual price quoted in Bombay Rs. 72.

We must also remember that the rise in price of gold would have been much more but for the Ordinance of Government of India prohibiting the export of gold. The fall in the value of our currency as measured by the rise in the Index number of wholesale prices does not therefore account for the whole story of the present high price of gold. For that we may probe deeper.

II

We must then analyse the forces behind the demand for and supply of gold. Demand for gold comes from four sources: Monetary, Industrial, Decorative and Hoarding purposes.

Monetary Purposes

In practically all important countries gold has by now ceased to be the monetary standard that it was up to 1931. Gold coins had disappeared long before that date and after the suspension of the Gold Standard after 1931 gold was no longer legally necessary to provide backing against note issue or banking liabilities. Although Central Banks of most countries continued to acquire gold, witness for example the Statutory buying price of gold of the Bank of England, it was mainly to sterilize it more effectively, sterilize *i.e.*, remove its effects on the volume of money and credit within the country as also to provide a means of international payment. This last purpose was about the only one which gold fulfilled before America's entry into the war. Britain, France and Germany shipped gold to America to pay for the import of war materials. France transferred gold to America for safety also. Since the entry of America into the war even this last function of gold disappeared. The operation of Lease and Lend Act and the announcement of the American Government that they would not insist on repayment of the aid they are giving to the United Nations after the war, removes the last important function of gold as the means of international payment in the future so far as the United Nations are concerned. In the Axis countries gold was commandeered long before the war. They utilized their own gold as also that from the countries they overran for paying for their imports right until America's entry into the war.

Industrial Purposes

Gold-leaf for surface covering, rolled gold for spectacles, fountain pens and cheap jewellery, gold for use in ceramics and chemical industries and for toothfilling are some of the important uses of gold in the arts. Owing to its present high price the demand for gold for these purposes now is not much and even in normal times it does not absorb more than one-tenth of the total supply. Unless indeed there is some invention which may make gold useful for some widespread industrial purpose as has happened with silver in this war, demand for gold for this purpose is not likely to show an increase.

Decorative Purposes

For decorative purposes gold has been universally and from time immemorial recognised as the metal *par excellence*. But it is doubtful if it will ever recapture its past eminence, at any rate in the western countries where decoration takes the form of powder,

paint and an evening dress rather than gold trinkets. In the east gold ornaments are really deemed a convenient form of hoarding gold.

Hoarding Purposes

To its demand for hoarding purposes we must look for the present abnormal price of gold. This is clearly seen from the fact that each Allied reverse in the war has occasioned a spurt in the price of gold specially after Japan's startling initial successes in the war. People look upon gold as the ideal store of value and the best form of investment in present abnormal circumstances. Houses, land, factories, furniture and stocks of goods are liable to destruction from air or to being commandeered in war-time. Gold can be hidden easily. So long as the war continues, demand for gold for hoarding will continue and no appreciable fall in the price of gold may be expected. The case is different if we look at the future *i.e.*, after hostilities cease. Surely after the war we may expect a world from which the fear of war shall have been removed and the main reason for hoarding gold removed.

III

From what has been said the reader must have gathered that the demand for gold for monetary, industrial, decorative and hoarding purposes cannot after the war be high. We may however explore some possible results of the end of the war on the future of gold as follows :

1. In the highly unlikely event of an Axis victory gold standard is not likely to be restored anywhere. The Axis countries work in 'closed economies' and have done away with gold for internal currency purposes either as coin or as cover against liabilities. In the event of victory they will not have to pay gold for foreign obligations nor is it likely that they will insist on payment of tribute in gold when they can make the conquered people work and produce things for them.

2. The principal Allies also have given up gold basis for their currencies. They have been working other methods of monetary control to obtain the advantages of gold. In the event of their victory they will not insist on reparations being paid in gold for the simple reason that the Axis hasn't got much gold. America and France had at the beginning of the war two thirds of world's monetary gold and as French gold also went to America during the war we may say that America has most of it. This is important to remember since the world's monetary gold is two-thirds of the total stock. Add to it the fact that America imported gold from England and Germany also as payment for its exports, America must be having world's two-thirds of gold. But there are powerful reasons why America will not vote a gold standard. For one thing it will almost be the only country left on the gold standard and gold standard for any one country when the rest of the world is not on it is liable to break down easily as was shown in the years after 1931. For another monetary control is easier without gold. Secondly, one of the main reasons for the adherence of England to gold has been the demand of its international lending class which has always insisted on repayment of its loans in gold. There was always a gold clause in its loans. But this war has changed Britain's lending position fundamentally. Of its total foreign investments of about £5000 million, over £2000 million has been sold out. As for the rest Britain's borrowing abroad has been greater than its value, in other words it is mortgaged and very likely it will be liquidated by the countries concerned. South Africa and Canada have already done so. This reason then for adherence to gold is also removed.

IV

Thus while the demand for gold shows a downward course its supply shows no sign of abating. In Australia right until the entry of Japan and its startling danger gold mining was being carried on with increasing tempo. So also in South Africa. Gold mining will no doubt be resumed after the war, assuming there is a demand for gold, and will present no special difficulty. In any case since the annual increase in the supply of gold is only 2% of its total stock even if gold mining slackened due to unforeseen technical reasons it will not raise the price of gold appreciably.

From the foregoing analysis of the demand for and supply of gold it is clear that the price of gold must fall heavily at the end of the war and the greater its present rise the heavier its eventual fall. On the other hand, it may be that once gold becomes cheap, countries like India, China and lesser kingdoms which are at present on a silver basis might adopt a gold standard and eventually force the whole world back on it.

BENGAL FOLK ART

By AJIT MOOKERJEE, M.A. (Lond.), F.R.A.I. (Lond.)

"What the race lives by is its traditions, its power of embodying the first emanation of its spirit and flesh in forms of undying beauty and aspiration which are never twice the same. It is these traditions which are the immortal joy of mankind, and in their destruction the race is far more hopelessly impoverished than in the destruction of any number of human beings; for it is by his traditions that Man is Man, and not by the number of meaningless superfluous millions whom he spawns over the earth."—H. Ellis.

ENVIRONMENT

GEOGRAPHICALLY the province of Bengal extends from the foot of the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal, and from Chotanagpur to the frontiers of Assam and Burma.'[1] The vast plains comprising twenty-eight districts and two states of Bengal proper with Singhbhum, Manbhum and Purnia in the west; and Sylhet, Dhubri and Goalpara in the east, show a linguistic homogeneity. The present study relates mainly to this geographical unit which depends for its life and prosperity on a network of rivers and canals. The river Ganges (Padmā), with its branch the Bhagirathi, and the Brahmaputra and the Meghna divide the country into four principal tracts. The mighty rivers with their numerous tributaries pour down, as they approach the sea, masses of mud and silt, forming lands which gradually become fit for the plough. The low districts and the Sundarban areas are typical examples. They consist largely of swamps where the people live a semi-amphibious life. These are sometimes swept by tidal waves and flood which overwhelm the villages with their people, cattle and crops.

These physical causes have led to various developments. The silt brought by the rivers during the rains collect in the fields. This soil is plentiful and is found everywhere. It possesses qualities ideal for pottery, dolls and toys. As a result of the periodical flooding of the rivers, the silt has added to the fertility of Bengal. Both the rich alluvium as well as an abundant rain-fall in summer explain the phenomenal agricultural productivity, and high density of population. Bengal agriculture thus depends upon the bounties of nature and creates a hierarchy of nature deities in the folk mind. Thus follows invocations for rain, worship of rivers, worship of earth and harvest. In order to guard against drought, disease and other natural calamities, various minor deities or godlings such as Sītalā, Manasā and Sasthī have been evolved. This process of anthropomorphisation is carried on still further as needs arise.

The deltaic position of Bengal has contributed to the development of certain special crafts as boat-building and fishing, each having a unique character of its own. In connection with these crafts and activities, there are various ceremonies and maritime deities[2] and folk-songs such as Sāri and Bhātial have been evolved in the folk mind.

Ease of transport, peculiar to Bengal, has very largely developed the trade and industry. The periodical *melās* (fairs) made possible by commercial contracts, are a traditional feature of rural Bengal. These *melās* are spontaneous and provide a meeting-ground for peoples from different parts, giving them an ideal opportunity for exhibiting folk entertainments as well as their traditional arts and crafts. The *strī-ācāra* of the womenfolk is a traditional rural custom to encourage young and old to participate in different gatherings, ceremonies and festivals. The community spirit is further strengthened when men and women of different villages gather at a common meeting-ground known as *Bārowāri-tala.*

In this manner, the close social and economic intercourse between the different parts of the country has been maintained and furthered. Folk arts and crafts of Bengal have always shared a community of interests, never condemned to isolation and mutual exclusiveness.

SOCIAL-RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN FOLK ART

Many old racial strains have contributed to the formation of the modern Bengali race. The Bengali speech, although largely influenced by Sanskrit, is of pre-Aryan origin. Chatterji says:

"There are, again, unmistakably Dravidian affinities in Bengali phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary"; and concludes that "an investigation of the place names in Bengal, as in other parts of Aryan

1. B. S. Guha: Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India, *Census of India,* Vol. I, Part III, p. xxxix.

2. S. C. Mitra; On the Cult of the Maritime Deities in Lower Bengal. *Proceedings of the 15th Indian Science Congress.* Calcutta, 1928.

India, is sure to reveal the presence of non-Aryan speakers, mostly Dravidian, all over the land before the establishment of the Aryan-tongue."[3]

In the social and religious life of the people, moreover,

"they are quite content to leave their neophytes in the undisturbed possession of their old pantheon, and there is nothing to prevent them from worshipping in their own way, with their own priests, their own peculiar gods and devils, in addition to the Hindu gods at whose worship none but the Brahmanas can officiate. It thus



Scroll painting depicting scenes from *Krishna-lila*
Top: Mother Yasoda dressing child Krishna
Bottom: Krishna as a cowherd

happens that all the lower and many even of the more respectable castes reverence numerous minor deities, who have appropriately been dubbed godlings, who are quite unknown to Vedic Hinduism."[4]

Bengal has thus inherited a pre-Aryan culture which, as we shall subsequently show, is reflected in the folk art. At a later stage the Bengali people came under the influence of Aryan culture. Chatterji says:

"The pre-Aryan peoples of Bengal began to be influenced by the Aryan (or Upper Gangetic) culture and language immediately after Mithila and Magadha were Aryanised. This may have taken place before 600 B.C. But for a long time, Bengal remained outside the pale of Aryandom; and it is hardly likely that there was anything like an appreciable Aryanisation east of Mithila and Magadha and Anga before the time of Buddha. The Mahabharata (200 B.C.-200 A.C. in its present form) mentions Bengal, no doubt, but there is nothing to show it was part of Aryan India when the original or even the received Mahabharata was compiled."[5]

Folk beliefs and traditions of Bengal have thus a continuous history and have grown through the racial elements in Bengali life and extraneous influences. Dutt truly observes that

"it was an art of the simple people inhabiting rural Bengal, where a sturdy spirit of democracy had been nurtured from the earliest possible times, ... which had never been completely dominated or suppressed by external imperial and priestly influences. Whenever any outside influences came in its way, this sturdy culture assimilated as much of them as was in harmony with itself without losing its own basic character."[6]

The effect of this assimilation of new cultural elements has provided a complex of established customs and beliefs which marked the operation of constructive social tendency. By the influence of these the incoming new elements are sublimated into the old cultural pattern, and the old is widened into fresh and often striking ways. This blending of different cultural traits in Bengali life and thought resolves itself as a distinctive 'cultural pattern.' The constructive and conserving tendencies of the Bengali people are due to the instinctive response of what Bartlett[7] calls 'primitive comradeship.' Different sects and beliefs have co-existed throughout Bengali traditional life. These range from the *Sakti* cult, the *Paurānic* Hinduism down to popular beliefs and folk-Buddhism on their common *Tāntric* foundation. The influence of folk-Buddhism and the rise of *Vaisnavism* in Bengal marked a great departure in the religious outlook of the Bengali people. This is a period of constant revolt against the conventional fetters of social and religious ideas. Chandidāsa the greatest popular exponent of *Vaisnava Padāvali* songs declared in the 14th century:

"*Sunahe manus bhai*
sabar upare manus satya tarpar kicu nai."
"Listen, O brotherman, the Truth of Man is the highest of truths; there is no other truth above it."

The idea of glorifying humanity exercised a powerful influence over the popular mind. Gods tremble before men and even a woman like

3. S. K. Chatterji: *The Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Part I, p. 67.
4. E. A. Gait: *Report of the Census of Bengal*, 1901, p. 186.
5. S. K. Chatterji: *Op. cit.*, p. 64.
6. G. S. Dutt: Bengali Terracottas. JISOA., Vol. VI, 1936, p. 171.
7. F. C. Bartlett *Psychology and Primitive Culture*, pp. 124-51.

Maynamati[8] compels the gods to obey her. The vast folk-literature, *Maynāmatir Gān, Gopīcandrer Gān, Mānikcandra rajar Gan,* and later even *Kavikankan Candī* and *Manasā Mangal,* lavishly describes the spirit of living humanity, its joys and sorrows, hatred and quarrels. The *Vaisnava Padāvalīs,* the *Bāul* songs, the Eastern Bengal Ballads openly affirm the freedom from social restraints and free self-expression. Embodied in some of the ballads are extremely interesting specimens of *bāramasī* poems (poems of twelve months) describing the daily life of men and women. Bengali folk drama, music and dancing, obviously connected with religion, became conscious of their own aesthetic standards and developed according to their own tradition.

THREE TYPES

These different tendencies in social and religious life have affected the art of the people. Bengali folk art corresponds to three types :

(1) Ritualistic : it is used in the service of rites associated with some beliefs and mystical ideals.

(2) Utilitarian: Social customs demand the object; modes of manufacture and material qualities determine the form.

(3) Individualistic : it expresses the feelings and emotions of the artist.

Ritualistic art may, again, be classified into three distinct types. In the pre-logical stage, art could not be clearly separated from nature. In Bengal, innumerable natural stones known as *Sālagrām Silas* are still worshipped on a par with a sculptured deity. In the second place, geometric representations, having no sympathetic relation with any external form of life, may be seen. They require a minimum of essentials, two or three lines and a circle are sufficient to represent the god Siva and his consort Durgā or Laksmī or a human figure. The third represents the abstract, suggesting but not portraying any specific object. An illustration of purely abstract design of a symbolic kind is Alipanā design. Although not representing a natural object, it certainly does represent an idea or even a succession of ideas. These ideas are often conventional as in the *Brata Alipanās* associated with the *Brata*-stories. To take the cult objects of this category, such as Sasthī, Sitalā, Manasā and animals connected with them, they are representations of a more or less summary kind without any naturalistic activity. This may be due to some ulterior motive either religious or symbolic. These cult objects are pre-Aryan and sometimes go further back to remoter ages. Kramrisch[9] describes them as 'ageless types and their timed variations.'



Sujni Kantha : A ceremonial *Kantha* and also used as a bed-spread. *Kanthas* are embroidered by women, each inventing her own design

Then there are the artistic renderings connected with the technical processes involved in the manufacture of utilitarian objects, including pottery, basketry, cane works, textiles, dolls and toys. In spite of local differences, however, these objects are mainly variations of the same theme. Owing to active commercial intercourse, these find their way about the country and are treasured possessions in many distant homes.

The individualistic traits have been well illustrated in the paintings and drawings of the Patuās (painters) of Western Bengal and also in the Kānthās of the Bengali women. These Patuās are hereditary painters, having inherited their skill from their forefathers. They compose their own songs known as *Patuā-Sangīt* and depict them on paper-faced cotton scrolls. Both epics—and folk-literature furnish the material for these verses. On the other hand,

8. See *Maynamatir Gan.*

the theme of the *Kalighat Patuās* deals with everyday life : family scenes, animal life, social satire, etc. The motive behind all these paintings and drawings is partly traditional and partly individual, *i.e.*, depending on the genius and skill of the particular painter.

Kānthās (embroidered wraps), however, are made by women of all classes in Bengal. They take from six months to three generations to make a Kānthā.



The neglected wife. Kalighat school

"No commercial incentive accelerates or vitiates the process of making a whole out of discarded, worthless bits; they are joined and reinforced by innumerable small stitches which give to the ground with its figure a new life and an ageless meaning."[10]

The colour scheme, the distribution of characters and the style vary from Kānthā to Kānthā. When spread out, a Kantha shows its full beauty, revealing the artist's depth of imagination, taste and skill. It is a treasured possession in every home.

Symbolism

It is not easy to find a satisfactory interpretation of the meaning of motif, as the same motif may be interpreted in different ways, and the same idea embodied in different forms. The symbolic content of the design may not always be obvious to the artist and often the meaning does not emerge at once. Objects or drawings, although meaningless in any one place, may have a very definite meaning in a different place. There is no difference between the 'ageless types' of figures, human or animal, whether they are worshipped or played with. Objects like Sasthī, mother and child, horses and *Ghatas* (earthen pots) are used as toys by the children and once they are consecrated, they become religious objects. Similarly, an Alipanā drawing when done by women on festive occasions in execution of certain vows (*Bratas*) is full of sacred significance, but when drawn on a '*pidi*'—a wooden seat for the use of bride and bridegroom, is without any significance. A *Brata-Alipanā* forming the basis of the ritual, loses its significance and sanctity immediately the ceremony is over. It is a *piece d'occasion.* The motive may or may not necessarily be symbolic, or the result of a religious impulse.

The principal motifs of ritual drawings may now be considered. For the *Kumārī-Bratā* (the *Brata* of virgins), *Tārā-Brata* Alipanā is the most popular. It represents the radiant sun flanked by Siva-Durgā motif, the moon and in between the sun and the moon the universe with sixteen stars. Below the moon, the earth re-



Mould of a mango cake. Incised work on a stone-plate

presents the seat of the devotee. The drawing begins from a point : a *Bindu,* building up from there the petals of the lotus; and then the sixteen stars are circumscribed by a circle known as *Mandala* : the universe. *Bindu* or *Sūnya* is an important component of Bengali folk-drawings. The mystery of creation is centred round *Bindu.* Its origin can be traced to the Vedic age (1500 B.C.). The Bengali *Sūnya Puran* written by Ramai Pandit in the 12th century

9-10. St. Kramrisch : Indian Terracottas. *J.I.S.O.A.* June-Dec., 1939, Vol. VII, p. 90; *Kantha, Op. cit.*, p. 143.

also gives a vivid description of the origin of creation.

From the *Sūnya* (the void) springs the central lotus. It is not the natural lotus but a symbolic representation of cosmic manifestation. On the summit of the *Mandala* are the two figures of Siva-Durgā, *i.e.*, the supreme Siva-Sakti, Power-holder of the universe. Sīva is the masculine unchanging aspect of Divinity, while Sakti is the changing feminine aspect, the source of all divine and cosmic evolution. This idea of creation is further to be seen in the union of Siva-Sakti known as *Siva-lingam*. The development of the Sakti cult, denoting the reception into the Brahminical system of the aboriginal worship of feminine divinities, can nowhere be studied better than in Bengal. It is here that the goddess in one of her most destructive forms is worshipped as Kālī.

The Alipanā of the circular type lavishly illustrates scrolls and spirals. They symbolize *Kalacakra*, a cycle of time and also *Kula-kundalinī*, the serpent, power of darkness, standing for primordial unity. The earth is also represented in concentric circles. According to the ancient Hindus, everything was in a state of ceaseless activity; hence the world is called *Jagat*, an object in movement. Again, the Earth (bhū) is the substance, the primeval plastic material, the concrete representation of *Prakriti*, universal substance. Earth, the great mother, is frequently represented as Sasthī and clay figures of the goddess in this aspect have been made from time immemorial. Her other names are: *Aditi, Srī, Mahāmāi*. Even the Vedas and Brahmanas have acknowledged her power as the sustainer and supporter of the great womb of all creation. Images of the Great Mother (Mahāmāi), Manasā and Sītalā, are found in all ancient sites, and are still made by the women and potters in the villages. Manasa, the serpent goddess, is worshipped in Bengal both anthropomorphically and emblematically. '*Manas*' signifies the power of the mind and the goddess Manasā symbolises this attribute. Manasā is never represented as a serpent herself. As the serpent goddess she holds supreme sway over the terrific powers of the serpent both beneficial and malign.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE:

Some forms and motifs bear a close resemblance to those of the ancient arts of Western Asia and the Indus Valley. Dutt shows how certain types of Bengali dolls and toys are exactly similar to those found in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa (c. 4500 B.C.). The *Asā-Dānda* or Metal Disc standard, used in Bengal as the standard of the *Gazi* cult and also found in the Saiva and Visnu temples, "has been originally derived from that of the standard of the unicorn of the Proto-Indian civilisation of the Indus valley."[11]

The survival of the unicorn tradition in Bengal is established by the evidence furnished by two old traditional scroll-paintings recently discovered by me in Western Bengal, now in the collection of the late Mr. G. S. Dutt. He has also discussed another striking similarity between the traditional form of the goddess Srī, Laksmī or Kamale-Kāminī (The Lady in the Lotus) with that of the figurine reproduced in Pl. XXII of Marshall's Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation, Vol. I.



Elephants mounted on wheels. Painted wooden toys, wheels and pedestals not coloured

A similar opinion has been expressed by Coomaraswamy that the folk arts that survive in Bengal are directly descended from the Indus Civilisation of at least 5000 years ago.[12]

Technically and even artistically there are very strong reasons for claiming a direct relationship of the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation, and perhaps that of the Mesopotamian civilisation, with many of the forms and motifs of Bengali folk art.

11. G. S. Dutt: Indus Civilisation Forms and Motifs in Bengali Culture (II). *Modern Review*, Feb., 1940, p. 201.

12. "The folk arts," says Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "that survive in Bengal . . . are directly descended from the arts of at least 5,000 years ago. . ." (From a letter to the writer, June 29, 1939, Boston).

AN EXHIBITION OF CONTEMPORARY INDIAN PAINTINGS IN CALCUTTA

By Dr. SUNITIKUMAR CHATTERJI,
Professor, Calcutta University

When the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, the first art museum to be opened by a University in India, was started in Calcutta in 1937 out of funds accumulated during a period of the Bagiswari Professorship of Fine Arts in the University remaining vacant, from the nature of the artifacts that were obtained as the nucleus of the museum it was apprehended in some quarters that we were going to have just one more archaeological collection with an ethnological wing as an appendage in the shape of a few specimens of Bengal folk art. A museum of art seeks to conserve for appreciation and study, by both lay people and scholars in the present age and in future ages to come, artistic objects made in the past or the present; and naturally as there is no lack of real art among what may be described in unimaginative language as "archaeological remains" it was inevitable that a good deal of the fine collection of old art particularly of Eastern India that has gradually been built up in this new museum within these few years (its exhibits now numbering over 7000 from the 50 with which it started) could be dubbed as specimens equally of art and of archaeology. It all depended on the emphasis put on either of these two aspects in selecting an art object for a museum of art. Similarly in the case of creations of folk art as an expression of the folk mind in religion and in corporate life certain objects can be equally claimed by artists and anthropologists, and a museum of art in this situation also should know its business. The Asutosh Museum of Indian Art has never lost sight of the fact that it is a museum of art; and this aspect has all along been given its proper place in its activities. The collection of art objects that is growing up in this museum represents both the classic and hieratic art of ancient and medieval India—particularly Bengal, and the arts and crafts of rural Bengal, as well as the more sophisticated art of conscious artists of the present age, the last only to a very limited extent for obvious economic reasons. It has published specimens of old Bengali sculpture in a fine set of post-cards, as sculpture and not as objects of archaeological interest only; and it contemplates publishing further specimens of sculpture and painting and artistic craft work. A bulletin devoted to the study of artifacts in its collection and on Indian art in



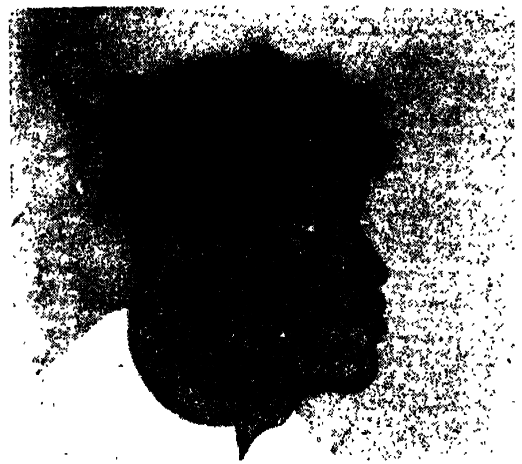
Santal Mother (Fig. 2)
By Ramendra Nath Chakrabarti



Sagarika at the Spring (Fig. 3)
By Manindra Bhusan Gupta

general, studied both from their aesthetic content and their historical or ethnological importance, is also within the purview of the museum.

Thanks to the young and energetic Curator of the museum, Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh, the museum is seeking in other ways also to act as a centre of Indian culture in the domain of the graphic arts. In this it is acting in conjunction with the well-known *Indian Society of Oriental Art* in Calcutta, as occasion demands it. This year two exhibitions, opened by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, were held in the museum, both in the month of February, the first being an Exhibition of Pictures by children under twelve, the first of its kind in Calcutta, which brought together a number of remarkable productions by children and was instructive both for students of the child mind and of art; and the second, of paintings by contemporary Indian artists. The *Indian Society of Oriental Art* which discovered for both Indian and the world outside such masters as Nandalal Bose and others has so long acted as the main clearing house of ideological and other kinds of transaction in the domain of modern Indian art, through its journal (now defunct *Rupam* and the current Journal of the *Indian Society of Oriental Art*) and its exhibitions. The present exhibition was happily conceived under the joint auspices of the Museum and the Society, and this is the first of exhibitions of a similar kind which it is proposed to make an annual affair in the University.



Portrait (Fig. 4)
By Chaitanyadev Chattopadhyaya

The fact of its being held within the University premises made it well attended by students, both men and women, and it certainly helped in creating an interest in art among many of them. The number of exhibits was small, not even coming upto 150. The leaders of the Indian Art Movement like Nandalal Bose, younger contemporaries of Abanindranath Tagore, men who are above 50, were not represented in it. In fact it was the intention of the organisers to exhibit works of the younger generation of Indian artists only, of men who were below 30. This they have to a large extent succeeded in doing, for out of the 34 artists whose pictures were accepted and shown, the greater number are young artists not yet known to fame, and only a few artists on the wrong side of forty were represented. Among the senior artists well known in India (and even abroad) were Deviprasad Raychaudhuri, Ramendranath Chakrabarti, Manindrabhushan Gupta, Chaitanyadev Chattopadhyay and Sudhir Khastagir. Deviprasad Raychaudhuri, distinguished Indian sculptor and well known as the



A Group of Bengali Ladies (Fig. 5)
By Chaitanyadev Chattopadhyaya

Principal of the Government Art School in Madras, exhibited two of his paintings of Indian scenes both naturalistic and in genre in his characteristic style in oils. One of these paintings *Temple Steps* is reproduced here



Flute-player (Fig. 6)
By Sudhir Khastagir

(Fig. 1). Ramendranath Chakrabarti, Head-master of the Government Art School in Calcutta, gave some landscapes in etching and wood-cut and some of his pictures of Indian



Sketch (Fig. 8)
By Gopal Ghosh

life, including Santal studies. His picture of a Santal Madonna (Fig. 2) is a quiet and telling piece of drawing and colouring which is quite characteristic of this versatile artist who is one of the best known pupils of Nandalal Bose. Manindrabhushan Gupta, another teacher in the Government Art School in Calcutta exhibited some of his water colours of Bengal Scenes showing quick and strong brush work with a harmony of colour that is very pleasing. His *Sagarika* at the Spring, inspired both by a poem of Rabindranath and by the art of Borobudur, is a good composition, though sentimental (Fig. 3). Chaitanyadev Chatterji is well represented by a number of portraits as well as by a number of studies and sketches of Bengali womanhood. In his portraits Chaitanyadev has developed an original style which in close attention to details and to finesse in execution recalls the best por-



Expectance (Fig. 9)
By Gopal Ghosh

traits of the Mogul School (Fig. 4), only the Bengali artist's compositions are on a larger scale and they get their pleasing in fact their convincing quality from their insistence on the flat surface. Chaitanyadev's sketches and paintings of Bengali women show a tall and rather artitocratic type which is his own creation in the modern art of Bengal (Fig. 5). Sudhir Khastagir has matured his own particular style, and among the most noted pictures of the exhibition were his group of three heads, a Santal young man playing on the flute (Fig. 6), a Santal girl as a companion picture

and an old man; the first two showing very vigorous brush work with plenty of verve as well as romance. His *Dance* was another picture worked with the brush alone in a few strong strokes which was very much praised. A more deliberate piece of work was a brush drawing giving the heads of a Bengali bridegroom and bride named *After the Marriage*.

For the writer of the present note as well as for others the great discovery in the Exhibi-



Chhinnamasta (Fig. 11)
By Narendra Nath Mallik

tion was the young artist Gopal Ghosh, a teacher in the Art School maintained by the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Here we have as promising a painter as ever had his pictures shown in an exhibition. He would appear to be quite prolific with his brush, for he had contributed as many as 24 items. He shows a refreshing command over both line and colour, and can handle all forms from the human body to trees and landscapes with equal facility. Some of his line sketches evince a surprising quality of strength and beauty and his colour landscapes are equally good. Combined with this he shows also a good power of composition and a fine dramatic sense in art and can turn out careful work with equal success as his less deliberate colour sketches and line drawings. We are illustrating two of his pictures (Figs. 8 & 9). We wish this young artist god-speed in his work in life and we shall watch his future development with keen interest. Indu Rakshit is quite well-known for his frescoes and other work in the Government School of Art, Calcutta. Among five items he exhibited we give as typical his chromo-litho of a Bengali carpenter at work (Fig. 10). Narendranath Mallik is another young artist who exhibited 4 pictures, the two mythological ones *Tara* (since purchased by the Chinese Cultural Mission to India) and *Chhinnamasta*, particularly the latter, having attracted considerable attention (Fig. 11). This one *Chhinnamasta*, depicts a Tantric myth, of Durga or Sakti, *i.e.*, Life force operating in the Universe, as a naked Goddess standing over life-in-the-making symbolised by a man and woman united in love's embrace; but above this life-in-the-making is the cruel and ghastly force of death, for the goddess has cut her own head off, and is holding her severed head in one hand, into the mouth of which a jet of blood from the headless neck is spurting forth, while two ghoulish demonesses, typifying also the forces



Nimai Pandit (Fig. 12)
By Phanibhusan Das

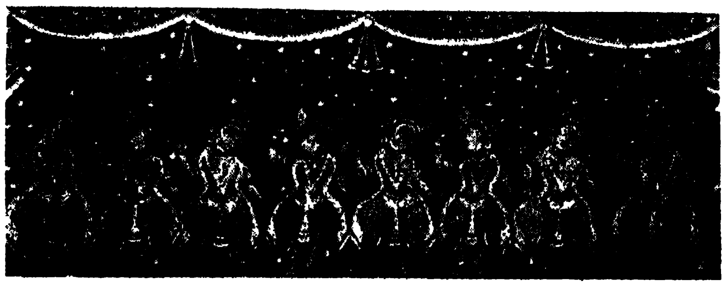
of destruction, are regaling themselves with other jets of blood running into their mouths. The conception is iconographical, after the fashion of late medieval Indian iconography and old Bengal, old Nepal and Tibetan paintings; but the treatment is the painter's own, and it shows great power and dramatic poise, showing how a capable artist can rise over the limitations imposed upon him by a hide-bound hieratic iconography. The background gives a sort of halo for the figure in the form of a big lotus

with drawings suggestive of *Yantras* or mystic figures of Tantric ritual and worship; and the colour scheme is quite in accordance with the spirit of these iconic figures.



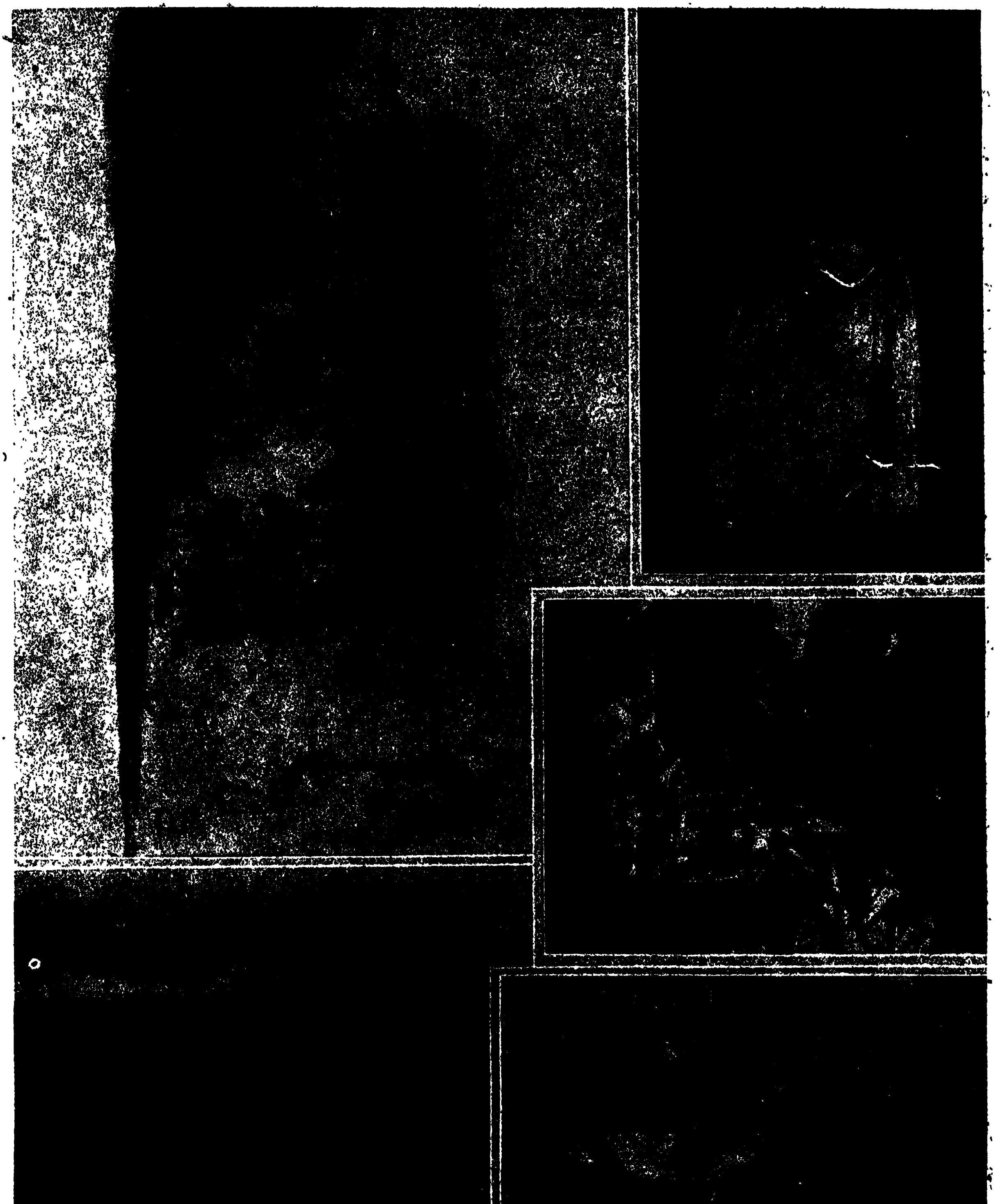
Persian Princess (Fig. 13)
By Miss Santa Majumdar

There are a number of other good pictures, and as can be expected a number of weak ones, from artists who have not yet come to realise what they can do and what is expected of them to do. Phanibhushan Das has essayed a conventionalised painting Nimai Pandit (showing the young Chaitanya as teacher among his students) which is the style reminiscent of medieval Bengali *pata* manuscript cover drawings (Fig. 12) which has been adopted with such virile beauty by Mr. Jamini Roy. Miss Santa Majumdar, a young artist of 16, has a strikingly original study named the Persian Princess (Fig. 13). This little picture shows great promise, and it has a rare attention to detail, although in some points (*e.g.*, in the ornaments) there is more imagination than actuality. We expect good things in the future from this talented young artist. Prankrishna Pal has a miniature after the Mogul paintings, the head of a 'Prince' with whiskers in Mugal costume, which is quite good (Fig. 14). This artist and another, Sushil Kumar Pal, who has shown rare gifts as a landscape painter in Western style (Fig. 15) have exhibited a number of large sepia and colour paintings of ancient frescoes, from Bagh, Ajanta, Sittannavasal, Sigiriya and Horiyuji, which are all from small reproductions of copies made by other artists like Asitkumar Haldar and S. Katchadourian or from small photos, and these indicate a line in which the museum is seeking to build up a sort of archive of Asiatic art. The quality of these copies, done under the direction of the Curator, is remarkably high and the present writer (as well as many an other visitor) was particularly impressed by a painting by Prankrishna Pal of a Bodhisattva from Bagh Cave after Katchadourian (Fig. 16), a figure of astonishing beauty and spirituality which can be placed beside the great Bodhisattva of Ajanta and the Bodhisattvas of Horiyuji. It is a mystery why this magnificent creation of Indian art at its best should have escaped the attention of Nandalal Bose and others when they copied the frescoes of Bagh; and it was left to the Iranian artist Katchadourian to discover it for the lovers of art in his beautiful copy, the ultimate source of Mr. Prankrishna Pal's work. Personally I think it is a good plan to have correct copies of the great masterpieces of Indian art made by capable artists for study purposes in our museums of art in India, failing large-scale photographs which are available, *e.g.*, in Europe for masterpieces of painting in European art. A painted frieze depicting the dance of



Rasalila (Fig. 17)
By Panu Maharana

Krishna and the Gopis in the characteristic Orissa style (Fig. 17), a survival of a school akin to the so-called old Gujarati school of Western India (which has been better renamed the 'Apabhramsa' School by Rai Krishna Das of Benares in his excellent book on Indian Painting in Hindi), by Panu Maharana is quite a remarkable piece of decorative execution.



Top (left) : Bodhisattva, Bagh Cave, c. 5th century A.D. (Fig. 16) by Pran Krishna Pal. *Top (right)* :- Prince (Fig. 14) by Pran Krishna Pal. *Middle (right)* : Temple Steps (Fig. 1) by Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury. *Bottom (right)* : Carpenter, Chromo-litho (Fig. 10) by Indu Rakshit. *Bottom (left)* : Landscape (Fig. 15) by Susil Kumar Pal



The new Alaska Highway pushes to the North a life line to the United Nations



At water barriers too broad to be bridged, trucks using the Alaska Highway will be ferried across on barges, pushed by flat, powerful "stern-wheelers"

This art exhibition, though small and not remarkable for any outstanding features, is nevertheless significant, as it shows a number of younger people at work who are both serious and have real talent. The work of some of these promising young men contradicts by some vigorous pieces of composition and execution the opinion that the Bengal School of painters can only produce pretty, sentimental wishy-washy stuff which is both weak and exotic. We close our observations with an expression of our appreciation of the efforts of Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh and his colleagues to make the exhibition the success that it has been.

March 3, 1943

U. S.-ALASKA HIGHWAY CUT THROUGH 1,600 MILES OF WILDERNESS

Open to Traffic Ahead of Schedule

CUT through virgin wilderness, the United States-Alaska Highway has been open to traffic since November. U. S. Army Engineers completed the last mile of the 1,671-mile military highway on October 29, linking for the first time the United States and its arctic outpost territory. The gigantic engineering feat was completed in a little more than six months—record time—and well ahead of schedule.

The 24-foot wide highway was cut through trackless forests by 10,000 U. S. soldiers and 2,000 civilian workers. It was built at the rate of eight miles a day, and involved the bridging of 200 streams. The bridges are of timber construction and will go out when river ice starts moving next April, but other bridges will be waiting, ready cut, with the machinery to set them up, on every river bank, and detachments of engineers stationed along the route will put them up immediately.

The highest elevation crossed by the road is 4,212 feet. The formal opening of the project took place on the Alaskan-Canadian border November 15.

All winter, on hard-packed snow, great truck convoys have been moving U. S. troops and war supplies over the new route, cutting the time required to reach Alaskan points from the northwestern United States to less than a week. All shipments to the great northern U. S. possession were formerly made by boat or plane. Travel on the highway will be slowed only during the spring-thaw months when rivers and creeks overflow.

Begun in March, 1942, this epic feat of road building through trackless forests, over swift-flowing rivers, and through mountain valleys has been likened to the construction of the Panama Canal in its complexity and the obstacles to be overcome.

COST WAS NEAR $75,000,000

Costing between $50,000,000 and $75,000,000—less than the price of one battleship—it will prove of tremendous value as a war munitions artery and as a great commercial traffic lane for generations to come. It taps vast uninhabited areas rich in soil and minerals, and with great stands of timber.



Throwing pontoon bridges across rivers, the U. S. Army Engineers kept the heavy trucks rolling with their tons of supplies. Later, permanent bridges will be built

Although originally contemplated as a rough "pioneer" road, to be completed in one year, the "Alcan" Highway, as now constructed, is a well-graded, well-drained truck road for practically its entire length, and affords two-way traffic over many long stretches.

The highway brings into a reality a long-held dream of Donald MacDonald, a slight,

stoop-shouldered engineer with graying hair, who eleven years ago pushed through the wilderness on foot, mapping the route the highway follows. Through the years since then, MacDonald promoted the project. In 1938 President Roosevelt appointed an Alaska Highway Commission of five members of whom MacDonald was one. It recommended that the road be built, but not until last year was construction authorized by the U. S. Congress as a war necessity.



These men are laying the base for one of the rail-road spur lines which will link the Alaska Highway with the Canadian industrial area. Rail-roads will haul supplies to points along the highway, where they will be carried by trucks to Alaska

The highway begins at a railroad in western Canada a hundred miles or so north of the U. S.-Canadian border. It pursues a north-westerly course east of the Rocky Mountains to the Alaskan boundary; then swings west across the boundary to Fairbanks, Alaska.

Construction of the road was a military project, authorized by joint agreement between Canada and the United States, and carried out under the direction of Major General Eugene Reybold, chief of U. S. Army Engineers. In charge of the work at the scene was Brigadier General William Morris Hoge, with headquarters at Whitehorse.

Started in Freezing Weather

The first American troops assigned to this gigantic task rolled into the last stop on the Canadian railroad at 1-30 a.m., March 9, and tumbled shivering from their trains in a 35-below-zero-cold. In a frozen field they hacked holes for the pegs of their pup tents; then worked through most of the night unloading their heavy equipment. Next day the battle against the wilderness began.

From the railhead was a narrow road extending 60 miles to the north. Two hundred and fifty miles beyond that ran a winter trail through dense forests and on the thick ice of rivers and lakes to a trading post, where a great advance engineers' base was constructed. Army men had only four, maybe six weeks, to carry in the huge quantities of equipment and supplies they needed before the spring thaw made the route a bog.

They worked feverishly. Night and day in Arctic cold a stream of trucks rolled over the rough and narrow trail. Freight trains disgorged their loads at the railhead directly into the trucks. As the supplies came faster, it became plain that the trucks and men to drive them were too few. So E. J. Spinney, a trucking contractor, agreed to collect a caravan of British Columbia farmers. The call went out; and in a week, enough trucks and men from within a radius of 100 miles were ready to help keep the supplies moving.



Fighters as well as roadbuilders, this group of soldiers is typical of the men who endured privations and sub-zero weather to drive the Alaskan Highway through the virgin wilderness

TRUCKS ROLLED NIGHT AND DAY

For six weeks the trucks never stopped rolling, except to reload and refuel. Each had two drivers; one slept while the other drove. Men ate when they could. Back and forth over snow and glossy ice the trucks churned. The best time any truck made for the 250-mile trip was 52 hours. Along the road supply dumps were set up on the bleak tundra for crates of food and drums of gasoline. Fires burned day and night.

Danger spot of the route was the wild Peace River. The U. S. Army stationed a crew there day and night to test the ice.

The first day of the thaw came, and the base was still incomplete. The ice was going, and the road would be cut by a raging torrent. Frustration seeped through the camp.

Then, like an answer to prayer—and the men were praying—came a terrific freeze. The Peace River ice thickened, and the trucks rolled on.

The last few days of the ice the trucks moved only at night, when frost stiffened the surface, but by the time the road became bogged, the battle had been won. The huge tractor and road machines had arrived. The men were there; food, and the gasoline to run their machines. They would be cut off for 150 days, but they had what they needed. Not a truck or a man had been lost in the mad six-week dash.

By moving in their supplies during the winter, it was possible to start work on the highway at several points at the same time, assuring its completion in what proved to be record time.

PHYSICAL HARDSHIPS, PRIMITIVE LIVING

The story of the building of the road is studded with examples of physical endurance, by acceptance of primitive living and hardships suffered by the men who put it through. During March they battled bitter winds and temperatures as low as 35 degrees below zero. In July and August they sweltered under a heat of more than 90 degrees, and were forced to wear gloves and net helmets to protect themselves from the swarms of mosquitoes, flies, and other insect pests. In wet weather they slogged through mud almost knee-deep; in dry weather portions of the road were shrouded in clouds of alluvial dust so fine no mesh could exclude it.

Aside from the endurance and efficiency of the force, among whom a large detachment of Negro troops acquitted themselves with special distinction, three main factors contributed to the speed with which construction was carried on.

The first was initiation of construction at various points at the same time. The second was employment of aerial surveys, followed by stereoscopic analysis of air photographs, and the time-tested and traditional engineer method of ground reconnaissance—on foot, with packhorse, and dog train.



U. S. Equipment puts finishing touches on 1,600-mile military road to Alaska

The third was the use of excavators, tractors, and other heavy equipment, without which the record for speed and semi-permanent construction could not have been achieved.

Advance crews moved against the forest wall with motor-driven saws, slashing a rough trail. Then came the giant 20-ton machines which plowed through the native spruce, jackpine, and aspen as if through cornfields, uprooting and pushing trees and stumps laterally off a 100-foot cut. Next came the huge ditching and excavating machines. Army men cleared the way, then private contractor crews took over.

Timber for the construction of bridges, trestles, and other structures was felled by the troops and processed by sawmills at the site. Ferries for crossing the many turbulent creeks and streams were improvised of rafts and pon-

toons. At one major crossing a large scow capable of transporting equipment weighing 40 tons was built from forest lumber.

Now that the road is completed, Secretary Stimson is able to refute critics who said the route selected ran through great stretches of muskeg bogs which would slow up construction and would not provide a solid roadbed. Muskeg bogs extend as deep as 25 feet and at their worst can swallow up machines and men. Mr. Stimson states that muskeg has proved only a minor consideration.

"Most of it was successfully skirted," he said, "and that which was unavoidable was overcome with corduroy



A heavy grading machine is drawn by tractor across the hard-packed snow to start work on another section of the Alaska Highway

roads. In one particular section 60 miles in length, reported to consist principally of muskeg, only four miles of it were encountered."

May Become Route to China

"The importance of the highway can be understood only when it is considered along with the fast expanding highway, railway and waterway development in Siberia," says Edward Hunter, Far East Expert of the New York Post. "In fact, it is part of a gigantic U. S. to China route, or a U. S. to Europe route, taking in Siberia as incidentally as it does Canada. At the same time the new road feeds directly and safely the vital Aleutians.

"There is no other road in the world which possesses such a diversified value—largely potential as yet, but sure to be utilized in full before the global war ends—particularly in its Pacific phase."

Alcan Highway Seen As "New Northwest Passage" of the Future

The Alaska-Canadian Highway which was completed last year will possibly be a "new Northwest Passage linking America and Asia" when the war is ended,—Brigadier General James A. O'Connor, Commander of the U. S. Army Northwest Service Command and director of the construction of the Highway, said in a broadcast here today.—*Ottawa, February 18 (By Cable)*

"Transportation developments of immeasurable importance followed other wars," General O'Connor declared. "Perhaps the Alcan Highway, as a thoroughfare to Asia and a conduit to the riches of Alaska and the Yukon, is destined to be one of the lasting, significant results of the conflict in which the whole earth is now engaged."

General O'Connor was here to present Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King with two mementoes—the blade of the scissors which was used to cut the ribbon at the formal ceremony opening the Highway in 1942, and a copy of the journal of the first exploration party to penetrate the Alcan Highway area in 1863.

Although it is a vast territory, covering, with the Aleutian Islands, 586,400 square miles, Alaska has a civilian population of only 72,000. Salmon canning and mining are the principal industries, the annual salmon pack bringing in $50,000,000 and gold mining half as much. The lumber industry is growing, producing between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 board feet a year.

Under its agreement with Canada, the United States has paid the cost of building the highway, and will maintain it for the duration of the war and, if desired, an additional six months thereafter. The United States will then turn the part that lies in Canada over to the Dominion on condition that there shall be no discrimination in its use as between U. S. and Canadian civilian traffic.

As part of its agreement, and also to speed the work, Canada acquired rights of way along the route, waived customs duties and fees on equipment and supplies brought in from the United States, and made timber, gravel and rock available to the contractors.

In this great wilderness engineering feat a peacetime dream has become a wartime reality. Along the route great airfields will be built for use by cargo and combat planes. Wartime potentialities of the Alaskan route are obvious—it is the land route to Tokyo.

Courtesy: U. S. Office of War Information.

WOMAN'S TRIUMPH AGAINST ODDS

By St. NIHAL SINGH

During my early days in the United States of America, now left behind more than a generation ago, I was greatly impressed with the determination of a woman seventy years old to obtain higher education. Foiled in that attempt in her youth, she bided her time. After her husband had died and her children were grown up and settled in life, she went to the University, had herself enrolled in what we would call the First Year Class and, despite her white hair and wrinkled face, was resolved to obtain her A.B. —or B.A., as we say after the British fashion.

Here in India, some thirty-five years later, a Hindu lady whose education was interrupted in her girlhood, has shown what a wife and mother can accomplish in the way of acquiring the highest academic honours, in the intervals of household, conjugal and maternal duties. The list of the results of the Master of Arts Examination of the Punjab University, recently published at Lahore, contained this woman's name. That name was Om Vati. Mrs. Omvati. Thereby hangs the tale.

In 1913 Om Vati was to sit for the Matriculation Examination of the Allahabad University from the Isabella Thoburn College, then presided over by a fine Indian Christian lady—Miss Lilavati Singh. Some invisible pointsman, however, juggled with the points in her life-road. Suddenly the girl found herself shunted off from the track leading to college and deposited in the yards of matrimony.

The seventeen-year-old bride was not daunted by this disappointment. Within eight days of her marriage she was back at her studies. The bridegroom—Ramji Narain—had just passed his M.Sc. Examination successfully. He was anxious that his wife should get on with her studies as fast as she could. He, therefore, pulled the lever that shunted her back onto the track leading towards the University.

Not long after she had passed her Matriculation Examination she gave birth to a boy. That boy is now a young man. He passed his B.A. in 1941. Next year he is to appear for his M.A.

But his mother—Om Vati—is already an M.A. This though the odds were all ranged against her in the educational race.

Child-bearing and child-rearing—Om Vati bore two more sons—conjugal responsibilities and duty towards her "in-laws", made a heavy drain upon her vitality. Spells of sickness shook her physical frame to the core of her being—upset her nerves. Nothing, however, prevented her, for any length of time, from proceeding, now at a jog-trot and again with the thoroughbred race-horse's stride, towards her self-appointed goal.

In 1930 her husband, Ramji Narain, who had already gained considerable distinction as a scientist, went to Cambridge for further training. While he was away winning his Ph.D. and D.Sc., his wife, with a babe at breast and two others tugging at her *sari*, sat for and passed the F.A. Examination of the Agra Board.

A serious illness that left her weak and debilitated, interrupted her studies for the B.A. During the period of convalescence she amused



Mrs. Om Vati

herself by applying all her faculties to improve her knowledge of Sanskrit, and passed the Sastri Examination.

Then, for a change, she resumed her studies for the Baccalaureate of Arts degree. Her first-born had, in the meantime, been growing up—as children have a habit of doing. He had been studying intelligently and industriously and approaching closer and closer to his mother in University work.

Two summers ago Om Vati came to see my wife and me in Dehra Dun. She brought her first-born with her. They both were then B.A.'s, of the Punjab University. We wondered which of the two would be the first to win the coveted degree of Master of Arts.

That question was answered at the last convocation of the Punjab University. She was among the recipients of the M.A. degree.

That University will soon be giving her title to append "M.O.L." to her name. When this happens she will, so far as I know, be the only Indian lady in the Punjab, and perhaps in the whole of Upper India, to be an M.A., Sastri, and M.O.L.

SWEDISH POET'S LONGING FOR INDIA

"Jag Ville, Jag Vore" (I wish I were) is one of the well-known poems of the celebrated Swedish poet Gustaf Froeding who died in the year 1911. The original Swedish text as also its English rendering have been supplied to us by Acharya Kaka Kalelkar's younger son Dr. Bal D. Kalelkar M.Sc. (Mass.), Ph.D. (Cornell), the Edgar Meyer Fellow of the University of Cornell who is at present in America.—ED., *M. R.*

JAG VILLE, JAG VORE

Jag ville, jag vore i Indialand
och India vore sig själv
med pärlor till grus och rubiner till sand
och slott, som på vinken av Akbar's hand
drömts fram vid en helig älv.

Jag ville mitt hus var av bambuns rör,
där västvinden svalkades sval
av palmer, som skuggade utanför,
och dschungeln sjönge sin vilda kör
om jakter och strider och parningsval.

En flicka med hy som mahognyträ
och silke om höfter och bröst
satt lutad i skuggan av palmernas la
—jag lade mitt huvud mot viskerskans rost
och lyddes till viskerskans röst.

Hon talade tyst som ett skymningens sus
om själarnas tusenårsfard,
om Karmas kamp och Akasa ljus
och slocknandets ro i Nirvanas hus
vid gränsen av varandets varld.

Jag ville min själ kunde lossas fran
det vaknas förhärjades strand,
fran kalla, förtorkade ögons has,
jag ville, jag vore ett drömlands son,
en inföld av Indialand.

I WISH I WERE

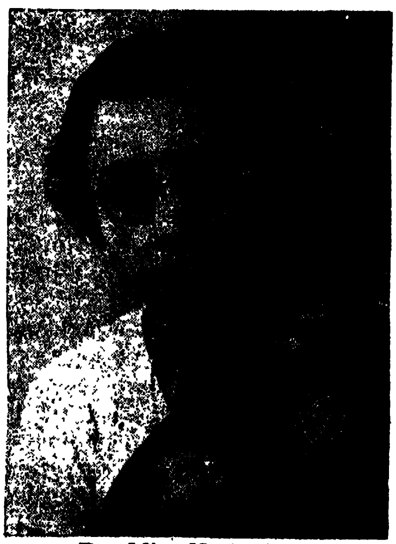
I wish I were in the land of India
and that India were herself
with pearls for pebbles and rubies for sand
and castles that, on a wink of Akbar's hand,
were dreamt forth by holy rivers.

I wish that my house were of bamboo canes
where the western wind were cooled
by palms that spread their shadow
and the jungle sang its wild choir
of hunts and fights and matings.

A maid with skin like mahogany wood
and silk around hips and bosom
sat thoughtfully under the palms
—I laid my head on her delicate knee
and listened to her whispering voice.

She spoke softly like the evening breeze
of the thousand year voyage of the souls,
of the fight of *Karma* and the light of
Akasa,
of the peace of fading in the house of
Nirvana
at the border of world of things that are.

I wish that my soul could tear itself loose
from desolate strand of consciousness,
from the spite of cold dry eyes.
I wish that I were the son of a land of
dreams,
A native of the land of India.



Dr. Miss N. S. Rao

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS N. S. RAO, M.Sc., of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, has been recently awarded the Ph.D. degree of the Bombay University on the merit of her thesis comprising of her research work in pure and applied chemistry. She is the first lady worker of the Institute to receive this high distinction.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The position in Russia is about as liquid and as reverse of clear as the mud produced by the Spring thaws in the battle areas of the centre and the South. Much of the lack of clarity in the news regarding the battle-fronts in the Soviet territories is no doubt caused by the uncertainty about the issue of the struggle going on there under very trying circumstances. In Tunisia the main assault against the Axis positions has begun and at the time of writing sufficient news has not come in to clearly indicate the progress of the battle. The month of March has seen a continuation of the aerial warfare against Germany and occupied Europe, with very little in the way of retaliatory attacks by the Axis as a reply. In China the flare-ups on the Yangtse and the Yunnan fronts seem to be slowly dying out. In the South-Pacific and the New Guinea areas there seems to be a prolonged lull occasionally broken by the news of minor aerial assaults by either side, unsupported by naval or land forces and without any signs of a definite follow-up or consolidation of advantages gained. The Battle of the Atlantic seems to be still in the phase of uncertainty.

In short, the happenings of the month of March seem to be well in keeping with the very grey forecasts made by Mr. Churchill of a long war of attrition. Two or three years of war still to come in the West, followed by a campaign in the East of an indeterminate duration is a grim prospect in all conscience, be it considered from whatever viewpoint—excepting that of a war-profiteer.

The battle-line in Russia seems to be in a state of unstable equilibrium at the end of a long Winter-campaign fought by the Soviets' forces. At present the dominating factor seems to be that of the weather and if General Winter was definitely on the side of the Soviets, General Mud seems to be helping the Axis, though not to the same extent. German resistance has stiffened in the centre and the North with the progress of the thaw, and in the Kharkov region the Russian reverses can be explained at least partially by the superiority, under conditions of the thaw, of the German communication organisation over that of the Russians. Whatever the reasons, the present position seems to be more favourable for the Nazi defence than for the Russian offensive. In the Donetz area the Russians are holding at bay the German forces that are attempting to establish a bridgehead across the river. It is still a question as to whether the Soviets would consolidate their defences along the line they hold at present. In the Caucasus region the Soviets' thrust did not penetrate to the same extent as in the Volga, Don and Donetz basins and the position there is still as indeterminate as it was in February.

The Soviets' counter-offensive of this Winter seemed to have developed into a series of independent all-out thrusts, each with a limited objective and a unidirectial plan of action. In certain areas, notably in that of Kharkov, the thrusts apparently travelled beyond their objective, making it difficult for the communication and refitting organisations to function at full capacity. The Germans gained an advantage thereby in the matter of replacements and reinforcements in those areas and the Russians had to yield ground that had been gained after a bitter struggle. The thaw is slowly paralysing large-scale action now, and as a result both sides will have a breathing space for consolidation, refitting and replacement. The positions of the Soviets' forces, as indicated on the map at the time of writing does not seem to be stable enough for the struggle that is coming when the ground dries up after the thaws, but of course the map is no sure guide in these ways of warfare. The process of consolidation is being carried on by the Russians and there can be no doubt that for the present at least they are in a far more satisfactory situation than at the end of autumn last.

All the same, it is clear that as yet the Soviet has not been able to place the Germans at any distinct disadvantage. They still retain the springboards for the launching of a fresh offensive on a major scale against the Caucasus and their hold on the Ukraine has not been perceptibly loosened. The Soviets' forces are now in a position to raise fresh bastions against the coming assault and further the spear-head of the last German offensive has been liquidated. But there does not seem to be any ground for complacence about the Russian position. There is no doubt that the incomparable Russian soldier will answer any call that is made on his endurance and valour right onto his death, but now the war is slowly resolving itself into a

matter of profit and loss, replacement and reserve. We do not know as to which of the opposing forces can show a better balance-sheet after the terrible wastages of the most fiercely fought winter-campaign in history. But the question of replacement and reserves is paramount now in Russia and aid to the fullest extent, in men and in material, must be rendered to her if the security of the Soviets is to be placed beyond doubt. It is almost two years now since the full strength of the Axis in Europe was turned against the Soviets, and the destruction and battering that has followed has been too appalling to express in measured terms. We do not know of any nation in history that has survived after receiving even a fraction of the punishment that the Russians have taken. So there should not be any questioning now about the reality of the peril that may come on to the Soviets, and no idle hopes about the Germans cracking under the strain.

In Tunisia battles are raging on three fronts. Judging by the time taken, the operations have been commenced only after most careful preparations have been made. It is too early as yet to see the outcome of the present offensive, but the intensity of the German counter-attacks clearly indicate that Rommel and Von Arnim intend to make a determined attempt at a last stand in Africa. The Allied forces seem to have some hard fighting in front of them, but the fighting conditions should be more favourable to them than to those of the Axis now that the Mareth lines are turned.

The Allied air-offensive over Germany and occupied Europe has been kept up in March. There was a rise in the tempo at the end of the last month, which was kept up for well over a week. There was a slack period for a number of days and again a start has been made with large-scale attacks. Expert opinion differs considerably over the result of such raids and some of the criticism seems to be justified judging from the results obtained by the Germans in their blitz over Britain. So far as can be judged by the reports coming through various sources the main effect of this aerial warfare, as it is conducted at present, is aimed at the lowering of the efficienty of the workmen employed in the Axis munitions plants and at the demoralization of the civilian population. How far this effect has been obtained is not known to the public, but there can be no doubt that these attacks have forced the German and Italian Governments to divert a considerable force of aircraft and anti-aircraft personnel and arms for defence. There must have been a considerable expenditure in time, money and energy in countering the effects on the morale of the civilian population. But even after allowing in full for all these factors, there seems to be room for doubt as to whether it has led to the weakening of the war-effort of the Axis to any vital degree as yet.

In China, there was a flare-up on the Yangtse and the Yunnan fronts. The Japanese launched thrusts in considerable force in both these sectors, obviously in an attempt at further tightening the stranglehold on Free China. The extreme paucity of news from China makes it difficult for one to judge whether the Japanese have been foiled in their attempt or not. It is a strange fact that the most minor incident in all other fronts seems to have a news priority over the happenings in China. The gallant fight that is being put up by the Generalissimo's forces under the most desperately critical circumstances at least ought to receive the admiration of the rest of the democratic world. In the South-Pacific or on the Burma front nothing has happened of any real importance in the last two months. Yet far more publicity has been given to those minor happenings than to the fight on the Yangtse or the Yunnan fronts.

In the South-Pacific nothing worth mentioning has happened beyond the staving-off of the Japanese forward move. So much undue emphasis has been laid on these defensive actions that they have created an impression that the Japanese are on the verge of collapse in those areas. The Prime Minister of Australia and the ci-divant Admiral of the Allied Naval forces in the Java Seas have had to express contrary opinions very forcibly in order to counteract such complacence. On the Indo-Burma front—in the Arakans—the position is still a riddle due to similar methods of publicity. The reports in the beginning were shown in such high-lights that many thoughtless persons—some of them highly placed—were led to make absurd remarks about the imminent successes to be expected of the campaign. Now at the close of this season's campaigning, equally absurd things are being said—and published in print—in apologia.

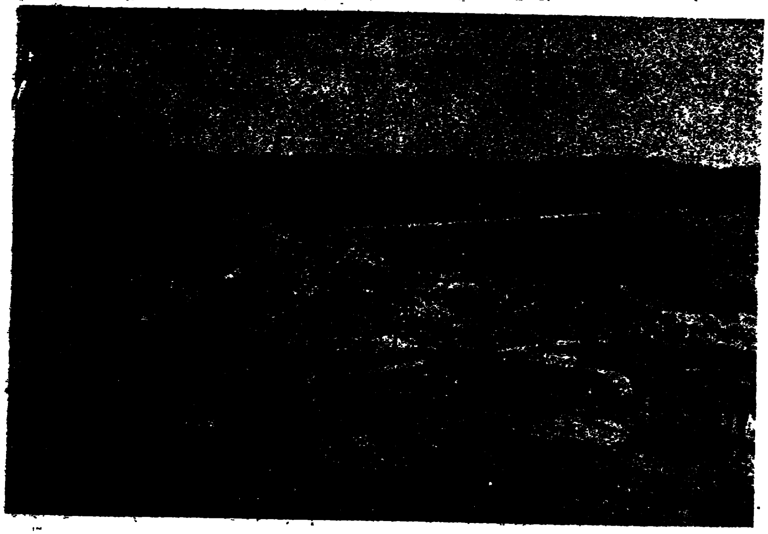
There is nothing new in Mr. Churchill's broadcast. Similar hopes for the next year have been expressed in all the three years of this war. This time we have been taken one year more ahead as a precautionary measure. And then comes the same old story about "Asia must Wait"!



Air view of the Guadalcanal Airport in the Solomons



Allied troops continue their push through the jungles of New Guinea. With lush growth lining the river banks, four U. S. soldiers haul a boat with supplies up the rapids



Americans salvage valuable materials abandoned by Japs in the Solomons



U. S. raiders on march in the Solomons



Allied troops hacking their way through the jungles of New Guinea



U. S. marines on Guadalcanal march to the front

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WATERS OF THE INDUS

By MOHANLAL P. GANDHI

Not much published outside Sind and the Punjab, the Sind-Punjab dispute over the distribution of the waters of River Indus over which the Rau Commission sat at Simla during the year is of considerable importance to the general public in the country at large. The load of printed testimony and oral arguments submitted while the Commission was in session has brought forth some interesting facts about River Indus, which, irrigating sufficient lands in Sind and the Punjab to produce five-hundred million rupees worth of crops every year, has still more water left in it, running waste to sea almost all the year, than what goes in the irrigation channels.

The dispute is not new. Some sort of controversy has been going on about the distribution of the waters of River Indus since 1919 when the decision was about to be taken by the Government of Bombay to launch the Sukkur Barrage project. The controversy took an acute form when this project was completed and the canals served by it started functioning in 1932. The Government of the Punjab also formulated several schemes of new irrigation projects in the province and the States of Khairpur and Bhawalpur made representations to the Government of India to determine the respective shares of the water of the Indus required for additional supplies in their territories. In 1935, the Government of India appointed a Committee of eight experts, one representative of each of the six Provinces and Native States concerned, namely, Bombay (of which Sind then formed a part), the Punjab, the N.W.F. Province, Khairpur, Bhawalpur and Bikaner, and two nominees of their own, known as the Anderson Committee, after its chairman. The Committee was asked to report on the extent to which additional supplies of water were actually required by Khairpur State, the Bhawalpur State and the Haveli project of the Punjab Government, and the possibilities of finding such supplies without detriment to the parties interested in the waters of the Indus and its tributaries and the effect of such fresh withdrawals upon the existing or the prospective rights of these parties.

The Government of India passed orders on the recommendations of the Anderson Committee in March 1937 allocating the supplies which were accepted by all the parties concerned.

When the Anderson Committee was appointed Sind was a part of Bombay. But by the time, the Government of India announced its decision on the recommendations of this Committee, Sind was in the second year of its existence as a separate Province. The decision of the Government of India was at that time accepted by Sind in broad principles. Two years later, Sind preferred a complaint asking for modification of the orders passed by the Government of India and seeking relief for various irrigation projects already completed, under construction or under contemplation by the Government of Punjab, under Section 130 of the Government of India Act of 1935. Under the old Constitution, water supplies, irrigation and canals were a reserved subject so that every local government was under the superintendence, direction and control of the Government of India in these matters. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, a specific provision has been made limiting the powers of provincial Governments in utilising common sources of water within their territories.

The main reliefs that Sind asked for in the complaints were that the Punjab should not be allowed to proceed with their Bhakra Dam and four other projects except under proper safeguards and that in order that canals in Sind be assured of adequate supplies in the winter season when waters in the Indus are at a low ebb, Sukkur Barrage should have a priority of supplies over the Thal and Haveli projects of the Punjab.

The Indus is a mighty stream which when in full flood carries as much as one million cubic feet of water a second. Its average flow, calculated from gauge readings for a number of years at several points is 5,55,000 cubic feet of water or cusecs in technical language in the month of July, when the river and its tributaries are in full flood on account of the melting of the snows in the Himalayas from which all of them spring, to 59,000 cusecs in February. In years of excessive floods when the flow is well above the average, water breaks through the

protective bunds on its banks and makes a mad rush at the countryside, which is on a lower level throughout Sind, submerging adjoining areas for hundreds of miles, as it did this year inundating an area of roughly 2500 square miles for a depth varying from two to ten feet. Water passing through the Indus at such high floods in one single day would be sufficient to cover 2000 square miles with water one foot deep, or put in other words, it would be equivalent to a rainfall of twelve inches over the whole of the area. Cultivation in Sind and the Punjab have been timed in such a manner that the irrigation canals have to receive the maximum supplies during the flood months and the least during the winter months when the river is in low stream. At present, the mean utilisation of the water of the Indus is from 103,000 cusecs in August to 16,000 cusecs in April for the kharif (wet crop) season and 20,000 for the rabi (dry crop) season, while the utilisation in the Punjab is 95,000 cusecs for the months of August and July and 38,000 for April for the kharif and an average of 34,000 cusecs for the rabi. After the canals of these two provinces have drawn their supplies, as much as 3,60,000 cusecs are still left in the river which are drained in the sea in July, reduced to a mere trickle of 10,000 cusecs in the month of February in winter.

The Punjab irrigation projects to which an exception has been taken by Sind are the following:—

The Haveli project, which is working from 1939, now irrigates areas formerly fed from the Sidnai headworks on the Ravi and by inundation canals on the Chenab, and in addition 6,00,000 acres of new land. The total withdrawals of the Haveli canal system is 7,700 cusecs during the kharif season (April to October) and 2,750 cusecs during the remaining months.

The Thal project, now under construction, is intended to irrigate certain areas between the Indus and the Jhelum and the Chenab. It provides for one perennial canal taking off from the Indus near Kalabag with a maximum capacity of 6,000 cusecs.

The Bhakra Dam project, under contemplation, is intended to irrigate the famine tracts in Hissar District in the Punjab and the adjoining areas in Bikaner State, by the construction of a dam on the Sutlej with a storage capacity of 4,750,000 acre-feet of water. When completed it would supply 10,300 cusecs to the main canal bringing 46 lakhs of acres under cultivation.

This scheme was the subject-matter of a controversy between the Governments of the Punjab and Bombay (of which Sind then formed a part) as far back as 1929 and had been examined by Mr. Nicholson representing the Punjab and Mr. Trench representing Bombay with the object of ascertaining its probable effects on the inundation canals of Upper Sind. They reported, these canals would not suffer any reduction of supply as a result of the proposed dam and the Government of Bombay informed the Government of the Punjab in 1934 approving of the project with a proviso however, that it did not indicate their approval to the withdrawal of further supplies from the Indus or its tributaries.

This scheme has subsequently been modified by the Government of the Punjab. As it stood in 1929, the proposed reservoir was to be filled in months of June, July and August, the flood months. But subsequently priority has been given to the canals on the Sutlej which also have to draw full supplies during the flood season and the reservoir is to be filled later on in the season, though its capacity has been reduced from 4,750,000 acre-feet to 4,000,000 acre-feet.

In addition, the Punjab has under contemplation, several subsidiary storage projects and feeders to transfer water from the Ravi to the Beas and the Chenab to the Beas.

The Indus Commission of which the Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. N. Rao of the Calcutta High Court was the Chairman and Mr. P. F. B. Hickey, Retired Chief Engineer of the United Provinces and Mr. E. H. Chavem, Chief Engineer, Madras, were the members, in the early stages of its session was much occupied with the laws governing the distribution of waters of rivers passing from one state into another. Law in India regarding the rights in flowing water is substantially the same as the common law regarding riparian owners in England that a riparian owner or occupier has an unrestricted right to take and use the water of a stream for ordinary domestic purposes (such as drinking and washing) and for the wants of his cattle and that he might use the water for irrigating the riparian lands provided he returns the water substantially undiminished in volume and in character. It has, however, been felt that conditions in India are not identical with those prevailing in England and law about riparian rights of individuals requires to be laid down more precisely in India. So far as the riparian rights as between a local government and an individual are concerned, it was held in a Mad-

ras case that the Government had power by the customary law of India to regulate in the public interests, the collection, retention and distribution of waters of rivers and streams flowing in natural channels, provided that it did not hereby inflict sensible injury on riparian owners and diminish the supply they had hitherto utilised. While the position is to some extent ambiguous so far as Madras and some other provinces are concerned, in the Punjab, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and the N.-W.F. Province, the rights of the provincial governments have been specified by the Northern India Canals and Drainage Act, 1873, which, among other things, provides that a government before utilising the water of a river or a natural stream for any existing or a projected canal or reservoir, has to notify its intentions of doing so three months in advance and invite claims for compensation which may be awarded for damage caused by the stoppage or diminution of supply of water through any natural channel to any defined artificial channel in use at the date of the notification. More or less the law is the same for Sind and Bombay which is governed by the Bombay Irrigation Act of 1879 which follows the same lines as the Northern India Canals and Drainage Act. These provisions govern the relations of a provincial government and persons residing within the province so far as the distribution or the utilisation of the river water is concerned.

There is still a third category of cases in which any irrigation project undertaken by one provincial government might affect prejudicially the inhabitants or the government of another province. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, water supplies, irrigation of canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power, is a subject falling under the Provincial List. Each province therefore would be free to do as it liked with all the water supplies within its boundaries if there were no limited provisions in the Act; Sections 130 and 132 of the Act constitute the limiting provisions in this respect enabling a provincial government or its inhabitants to seek relief through a complaint to the Governor-General for any action taken or proposed to be taken by the government of another province affecting or likely to affect their interests prejudicially. The Act thus recognises the principle that no province can have a free hand in respect of a common source of water and is in accord with the trend of international law on the subject.

The literature on the international aspect of the subject is still scanty but there have been a number of cases regarding rights of various States on the supplies of inter-State rivers in the United States of America where almost everyone of the forty-seven States constituting the Union have one or more rivers common with one or more of the other States. The established international practice is well-reflected in a Convention concluded at Geneva in 1923 between the British Commonwealth of Nations, France, Belgium, Italy and other countries laying down that no State should proceed with any measure for developing hydraulic power which might adversely affect the interests of another State, without first negotiating an agreement with the State or States concerned. Such agreements regarding the distribution of waters of a common river exist between Mexico and the United States, between the Governments of Madras and Mysore (signed in 1924), regarding the distribution of the water of River Caveri and between Great Britain and Egypt regarding the distribution of the water of River Nile.

Such an argeement would constitute the law setting forth the respective rights of the units concerned over the supplies of a common source of water and the Commission in its report have expressed its view that in the present dispute, the best solution would be an agreement between Sind and the Punjab which would not only put an end to the controversy now but would also prevent controversies in the future.

The main question in the ultimate that the Commission had to consider was what are the legitimate claims of the Punjab over the waters of the Indus and its tributaries and when it could be said to have overstopped the limit and be said to have affected or about to affect prejudicially the interests of Sind, a neighbouring riparian state below the stream. The report of the Commission has not yet been published officially. From what I have been able to gather from private sources the Commission has argued more or less in the following manner.

An enormous quantity of the water of the Indus runs to waste to the sea, so enormous that it is four times the total supplies of the Colorado River system on which the giant Boulder Dam (highest in the world, height 727 feet, capacity, 30 million acre-feet or fifteen thousand billion cubic feet) has been built. The contemplated irrigation works of the Punjab would not utilise at the peak of their withdrawals more than a small fraction of the supplies that are now running to waste. But such withdrawals, small fraction of the water

that runs to waste as they may constitute, would necessitate the present inundation canals in Sind to be reconstituted into canals controlled by weirs. According to Sind, two weirs, one in Upper Sind for inundation canals above Sukkur and one in Lower Sind for inundation canals in Karachi District where the Barrage Canal system does not reach, would have to be constituted at an estimated cost of Rs. 16 crores in order to ensure adequate supplies for its inundation canals as a consequence of the projects already carried out and contemplated by the Punjab.

All the cost for the construction of these weirs could not be saddled on the Punjab, the argument further runs, for the simple reason that any additional withdrawals by the Punjab could not totally stop the supplies in the inundation canals and that by the construction of weirs large tracts of new lands would also come under cultivation. The extent of the liability of the Punjab by contemplated withdrawals on its part was thus limited to the extent to which the inundation canals would be affected by its projects. If the law secured for the inhabitants of one province the right of claiming compensation from the Province itself for any prejudicial effect upon their property by any irrigation project, such rights should also be recognised when the affected party is a neighbouring province or its inhabitants. Sind had submitted figures showing the extent to which the water supply in the inundation canals would be reduced in various months in consequence of the reduction in the water level in the Indus following upon additional withdrawals by the Punjab for its projects. These figures showed that in the month of June when sowing of crops for the kharif season takes place, inundation canals in Sind would not be able to supply water to 24 per cent of lands now served by them. At present such canals serve an area of about 27 lakhs of acres. With two proposed weirs, one for Upper Sind at Gudu and the other for Lower Sind at Hajipur, and their accompanying system of canals for distributing the water, Sind also expects to bring about twenty lakhs of acres of additional land under cultivation. Sind would be entitled to claim compensation for loss in cultivation in the lands which its inundation canals at present irrigate and not on the new lands which would be brought under cultivation with the construction of the weirs. Hence it could claim only 24 per cent of A/A plus B of the total cost of the construction of the new weirs, when A is the area of the land at present under cultivation and B is the area of additional lands that would be brought under cultivation or about fifteen per cent of the total cost, Sind estimate of 16 crores of which has been reduced by the Commission to Rs. 14 crores.

This is the argument of the Commission. Its recommendations have, however, taken a somewhat different turn. Though Sind has suggested the construction of two weirs as a protective measure to ensure adequate supplies of water to Sind's inundation canals, criticisms have been in the air ever since the construction of the Sukkur Barrage that such barrages or weirs are sound propositions financially. Some of the critics had based their criticism on a six per cent rate of interest for the cost—not much far from the rate that Sind has been paying to the Government of India for its Sukkur Barrage debt—while present easy conditions in the market would not make it difficult for such a loan to be raised at four per cent. The Punjab witnesses had also criticised the estimates of Sind for the proposed weirs as protective measures as too high, while the spokesman of their Government had given an assurance to the Commission that they had no intention of proceeding with the projects in dispute for the next three years. In view of these factors, the Commission has recommended the setting up of a technical committee by the Government of India to advise on the designs and other details regarding the two weirs proposed by Sind and examine estimated cost for their construction, and also to advise how far any other measures could serve as adequate protection to inundation canals in Sind.

The obtuse question of percolation and regeneration of water through sub-soil little investigated in India, was raised by the Commission in dealing with Sind's claim for priority of supplies for the Sukkur Barrage in winter months of low stream over the Thal and Haveli projects which have been completed by the Punjab. The Anderson Committee, which had also considered the question, had found that the shortage of supplies to the Sukkur Barrage in winter months was small and not of frequent occurrence. This Committee met in 1935 and had therefore before it the data for the first three years of the working of the Sukkur Barrage which was opened in 1932. During this period also, one serious shortage was noticed in April 1934 when the supplies at the Barrage ran short by fifteen per cent of the authorised withdrawals. The Indus Commission had before it the data for ten years of the working of

the Sukkur Barrage, on which both Sind and the Punjab were more or less in agreement. The Commission arrived at a conclusion from these figures that the shortages were neither small nor rare. But it refrained from conceding the Sind demand for priority for the supplies at the Barrage on the ground that the Punjab projects had already been completed and a deficiency of two to three thousand cusecs in their supplies which were small in magnitude as compared with those of the Barrage, would seriously impair their efficiency. The Commission has, therefore, recommended that in the event of a shortage in winter months, supplies at the Thal and Haveli projects of the Punjab and the Sukkur Barrage should be reduced proportionate to their authorised withdrawals.

INCONSISTENCY IN SHAW'S "PYGMALION'

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It is not strange to note that many readers of *Pygmalion* read it without ever knowing why the author chose to name his hero as Pygmalion for it refers to a legend in the obscure Greek mythology. Pygmalion was a king of Cyprus who fell in love with the ivory image of a maiden which he himself had made and prayed to Aphrodite, the goddess of Love and Beauty, to breathe life into it. And the gods and goddesses of those days (we are envious to note) shared and appreciated human emotions only too well, and were not difficult to please. Pygmalion's prayer was readily granted. He married the maiden who now was a living reproduction of his own ideal, first carved out in ivory.

Shaw's hero is no such sculptor-king. He is a professor of phonetics and an enthusiastic reformer of the English language. In his mind he has the picture of an ideal English which will be, like other European languages, easily accessible in black and white, not only to the Englishmen, but also to the foreigners; which will have a more scientific alphabet—scientific in this much that it will differ from the old foreign alphabet of which only the consonants, and not all of them have any agreed speech value. (Consequently no man can teach himself what it should sound like from reading it). He wants to see this picture converted into a reality, and that is his life-task, for the sake of which he is a confirmed old bachelor.

Higgins, the hero of the play, cherishes an exaggerated notion of the sanctity of his mother tongue, "the language of Milton and Shakespeare, and the Bible," and he strongly believes that an English flower-girl who can not pronounce a single word of her native language correctly and utters disgusting sounds like "Ah-ah-ah-ow-ow-ow-oo!" has no right to live. Shaw himself remarks in his Preface to the play:

> "The English have no respect for their language, and will not teach their children to speak it. They cannot spell it because they have nothing to spell it with but an old foreign alphabet of which only the consonants—and not all of them—have any agreed speech value. Consequently no man can teach himself what it should sound like from reading it; and it is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman despise him. Most European languages are now accessible in black and white to foreigners; English and French are not thus accessible even to Englishmen and Frenchmen. The reformer we need today is an energetic enthusiast, that is why I have made such a one the hero of a popular play."

Higgins is, thus, an expert in the science of phonetics. With the help of his special knowledge of the principles of speech, and of the relations between speech and the vocal organs in man, and with the help of most uptodate scientific instruments, he has carried on in his own laboratory experiments which are designed, in the light of his possible conclusions, to reform the English alphabet and to give it a more definite and mathematical speech value. He picks up from the street a flower-girl in whose speech he will give a living shape to his ideal, and who will be the model to the English-speaking people.

Elizabeth, the flower-girl, is put under a complicated but scientific process of training for six months (a process which, when applied universally, and so, perhaps also mechanically,

will bring about the desired change in men in their speaking of English) as if she were a mere lifeless commodity. For, he cannot simply tolerate from the mouth of one whose mother-tongue is English expressions like "Cheer ap Keptin; n' baw ya flahr orf a pore gel" (Cheer up Captain and buy a flower of a poor girl), and "Ah-ah-ah-ow-ow-ow-oo !" He makes note of them in his diary when he appears on the stage for the first time at 11-15 P.M. in the portico of St. Paul's Church, which is crowded by people who are taking shelter there from a torrential rain, and is thus a scene of great confusion and hubbub, a circumstance which is only a clue to the degree of the enthusiasm with which he has been carrying on his researches. He rebukes the flower-girl in words which are expressive of his sincerity :

"Woman : cease this detestable boohooing instantly, ... or else seek the shelter of some other place of worship."

And on the latter's pointing out to him that she has a right to be there as much as Higgins himself, he overwhelms her with these words :

"A woman who utters such depressing and disgusting sounds has no right to be anywhere—no right to live. Remember that you are a human being with a soul and the divine gift of articulate speech; that your native language is the language of Shakespeare and Milton, and the Bible; and don't sit there crooning like a bilious pigeon."

Higgins has through his thorough researches and investigations acquired a prophetic insight into the accent and pronunciation of people and it is simply by their speech that he can place a man "sometimes within two streets in London," and it is in a really dramatic manner that he puzzles his fellow characters in the scene at St. Paul's by locating them one after the other at Epsom, Selsey, Hoxton, Earlscourt, Cheltenham, Lisson Grove, etc. And it is "simply phonetics—the Science of Speech." His interest in this direction is engrossing. He has devoted his life to these researches, and his one-sided devotion to them has made him immune from the physical charms of a young lady. He is "a confirmed old bachelor," and so, when he adopts Eliza there is not the shadow of a doubt that his interest is anything but purely academic. To the "gentleman" in the crowd at St. Paul's he says :

"You see this creature with her kerbstone English : the English that will keep her in the gutter to the end of her days. Well, Sir, in three months I could pass the girl off as a duchess at an ambassador's garden party. I could even get her a place as a lady's maid or shop assistant which requires better English."

This speech of Higgins marks a clear digression. From Higgins' passionate disgust at the sight of one who, in spite of the divine gift of articulate speech and of a soul, prostitutes the mother-tongue in the manner of Eliza (who is an insult to the English language), from his zealous investigations in search of a more scientific alphabet, and from his passion for correctness in the speech of English we expect his aim to be purely linguistic, something impersonal, where it is not the flower-girl or the duchess who matters as such, but the English woman who cannot speak her language correctly, and has therefore to be taught to speak it well. Higgins is not to distinguish between "the English that will keep her in the gutter to the end of her days," and the "better English that is required from a lady's maid or shop assistant," either of which jobs he promises to get for Eliza. And in three months, he declares, he can pass her off as a duchess at an ambassador's garden party.

But, then, at this stage we may ask ourselves a question : Is this really the concern of the linguist and the reformer of English such as Higgins is ? If so, then, why this distinction between the *English* of a flower-girl and that of a duchess ?, and why this attempt at transforming Eliza—the "Eliza of the gutter," the "horribly dirty Eliza",—into the duchess Eliza with her "killing" beauty ?

A man like Higgins is supposed to correct the mistake in any person, no matter what she is—a flower-girl, a lady's maid, or a shop assistant, or a duchess—in order to keep intact the integrity of the language. Also, it has to be said that the mistake can be corrected in Eliza, the flower-girl, without her being transformed into a duchess. She can be scientifically and regularly taught to be accurate in her speaking of English. Higgins need not attempt to deceive people by creating a sham duchess. That seems to be needless unless either he associates the best English with a duchess alone, which is not the case (for, it is not the quality of English alone which distinguishes a duchess from a girl in the gutter, but side by side with it, from a duchess are also expected those qualities and cultural attainments which are born of noble family and good breeding), or he throws it as a bait to Eliza to entice her to undergo the rigours of the training, and thus to enable him to test the efficacy of those experiments on her. In this latter case she is only a living matter in the hands of a scientist, who puts it to various tests, and draws forth his conclusions, and establishes

his theories. And just as the scientist experiments on matter so do we expect Higgins, the scientist, who experiments on Elizabeth to propound his theories regarding the English alphabet. Instead, we see him waste his strength on trifles, and intrude on others' territory. For, he unnecessarily undertakes, besides giving her lessons in phonetics which is his proper business, also to teach her the manners such as befit a duchess. And this is more a concern of a professional teacher of manners and decorum rather than of a student of phonetics.

Still there is some hope left when in Mrs. Higgins' household at the conclusion of the 'at-home,' Shaw makes Higgins and Pickering give an account of their experiments on Eliza, in that childish and funny prattling of theirs, when Higgins says:

"I've tried her with every possible sort of sound that a human being can make—Continental dialects, African dialects, Hottentot clicks, things it took me years to get hold of . . ."

We are half credulous that Higgins has after all come to some conclusions regarding the subject of his researches, and has to give forth some really scientific and more appropriate alphabet to the English language. But we are disappointed in him, for he gives us nothing of the like, and is mainly concerned with passing Eliza off as a lady, and it is by his success in this attempt alone that he judges of his success in the end. "By God! it is all over," says he.

How far he really succeeds in winning this bet and in passing Eliza off as a duchess at the ambassador's party? A study into this question will make the apparent discrepancy still more pronounced. Nepommuck who is an expert in so far as he can locate any person in Europe from his or her speech, and whose verdict for which reason has to be credited, pronounces her as "not English" but Hungarian, and a princess, as one who belongs to the Magyar race.

"Only the Magyar races can produce that air of divine right, those resolute eyes. She is a princess."

When asked to explain his reason for doubting her nationality in spite of the fact that she speaks English perfectly, he says that she speaks it too perfectly which is in itself a disqualification for her being English.

"Too perfectly. Can you shew me any English woman who speaks English as it should be spoken? Only foreigners who have been taught to speak it speak it well."

Here it is only too evident that Higgins though he has succeeded in teaching Eliza how to speak English to an extent which is incredible, but not impossible, yet has failed to convince the expert that she is an English duchess and he maintains that she is a Hungarian princess. She has no doubt the princess-like or the duchess-like air, but has nothing of the really English in her speech. Her English is too perfect to be associated with an English woman. Thus Higgins has succeeded in his efforts to teach Eliza how to speak good English. But the difficulty is twofold: firstly, what are the conclusions arrived at by him and what are his suggestions, which is more important?, secondly, why does he go beyond his province in creating a duchess Eliza? This is what we never ask from Higgins, the linguistic reformer.

It is only too clear to the reader that Shaw is "intensely and deliberately didactic," as he himself puts it, and wants to awaken the minds of his English readers to the fact that they are so careless in their speaking of their mother-tongue, that not one of them speaks it well.

Shaw, an enthusiastic critic of the established values—nay, one who has made this his main purpose of writing, partly from a realisation of the fact that saying something new is an easy trick of becoming known, and partly, perhaps, because he feels sincerely that English, which is governed by a foreign alphabet, needs a better one, has failed to suggest any new alphabet for the language or to correct and improve upon the existing one. There is only a vague reference to this sort of a thing in Pickering's reply to Higgins, "Tired of listening to sounds?":

"Yes. It is a fearful strain. I rather fancied myself because I can pronounce twenty-four distinct vowel sounds, but your hundred-and-thirty beat me. I can't hear a bit of difference between most of them."

What these sounds are, and what reform are they supposed to bring about in the English alphabet?—all this remains shrouded in mystery. Shaw only makes the reader's mind conscious of the existence of the disease, and from that point of view alone he is successful. He is himself conscious of this failure of his to suggest any remedy for the disease as he confesses in his preface: "But if the play makes the public aware that there are such people as phoneticians, and that they are among the most important people in England at present, it will serve its turn."

C. F. ANDREWS—A TWENTIETH-CENTURY ST. FRANCIS

BY GURDIAL MALLIK

THERE was a large promiscuous crowd of people on the platform. They were hurrying to and fro to get into the train which had just steamed in. After a few minutes the guard waved his green flag and the engine whistled. A late-comer scrambed on to the footboard of a second-class compartment when one of the white-complexioned occupants, seated within, with his eyes narrowed down in racial arrogance, forcibly shut the door in the face of the darkish-looking fellow, saying in ringing tones of red-hot wrath, "Get out, you nigger." The other passengers, both coloured and otherwise, watched the scene in tense pain but remained tragically passive, not even gently remonstrating with the man with the mien of Mars at his utter unreasonableness amounting to inhumanity. One of them was a young English missionary who had nearly arrived in the country from Cambridge to take up his professional duties in a college in Delhi, the old Metropolis of India, and was now travelling thither. His faith in Christianity with its message of "charity for all and malice for none" had a rude shock at the unseemly egotism and attitude of his fellow-Briton. The iron of it all entered his soul and in that single moment of heart-searching he pledged himself to the carrying on of a crusade against the barbarity of the colour bar. This apostle of human equality was no other than C. F. Andrews, the third anniversary of whose passing away from the world falls on April 5, 1943.

C. F. Andrews lived and laboured in India and abroad for one supreme and sole purpose of removing the stigma of racial superiority which had become a major menace in West as well as East. For over a dozen times he crossed the seas to plead from the platform, through the press and by personal example with the purse-proud and power-purblind in South-Africa and in Fiji, in British Guiana and in Australia, and in other parts of the globe that they were hourly crucifying the Christ inasmuch as they were trampling under foot in their everyday life His central teaching, "I say unto ye, that ye love one another." And when they retorted, with their hands in their pockets and with their glances glued to their growing bank-balances, that the Master meant thereby that they should fraternise only with their cent-per-cent, white-coloured fellow-Christians, Andrews' soul would flare up with the fire of righteousness and he would remind them, in the strain and style of the Biblical prophet, "Be not deceived: God is not mocked."

It was this burning passion for the recognition and respect of man as man, whether he hailed from North or South, East or West, that made him the best friend of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore on the one hand, and of Mahatma Gandhi on the other. The spirit of the true (as against text-bound and traditional) Christ in him found its adequate expression in his life-long loyalty to the ideals of these two greatest of moderns. He worked as hard to promote and propagate the vision of the Poet as embodied in his Visva-Bharati (his international university at Santiniketan, Bengal), as in the service of "the poorest, the lowliest and the lost" in the wake of Gandhiji. His interest in literature and poetry and religion and philosophy was as profound as was his insight into, and sympathy for, the sufferings of the oppressed and the under-dog. But often it was the latter which tilted the balance of his interests and activities. For, well might he have said in the words of Confucius: "The Good is no hermit, it has ever neighbours." And so like the Beloved of his Heart, Christ, he, too, went about doing good.

The writer of this short sketch of the man that was Andrews had, at one time in his life, the honour and happiness of serving him in the humble capacity of a personal assistant. He, thus, came into rather a close contact with him. He watched him at worship as well as at work, now responding like an apostle to the moral law of the universe and again in the manner of a poet, scanning the starry heaven and singing its grandeur, now rushing to the railway station to catch the first train to reach a dying friend and comfort him, and again leaving his desk while in the midst of an important article or epistle, and accompanying a skeleton-bodied beggar to the kitchen so that the latter may have some food and drink to sustain him till he arrived at his next halt in his vicious circle of starvation

and struggle. All these "works" inspired the writer of these lines. But there were occasions when he felt that if Andrews were asked what was the greatest wonder he had witnessed in life he would have answered unpremeditatingly (to quote Edwin Markham) :

> "Two things," said Kant, "fill me with breathless awe :
> The starry heaven and the moral law."
> But I know, a thing more awful and obscure :
> The long, long, patience of the plundered poor.

This was, perhaps, the reason which impelled that master of the craft of living and of *cliches*, Mahatma Gandhi, once to call Charles Andrews *Dinabandhu* (the friend of the poor), a title which the grateful people of the country readily adopted and conferred on him. O, for an Andrews in these dark days of arrogance and oppression !

SOVIET SHORT STORY IN 1942

BY P. BUDNITSKAYA

"THE RAINBOW" by Wanda Wasilewska, a story of the determination of people to win the war, is the most brilliant work of 1942. It is a special picture of the struggle of people who suffer under the yoke of the German invaders. "Features of Soviet People"—such is the title of the collection of stories by N. Tikhonov which is a sort of chronicle of the heroic defence of Leningrad. The writer narrates how the ordinary man in a besieged city becomes a hero.

"Alexey Kulikov" by Boris Gorbatov is the story about a Red Armyman, the heroic defender of Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad. Alexey Kulikov is a generalized type of fighter. He is a typical Russian who loves his soil and labour; he is generous, wise and has a sense of justice.

A similar type was depicted by Alexander Tvardovsky in his poem, "Vasili Terkin." Alexey Kulikov overcomes the fear of death for the sake of life and his love for people. The land, desecrated and torn to pieces by the Germans, gives rise to a thirst for revenge. The war hardens into the heroic.

The story by Vasili Grossman, "The People Are Immortal," is an outstanding event in the literature of the stories of 1942. It deals with the events of the first year of the war of the Soviet peoples against the German hordes—with the difficult period of the retreat of the Russian Army. But the story is optimistic. It shows how forces grow for the counter-blow; it asserts, in an artistic form, the idea of the immortality of people. The main characters of the story are Bogarev, philosopher, Commander of Unit; and the Red Armyman, Ignatiev who personifies the wisdom and the strength of the Russian people. The story is very humane. The concluding scene of the story, in which Professor Bogarev, Commander, and the Red Armyman Ignatiev—both are wounded supporting one another, force their war to their own people, and symbolize the immortal soul of the people.

"My Fellow-Countrymen" by Leo Slavin is a thrilling story of two friends at the front and is told with warm humour and soft lyricism. Two men meet near Leningrad, and become friends for life.

They have one machinegun and one soul. They fight together and fall in love with the same girl. One of them is a long-shoreman from the Black Sea; the other is a worker of the Urals. They are defending Leningrad and call the soil of the city their native land. The story by Vadim Kojevnikov, "The March of April," is the story of a strong man and the will to live—a topic popular with Jack London, Joseph Conrad and O. Henry.

The story is original, not because the subject is dealt with in the time of war, nor because the action takes place in the rear of the enemy and the beloved girl is an Army Radio Operator and meteorologist. The originality of the story, rather, lies in the fact that the hero's will to live is for the sake of serving his country, but not to save his own life. The Soviet literature of the period of the patriotic war is the literature of heroism and humanity.

Courtesy : Soviet Information Bureau

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

CHUNKING DIARY : *By D. F. Karaka. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1942. Pp. 223. Price not mentioned.*

D. F. Karaka, the well-known author of *I Go West* and half-a-dozen other books, has just come out with a chronicle of his experiences in war-time Chunking. Karaka passed over a month in the capital of war-time China in 1942 when the Burma campaign entered upon its most decisive phase. Those who are familiar with Karaka's writings will easily recognise that he has a highly receptive and sensitive mind, and has a way all his own to tell his story. Those virtues have found full scope in his China chronicle which has thus turned out to be an eminently personal document. Karaka has admirably mixed up journalese and Cockney English with a sprinkling of Yankee jargon to describe his interviews with prominent Chinese officials, with leaders of the Eighth Route Army, with women leaders and even with the British Ambassador and Australian Minister at Chunking. His description of the Foreign Press Hostel, of the streets and steps, of the bombed-out buildings and blacked-out bazars of Chunking is at once realistic and picturesque, and does him credit. His chronicles reveal him not only as an ideological kinsman of Edgar Snow and a comrade-at-arms of Jawaharlal Nehru, but also as one who has a profound understanding of China's humiliations and sufferings as well as an abiding faith in the great role she is destined to play in post-war reconstructions. Karaka's contacts in Chunking have been wide and varied, and it is heartening to know that almost everywhere he found willing and patient listeners while interpreting modern India from his nationalistic, and even anti-British, point of view.

In a book of this nature one would not naturally look for interpretations and analysis of the deeper currents of life. Yet, here and there the reader will come across gentle hints regarding the social and cultural life of China in transformation. About one thing, however, Karaka is certain. The Kuomintang as a party has no future in China, the Communists have. It was only because of one man, Chiang Kai-shek, that the Kuomintang had remained the party in power. The author feels that as in England, France and Germany this war would lead to the abolition of Class and Privilege, to the nationalization of land and instruments of production, to the substitution of the Old School Tie by brains, so the traditional domination by Kungs and Sungs would disappear in post-war China. In his enthusiasm, however, Karaka also includes India among those fortunate lands where this revolutionary transformation would take place. But he does not explain, assuming of course Allied victory, why socialism at home should not be found compatible with imperialism abroad. He also does not state if the masses of India have understood and assimilated for practical purposes that political and military technique which the Chinese have done. Then one would simply wonder how this transformation is going to be wrought overnight in India. Karaka furnishes no answer, but perhaps time would.

Karaka has produced an extremely human document, and his sympathies for China as well as his own sense of frustration would be shared by hundreds and thousands of progressive thinkers in this country.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA : *Published by Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta. Second Enlarged Edition, 1942. Pp. 911. Price not mentioned.*

The first edition of the *Speeches and Writings* of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, which was published in 1935, received a very warm welcome and flattering appreciation in almost all sections of the Indian press. The second edition which has just been published contains an enlarged selection of materials from the speeches and writings of Dr. Sinha and also a personal note of appreciation by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha has had a most distinguished career as a barrister, as a journalist, as a legislator and as an administrator. As editor of the *Hindustan Review*, as a member of the Central Legislature and the Bihar Legislative Council, as an Executive Councillor of Bihar, as a polemist and as an orator, Dr. Sinha has rendered invaluable service to the country for a period extending over two generations, and has made no mean contribution to the shaping of public life in India. Above all, Dr. Sinha is a man of culture and has drunk deep into the springs of oriental and occidental thought at its best. His literary talent, his persuasive style, his inexhaustible fund of humour all go to show the man of disciplined intellect and human sympathies in him. It is, therefore, easy to understand why his politics are not irritating to his opponents or his polemics free from bitterness against contrary views. Even in private life as well as in public Dr. Sinha hardly ever lost a friend or made an enemy. It is but natural, therefore, that the speeches and writings of such a personality at once erudite and tolerant, ardent and rational, tenacious and witty, on questions of public policy should be stimulating to his readers. There is hardly any topic of importance in the national and cultural life of India which has not been studied by Dr. Sinha during his long public career. The pieces selected for inclusion in the present compendium reveal that Dr. Sinha writes and speaks with equal authority and erudition on political, social, educational and cultural questions affecting the national life of this coun-

try. A specially interesting feature of his speeches and writings is this that they invariably contain appropriate and pleasing anecdotes recovered from the store-house of his memory.

It would be invidious to mention any single article or speech from this encyclopædia and to recommend it to the reader. The topics are so varied that every one will find something or other of interest to him.. The student of constitutional history as well as the journalist will benefit immensely by a careful perusal of Dr. Sinha's articles and speeches on the respective topics. Indo-British and Hindu-Muslim relations have come under Dr. Sinha's close examination in some of the articles incorporated in this weighty volume. The publishers have rendered a great service to the reading public by bringing out such an expensive and well-got-up volume under the obvious difficulties imposed by the war. Dr. Sinha's book will remain a landmark in the history of Indian journalism and a legacy to posterity.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SOME SURVIVALS OF THE HARAPPA CULTURE: *By T. G. Aravamuthan. Published by the Bombay-Karnatak Publishing House. 1942. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

In this admirable and ingenious book the author who is already well-known for other contributions on Indology has shown some of the main and important elements of Indian culture which may be considered as the survival of the Harappa Culture. It has been presumed by all scholars that a great void exists between the close of the age of the Harappa Culture or, as more widely and popularly known, the Indus Culture and the beginning of the Maurya age from the archæological point of view; and a number of well-known scholars like the present learned author, Fabri, Durga Prasad and others have contributed a number of illuminating papers throwing new light on this problem which must be considered as one of the few most important ones in the field of the continuity of Indian civilisation. A patient thinking will at once convince that the whole key to this problem lies in the proper decipherment of the Indus Valley script and consequently of the seals. This will certainly unfold the mysteries of one phase of early Indian civilisation.

This book which was originally published in the form of a series of articles in the pages of the important journal, *New Indian Antiquary*, contains altogether sixteen small chapters, *viz.*, I. Suggestions of survivals, II. Origins of Indian coinage and its affiliations, III. A feature of Bactrian and Parthian coinages. IV. Some plaques from Ceylon, V. Origin of the Buddha image: the problem, VI. The cults behind the image, VII. Cult objects between adorants, VIII. From preceptor to image, IX. The image in its setting. X. The content of the image, XI. The image on a coin of Maues, XII. Nandipada over circle, XIII. The deity in the head-dress, XIV. The deity on the head. XV. Bull sacrifice and bull sport, XVI. Conclusions. Besides these chapters we have got a number of interesting appendices. Some of the important conclusions which the author has arrived at may be enumerated below. First, the earliest Indian die-struck and cast coins are indebted to this culture, particularly the seals, for the shape. Secondly, certain plaques found at Ceylon are also indebted to the same culture for the same reason. Thirdly, so far as the origin of the Buddha image is concerned, the learned author has shown that some of the seals are responsible for this later Indian type. Fourthly, it has also been proved that the Buddha image is also the result of engravings on some of the belonging to this culture. Fifthly, he has shown that the tree and the symbol-cults have probably come down from the days of Harappa. Sixthly, the representation of the deity worn on a head-dress and also carried on the head seems also to be the survival of this culture. Seventhly, the bull-sacrifice following a bull-sport that is still offered in India is probably based on the Harappa precedents, and the bull-sport appears to be a sophistication of a similar Harappa ritual. Lastly, it has also been shown that the Harappa culture had many things in common with other cultures of the contemporary world.

There may be some difference of opinion regarding some of the conclusions arrived at by the author but there cannot be any doubt about the great merit of such a study which is full of freshness and inquiring spirit. We heartily recommend this book to those who are interested in the interpretation of the early phases of Indian civilisation.

CHARU CHANDRA DASGUPTA

THE STORY OF INDIA: *By F. R. Moraes. Published by the Noble Publishing House, Bombay, 26. Price Rs. 3.*

The Story of India is a recently published work of which the author is a journalist and student of Indian affairs. The writer seeks to relate the history of India, in all its numerous aspects, his main object being "to stimulate the interest of a foreigner in our vast and fascinating land." The book is written in a lucid and attractive style, it is profusely illustrated, and has an Index. It is to the credit of the author that he has been able within the compass of two hundred pages, to deal with such matters of moment—matters essential for a proper understanding of the country and its people—as the cultural background of India, the economical and political life of the people, the social structure, rural life and the life of the peasant and the worker, Literature and Science, Painting, Architecture and Sculpture, etc. He is also enterprising enough to attempt to answer, of course, in his own way, such questions as, what has India contributed to the pool of human knowledge and endeavour, have her people ever known the art of government, what is the Hindu-Muslim problem and Pakistan, what does Mahatma Gandhi really represent. The author does not neglect to include in his necessarily brief survey of these problems, the Indian States, their position, problems and status. Although the author has succeeded in producing a very pleasant and readable work, he appears to have been very unfortunate in his selection of sources and works of reference. This detracts from the usefulness of the book as a work of accurate information and impartial views. On page 19, the author states that "Thomas came to preach at the Court of one of the Saka Princes of Taxila." The fact is, according to the legends, St. Thomas visited the Court of King Gudnaphar in India who is generally identified with the Parthian (not Scythian or Saka) King Gondophares or Gondophernes of coins who ruled over Southern Afghanistan. He omits to mention the great Magadhan dynasty of rulers that arose in the middle of the 6th century B.C. Bimbisara was the founder. This dynasty was ruling in North-Eastern India when Persia conquered the portion of India now known as N.-W. F. Province and portions of the Punjab (*vide* page 29). The statement made by him on page 30 that Alexander's march was barred on the banks of the Jhelum by a Hindu monarch "with a large army," etc., is not accurate. Alexander was opposed on the Jhelum by Porus, not with a large army. It has been conclusively proved that the troops of Porus were much smaller in number than those of Alexander. His statement on the imperial

Guptas on page 32 requires to be corrected. The Imperial Guptas did never reign from 320 A.D. to 647 A.D. Emperor Harsha did not belong to the Gupta dynasty at all. The Imperial Gupta dynasty lasted from c 320 A.D. to c 510 A.D. Harsha Vardhana who ruled at Kanauj from 606 to c 647 A.D. belonged to the dynasty of Pushyabhutis of Thaneswar. On page 33, the part of India known as Mithila is wrongly called "Mahila." The Sikh Guru executed by Aurangzeb in 1675 was Teg Bahadur and not Tej Bahadur as stated on page 44. While it is true that there may be some Muslim influence in Rajput painting, it is wrong to assert, as the author has done, on page 39, that it developed directly under Muslim influence. In the words of Mr. Percy Brown, "This Rajput painting . . . is essentially Hindu in expression and in many aspects demonstrates that it is the indigenous art of India—a direct descendant of the classic frescoes of Ajanta" (Indian Painting, 4th Edition, p. 54). While acknowledging that the Bengal School of Art "under the inspiration of Abanindranath Tagore and of artists like Nandalal Bose has done much to create a cultural awakening in the country," the author speaks of its work as 'largely imitative," etc. (page 51). This is not the view of acknowledged authorities on the subject. Mr. Percy Brown says: "The work of the artists comprising this new school is not a slavish imitation of any of these historic styles, or a composite creation based on the whole. On the contrary, their productions display an originality which is a definite assurance of each individual's personal aspirations after a pre-conceived ideal." It is not true to say, as Mr Moraes has said on page 34, that India owed her learning in Astronomy from the Greeks. The Science of Astronomy flourished in India long before Greece could assert her cultural influence in the land. It is, however, a fact that Greek astronomy profoundly influenced Indian astronomers in the third and fourth centuries A.D. The author appears to have made some confusion between astronomy and astrology. India is, of course, indebted to Greece for her knowledge of astrology. If he had referred to the writings of such acknowledged authorities on the subject as Dr. Thibault, Dr. Kern and Pandit Sudhaker Dwivedi, he could have easily avoided the error into which he has fallen in the matter. On page 65, the Sanskrit writer Bhartrihari is described as a contemporary of Kalidasa. In fact, Bhartrihari was never a contemporary of Kalidasa. He flourished much later. The author does not appear to express correct views with reference to matters relating to the religion of Hindus (*vide* pages 14, 15 and 16). He omits to mention that the ordinary orthodox Hindu believes in the authority of the *Vedas*. To say that unlike the Jews, Christians and Muslims, the Hindus do not believe in a next life, is to misrepresent the Hindu attitude to life. Though the belief in a Day of Judgment is absent in Hinduism, the belief in the immortality of the soul is certainly there. The *Dharma-sastras* are by no means simply the "Brahminical text-books on the rules of caste" as stated on page 25; they deal with ethical, domestic and social ideals and rules of life, and they are formal law books and contain elaborate discussions about all possible branches of Hindu Law. We have referred to some of the obvious inaccuracies in the book in the hope that the author will take advantage of the next edition to revise it in a proper manner.

S. K. LAHIRI

BEGAMS OF BENGAL: *By Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee with a Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by Messrs. S. K. Mitra & Brothers, 12, Narkelbagan Lane, Calcutta. 1942. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1-4.*

This book gives us biographical sketches of six ladies of the Murshidabad harem, who played prominent parts in contemporary history. And these are Zinnat-un-nisa (daughter of Murshid Quli Khan), Sharf-un-nisa (wife of Alivardi Khan), Ghasiti Begam (aunt of Siraj-ud-daula), Amina Begam (mother of Siraj), and Munni Begam (wife of Mir Jafar). Though the materials are scanty, Mr. Banerjee has handled them in a masterly way.

The Begams of Bengal as a class appear to have been of an inferior type than the Begams of Oudh in character and political acumen. Among the former only Sharf-un-nisa bears comparison with the mother of Shuja-ud-daula. She was dauntless on the battlefield and wise in the Council Chamber. She would step in when Alivardi's spirit sank at times under the stress of adversity. Similar was the part which the mother of Shuja-ud-daula played at critical moments of Safdar Jang's fortune. The author of *Imad-us-sadat* tells us a fine story: it is said that Nawab Safdar Jang having been twice defeated by the Ruhela Pathans led by Ahmad Khan Bangash gave himself up to utter despair. The Nawab entered the seraglio, stretched himself upon the *masnad* and would not open his eyes. "What strange sleep is this?" said the Begam, ". . . . . It does not become a man that he, like a woman, would hide his face; man's part is to exert himself in rooting out enemies." "Where are the means for a fresh attempt?", rejoined the Nawab. "If Your Highness wants money, eleven lakhs of rupees and four lakhs of *ashrafs* of my privy purse is at Your Highness's disposal; but be a man and move your hands and legs . . . ." (Imad. Pers. text. p. 53). The Nawab acting on her advice hired the Maratha mercenaries under Malhar Rao Holkar and crushed the Pathans. But for his wife Safdar Jang would have gone down to history as a lack-land Nawab; and Alivardi would have fared perhaps hardly better but for Sharf-un-nisa.

In popular imagination Lutf-un-nisa, originally a Hindu slave-girl named Raj Kunwar (Kanaur ?), stands as Virtue personified in contrast against the Munni Begam,—who has suffered no less than Warren Hastings by the Impeachment. Mr. Banerjee's silence on the charges against Munni Begam may be taken as a verdict of "Not guilty." Munni's origin as the slave-girl of a slave-girl, named Bishu, belonging to a music master's troupe, and also her influence on the unpopular traitor gave perhaps a handle to many a malicious attack on her.

We congratulate Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee on the unqualified success of his book, "which will hold its place," as Sir Jadunath says in the Foreword, "as the standard history of these royal personages and a vivid picture of Court life in that age,—so long as hitherto unknown materials are not discovered,—and of such a discovery there is no prospect."

K. R. QANUNGO

D. R. BHANDARKAR VOLUME: *Edited by Dr. Bimala Churn Law. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta. 1940. Pp. xxx+382. Price not stated.*

This is a *Festschrift* presented by "the friends, admirers and pupils" of the well-known Indologist as a mark of appreciation of his signal services in the cause of Indian history and archaeology for many years. It is pleasant to record that almost all branches of Indian history and culture are represented in the fifty papers contributed by scholars, mostly from India, to this volume. It is not possible in the present place to notice all or even a majority of the papers constituting this work. But we propose to make a few remarks. To

begin with pre-history and proto-history, we may refer to H. Heras's notable paper (*A proto-Indian representation of the Fertility-God*) in which he suggests the identity of a fertility-god depicted on a Mohenjo-daro seal with similar figures on Egyptian, Sumerian and Minoan seals or carvings. Of a cognate character is the short note of H. C. Raychaudhuri pointing out certain parallels between the concepts of the epic and the late Vedic Siva, the Hittite God Teshub and the Sumerian deity Nergal. On the other hand, Mm. Ganganath Jha's paper (*Aryan Invasion of India—Is it a Myth?*) which is given the place of honour in this volume hardly touches the fringe of a very complex subject. On the subject of literary history, Batakrishna Ghosh writes convincingly of the significance of Panini's quotations from Purvacaryas and S. K. De makes some excellent suggestions about the date, authorship and place of composition of the *Hasty-ayurveda* attributed to the sage Palakapya, which was published about half-a-century ago. On the other hand, M. Ramakrishna Kavi's challenging paper, claiming to prove on the alleged authority of a little-known work (*Agama-dambara* of Jayanta), the identity of Bhavabhuti's patron not with Yasovarman of Kanauj but with Samkaravarman of Kashmir mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*, hardly carries conviction. For the whole chain of the author's arguments rests on an equation of names, while he gives no reasons for prefering the authority of an admittedly allegorical drama of unknown date to the evidence of Kalhana's work.

As regards archæology prominent mention must be made of the article of H. Luders assigning two Mathura Brahmi inscriptions bearing dates of the Maharaja and the Maharaja-rajatiraja to the Parthian era of 248-247 B.C. This suggests that "there were Parthians at Mathura who had immigrated during the rule of the Kshatrapas and who, although they were converted to the Jaina faith, upheld the traditions of their native country." Very suggestive, if not altogether convincing, is the paper of Sten Konow (*A New Charsadda Inscription*) wherein the author refers the dates not only of this inscription but also of three well-known dated Gandhara sculptures to the Parthian era. In a valuable note T. N. Ramachandran gives good grounds for assigning six newly discovered copper coins with a couchant bull device on the obverse to the Salankayana King Chandavarman. Reference may also be made to the short but important note of Kshetresa-chandra Chattopadhyaya correcting the faulty rendering by Fleet (followed by several well-known scholars) of a verse in the Aphsad inscription of Adityasena to the effect that King Damodaragupta of the later Gupta Dynasty of Magadha was killed in battle by the Maukharis.

As regards ancient history, great interest attaches to the paper of A. B. Keith (*The Greek Kingdoms and Indian Literature*) in which he convincingly demolishes W. W. Tarn's ingenious case for the composition of two Greek poems in Menander's reign and for existence of a Greek original of the Pali *Milinda-panha* as well as for Greek influence on Indian literature, and he also disproves the existence of Indian citizens of Greek colonies. Mention may also be made of C. D. Chatterji's elaborate article (accompanied with important foot-notes) on Prince Pingala of Surastra who ruled as a feudatory of the Maurya Emperors Bindusara and Asoka according to the authority of the Pali *Petavatthu* and its commentary. In the field of mediaeval history, B. A. Saletore traces exhaustively and critically the supersession of Saivaism by Vaishnavism in Southern and Western India consequent on the conversion of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar. In a valuable paper Subimal Chandra Dutt proves, on the authority of contemporary inscriptions and the 17th century chronicle of Muhanote Nensi, that Rána Sanga, afterwards famous for his attempt to establish a Hindu Empire in Northern India, was guilty in early life of conspiring with the Malwa Sultan, the hereditary enemy of his country, and of almost bringing about its ruin. Modern history is represented by the article of A. F. M. Abdul Ali exposing the futility of Tipu Sultan's diplomacy on the eve of the Third Mysore War and that of Surendra Nath Sen describing, on the authority of some records of the Home Department, the happenings in Bengal consequent on the declaration of war by England against France in 1778.

The above does not exhaust the list of subjects treated in the present volume, but we have only space enough to mention a few more papers. Philosophy is represented by the thoughtful papers of Betty Heimann (*Reality of Fiction in Hindu Thought*), A. K. Coomaraswamy (*The Coming to Birth of the Spirit*), Otto Strauss (*Jiva and Paramatman*) and I. B. Horner (*Freedom of Mind and a Changing Pitakan Value*). Geography is adequately represented by an elaborate article of R. C. Majumdar, unfortunately lacking in maps, on the physical features of Ancient Bengal. In the domain of Fine Arts Josef Strzygowski has a highly valuable paper in German called *A Specially Noteworthy Piece of East-Asiatic Female-Folk Art*. In the realm of religion and folk-lore Jean Przyluski has a notable French article on the problem of the Soma, while E. J. Thomas notes some interesting parallels between a tale in Chandrakirti's commentary on the *Chatuhsatika* of Aryadeva and some similar tales in the literature of 15th and 16th century Europe. Philology is represented by P. V. Bapat's learned paper on *Tayin, Tayi* and *Tadi* and anthropology by an article of C. R. Roy on the *Racial Affinity between the Brahuis and the Dravidians*.

We have noticed a number of misprints, *e.g.*, Pathan (p. 46 *n.*), Greerson (p. 115), Huggs (p. 117) and Suddan (p. 288).

U. N. Ghoshal

MODERN COMMERCIAL POLICY: *By R. D. Tiwari. Published by the New Book Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 473. Price Rs. 16.*

In one admirable volume, Prof. Tiwari has very ably summed up the commercial policies of the nations of commercial importance. He has dealt with the evolution of commercial policy, commercial policy since the depression, commercial treaties and tariff bargaining methods, quotas in modern commercial treaties, exchange control, the most favoured nation clause, trade agreements programme of the United States, Ottawa Trade Agreements, British commercial treaties, Indian commercial policy and trade agreements and future commercial policy. The chapters on Indian commercial policy will be of great value to the students of Indian economics. In it he has shown how preference in favour of British goods has become an integral part of the policy of discriminating protection in India. Every sober student of Indian economics would agree with Prof. Tiwari when he says, "That India by keeping out of the imperial economic block would have lost some of the markets cannot be denied. But it is equally true that the loss would have been soon recouped. The non-Empire markets would have gradually absorbed more of the Indian produce." Imperial preference has been a subject of much controversy in this country, and Prof. Tiwari's views on it leans on the more realistic side. He is perfectly right when he says, "In view of the nature of India's foreign trade it is not necessary for her to take the grave risk inherent in the policy of discrimination. The nature of British trade is entirely

different." He has very shrewdly observed that Britain might give threats of tariff discrimination against India but it is doubtful whether she, in her own interests, would have enforced that threat. This well-written and critical analysis of the commercial policies of the more important nations of the world and of India will prove a very useful and valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

D. B.

WHERE WE DIFFER—THE CONGRESS AND THE HINDU MAHASABHA: *By Indra Prakasha. Published by the Hindu Mission Pustak Bhander, New Delhi. Pp. 343. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a book of thirteen chapters in which the author has tried to explain the view-points of the Hindu Mahasabha as distinct from those of the Indian National Congress. To the Mahasabha, India is one and undivided and the people of India by which is meant the Hindus or the majority community, are a nation. The ideal of the Mahasabha is National Independence to be attained by the Hindus alone in spite of any obstruction placed in the way by the Muslims. India or Hindusthan belongs to the Hindus in the same way as England belongs to Englishmen and France to the French. Hindus are the people of India and the Muslims are only a minority community like minorities of any other country of Europe. Hindus have no extra-territorial patriotism like the Muslims. For the attainment of India's freedom Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be a condition and such a condition cannot be fulfilled so long as there is a third party to determine India's destiny. The Congress has always yielded to the unreasonable demands of Muslim Communalism and as a result, Hindu interests have always been sacrificed to the detriment of the country's progress. Because of the Congress policy of surrender to Muslims, the Muslim League is causing obstructions to India's struggle for freedom. A Muslim is a Muslim first and an Indian afterwards. At the beginning, the Muslims claimed special privileges as a backward community, then as a minority and now they want equality and in future they desire to dominate the Hindus and thus are bent upon enforcing a Muslim Raj on the Hindus although they are in the majority. The Hindus have made the Congress what it is today by untold sufferings and sacrifices but all benefits derived from them have gone to the Muslims because satisfaction of the Muslim demands had been the Congress policy for the last twenty years The Congress policy of non-violence and its attitude towards the Hindu States have been suicidal to the Hindus and the recent activities of some Congressmen are more or less working in favour of vivisection of Hindusthan as demanded by the Muslim League. The policy of self-abnegation in politics as shown by the Hindus in the Congress is suicidal and should not be continued any longer and it is high time for the Hindus to abandon the Congress and join the Hindu Mahasabha and work for its ideals.

This is the theme of this book but it must be said that the Mahashabha has a greater field of work in the Sangathan Movement which will unite all classes of Hindus into a strong body not only socially but politically also. Thus a strong Hindu community will be in a position to offer greater services to the mother country. Hindus and Muslims, both equally strong will easily join hands for the common cause of liberation of India. Undoubtedly the Congress is the most powerful organisation in the country and the author does not fail to accept it as such. Its differences with the Hindu Mahasabha which is growing powerful every day is worth studying. To the Hindusabha worker, this book will be of much help.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

PADYAMRTATARANGINI: *By Haribhaskara. Edited for the first time by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhury, Ph.D. (London), Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta and Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 8.*

The book under review is an anthology by Haribhaskara, a poet of the seventeenth century. Though the number of verses in the book is only 301 including the author's own poems, the special merit of the work lies not in its bulk but in the variety of the themes and the quality of the selections, which are for the most part excellent pieces of poetry and craftsmanship alike. Being one of the latest in the class it quotes from the writings of authors who are unknown in previous anthologies and in the majority of cases unknown to students of Sanskrit literature. Some of the verses are difficult to construe, and this made a commentary necessary, which was fortunately written by the author's son, Jayarama. We should be grateful to the editor for relevant quotations from this commentary whenever needed. We must welcome this addition to the stock of anthologies of Sanskrit poetry, inasmuch as it embodies not only some decidedly excellent poems, but also for the reason that it serves to preserve from oblivion some of the best poets that India produced in the medieval age. Considerations of space prevent us from entering into the merits of individual poets, who have been laid under contribution by our author. Moreover, it will be as superfluous as an attempt to paint the lily since the editor has given us a thorough-going dissertation on each poet in his learned introduction. For the work of Dr. Chaudhury an unbiassed critic will have nothing but unreserved praise and admiration. The personal and family history of each poet, his patron or patrons and a literary estimate of his productions, the chronology and the socio-political background of each one of these poets have been furnished by the editor, and all these data, almost unknown before, shed a flood of light upon the cultural history of a period of India, which is known only for its political achievements.

The book is a revelation to us in more than one respect. We were aware of one or two Sanskrit poets and scholars who received encouragement from the Muslim sovereigns. We were apt to believe that such cases were rather in the nature of aberration or perhaps were inspired by considerations of policy. The impression is rather widespread that the Muslim Kings of India were as a rule hostile to the cultural interests of the Hindus. We must confess that this evaluation is a positive error due to imperfect knowledge and every impartial and dispassionate scholar must agree with Dr. Chaudhury that the courts of Moslem rulers of India were adorned by Sanskrit scholars, who received every possible patronage from them (p. lviii).

Govinda Bhatta, a poet of Mithila, took the pen-name of Akbariya Kalidasa. That the poet should compare his patron with Vikramaditya and himself with Kalidasa is itself an eloquent commentary upon the regard and esteem in which Akbar was held by his contemporaries for his encouragement of Sanskrit learning. Bhanukara is perhaps the poet who received the greatest patronage of the Muslim sovereigns. He is the author of the Rasamanjari and the Rasatarangini, which are acknowledged authoritative works on poetics. He was fortunate in his patrons, who were Krisnadeva Raja of Vijayanagara, Virabhanu of Rewa, Nizam Shah and Sher Shah, whom he has eulogised in immortal poetry. The Gitagnarisa of Bhanukara is another work, which follows the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva as the model. He

is a poet of outstanding power and it is a happy sign of the times that there was no lack of patrons to appreciate his merits.

Jagannatha Panditaraja, the great poet, philosopher and rhetorician, was the protege of Shahjahan. It is problematic if the genius of these writers could find free play unless the liberal patronage of the Moghul emperors was bestowed upon them. The editor has brought these facts to light and made it possible for us to envisage the cultural situation of the times in a proper perspective. It will be no exaggeration to say that the Moghul period witnessed a cultural renaissance of India. It is the age in which some of the best poets of Sanskrit literature, some of the best literary critics and the entire revival of Nyaya, Vedanta and Mimamsa took place. We were apt to regard it as a mere coincidence. But now we are in a position to see that the stage was set for it by the liberal policy of the Muslim sovereigns and the Hindu Kings of the time and for this correction of our views we must thank Dr. Chaudhury, who by his painstaking researches and scientific marshalling of data, has made a contrary estimate impossible. As for the scientific editing, indexes, critical and explanatory notes and get-up of the book we have nothing but unqualified praise for the editor, who has set up a standard of efficiency, which is entirely his own, in his critical editions of numerous hitherto unpublished works.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

SANSKRIT

THE CHATURDANDIPRAKASIKA OF VENKATAMAKHIN : *Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri, T. V. Subba Rao and T. L. Venkatarama Aiyer. Published by the Music Academy, Madras. Music Academy Series No. 3. Part One. Sanskrit Text with Supplement.*

The Music Academy of Madras is doing much useful work in popularising old Indian music by way of publishing, through its Journal as also through its important series of publications, text and translations, old treatises on the subject. The volume under review contains the text of an important Sanskrit work, written about 1620 A.D., which 'has turned Carnatic Music into the channel in which it now flows.' Venkatamakhin, the author of the work, it is stated, 'ranks high among the writers on Carnatic Music.' But unfortunately the work is little known in the present days and only one incomplete manuscript is reported to be available now.

The work is edited on the basis of this solitary manuscript which runs up to a portion of Chapter 9. The supplement contains the text of another work of the same author, *viz.*, the *Ragalaksan*. A short preface draws attention to the valuable contributions made by the author to the science of music. A list of authors and works referred to in the body of the treatise is given at the end. Thus the book will be useful and welcome to all lovers of music, eager to be acquainted with the principles and history of the science.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA SANGEET : *By Santidev Ghosh. Published by Visva-bharati. Price Re. 1-8.*

Here, at last, is an authoritative book on Rabindranath's music written by one who has been intimately associated with the poet in Santiniketan and who has earned distinction as a fine exponent of his songs. Manifold aspects of Rabindranath's musical genius are here treated with precise knowledge and with creative taste; we are shown how one of the foremost composers, ranking with the highest known in Indian musical history, raised his structure of songs on classical traditions and yet introduced his original modes and surprising transmutations. The greatest *Ustads* of India have already began to accept "Rabindra Sangeet" as a new and organic development of Indian music; that term connotes a specific realm where *ragas* and *raginis* have obtained an unmistakable impress of Rabindranath's genius. The author treats his theme with erudition and with a critical mind, not forgetting either that the songs, coming from a master poet, have their perennial lyrical value as well. Indeed, the borderland of music and words defies analysis in really perfect songs, but both aspects of creation have been approached with subtle and trained understanding. Rabindranath's songs mainly follow the Bengali tradition of lyrical songs, and words are no less important than the tunes, but the sheer musical creativeness and originality of Rabindranath has rightly been treated as the major theme.

The author has done well in emphasising the elemental power and sweep of Rabindranath's music; its essential vitalising fire, particularly in songs on cosmic themes and of invocation, needed reaffirmation in these days when whatever is graciously beautiful incurs the suspicion of being languid, and recessive. Rabindranath never catered to the modern demand for stridency, knowing well that creative power has little to do with propagandist marching tunes which kill music even before the battlefield is reached, but the profound musical energy of his songs often emerged in rapid tonal contrasts, novel rhythms and in an amazing variety of *talas* quickened by poignant life. Needless to say, all these qualities can be found in the gamut of traditional Indian music which belonged to a period of India's culture when it was truly spiritual and therefore virile in its artistic expression. Even the more obviously inspiring type of Indian music is there, in a profusion of richness, though Indian lovers of jazz may know little about this.

The influence of great Western music on Rabindranath's compositions is also indicated, though this aspect demands a comparative method and knowledge that could not be fulfilled in this book.

Rabindra Sangeet calls for translation into different Indian vernaculars and into languages other than Indian so that the author's contribution can be properly valued, assimilated and critically estimated on a basis of musicology.

BANGLA GADYER CHAR JUG : *By Manmohan Ghosh. Published by Das Gupta & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

The chief merit of this short history of Bengali prose, which traces the growth and variations of prose style and diction, is a fine clarification of issues. The author has laid down a clear-cut system of historical division which is likely to be followed by other workers in the field. The methodology is itself a contribution of pioneer importance, revealing an essential mastery which comes to a scholar and a research worker of established reputation. Bengali prose is shown in clear perspective, and falls naturally into four stages—(1) the age of Rammohan Roy, (2) the age of the Tattvabodhini, (3) the age of Bankim Chatterjee, (4) the age of Rabindranath. There is, of course, the earliest formative stage, when Bengali prose was finding its own independent level apart from its inherent allegiance to Sanskrit. The present stage of Bengali prose is not adequately treated, and largely consists of rapid classification of modern authors—this portion really demands expansion, perhaps in a separate book—but the author's attitude is equitable and never errs on the side of laying down *obiter dicta* with regard to contemporaries.

The appendices dealing with drama and other themes connected with the evolution of Bengali prose

are most illuminating; we have here a fine blend of creative imagination and sound research work.

BANGLAR KAVYA : *By Humayun Kabir. Published by Gupta Rahman and Gupta.*

This slim volume presents, with elegance and incisive vigour, an interpretation of Bengali literature mainly viewed as a confluence of social forces. The creative unity is not forgotten but the patterning reveals many-coloured threads drawn from a diversity of cultural origins. Professor Kabir dwells largely on the Islamic contribution which has enriched Bengali poetry. Starting from the Vaishnava lyrics the author ends with Rabindranath Tagore and the modern Bengali Age created by him. Controversies will be raised on the presentation of specific problems, some facts as stated here will be questioned, and critics may not agree that delicate values, attaching to the distribution of proper emphasis, have always been preserved. But the tonic effect of a new approach, a bold and unconventional treatment of Bengali literature as an organic whole, and Professor. Kabir's method of social interpretation make this work a most stimulating contribution to our new criticism. The portion dealing with the folk literature of East Bengal is valuable; the Hindu and Islamic intermingling is revealed in its lyric depth; and the book helps us in appreciating the regional aspect of Rabindranath's genius as rooted in the composite soil of green-corned, river-washed Bengal which is yet geographically and spiritually a part of the great unbroken Indian homeland.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

MATRIMANGAL, JANMABIJNAN O SUSANTAN LAV : *By Abul Hasanat. With a Foreword by Sir P. C. Ray. Published by the Standard Library, Dacca. Pp. 439. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2-12.*

The author is not new in the field. By the publication of this book, he has removed a long-felt want, for which he deserves our congratulations. Statistics of huge child-mortality is a standing blot on our body politic. Deaths of mothers at child-birth are also many. That all these occur mainly for our ignorance cannot be gainsaid. The science of eugenics, maternity welfare and the bringing up of children in the light of changed conditions require to be studied by the parents thoroughly and diligently. The health of the mother, the child, and for that matter, the whole family demands that we should follow the hygienic rules, day in and day out. Failure of this spells disaster in the life of both the mother and the child. Mr. Abul Hasanat has discussed these subjects in a scientific but popular way, clearing the knotty points with illustrations. He has thoroughly exposed our superstitions and exhorted his readers to do away with them. The book should be read and re-read by our mothers, would-be mothers and the fathers too.

J.

HINDI

BIRBAL KI KAHANYAN : *By Shivnath Sinha Shandilya. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 42. Price annas three.*

This is the sixth volume in the series, Literature for Children, sponsored by Sasta Sahitya Mandal which, under the inspiration of Gandhiji, has become an instrument for the spreading of chaste literature in the country. The book under review consists of twenty-nine stories of Birbal, the witty philosopher at the court of Akbar. The author has made them vivid and vibrant. Apart from their rich spice of humour which the juvenile reader is sure to enjoy, they will provide the latter with a number of intelligence tests as well as a set of moral maxims. No school library should be without it.

G. M.

TAMIL

PADAIYEDUPPU : *Translated by Supa Narayanan. Published by the Sakti Karayalayam, Madura and Karaikudi. Pp. 152. Price Re. 1.*

A good translation of the three short stories of Tolstoi—The Raid, The Grain that Was like an Egg and Master and Man.

WHAT IS PLEASURE ? : *By Rayd Chokkalingan. Published by Sakti Karyalayam, Madura and Karaikudi. Pp. 119. Price Re. 1.*

We have in this book a series of fine essays on pleasure, service, character, beauty, rationalism, body and mind, the work of God and similar interesting topics, simple and elegant in style and rational in thought. The essays on Tamil Literature and Tamils, the Tamilian conception of truth and the Tamilian ideal of helping every other man to enjoy life as he does are sure to inspire every reader to lead a life of purity and usefulness and enjoy and enrich the Tamil Literature.

MADHAVAN

TELUGU

HIMAGALAM : *By Moturi Venkatarow, B.A. Published by Navya Sahitya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1 only.*

The book under review contains a number of short lyrical poems. The poet tries to represent ideas and emotions by indirect suggestions rather than by direct expression. Objects, words and sounds are treated symbolically. Poems like "Salayeru" and "Taj Mahal" are commendable for their suggestiveness.

The book shows every promise of becoming popular.

SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

KEDI : *By Badarayan (Prof. B. B. Vyas, M.A., of St. Xavier's College, Bombay). Printed at the Ramakrishna Printing Press, Bombay. 1942. Illustrated. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 112+23. Price Re. 1-8.*

A collection of one hundred and one short poems, properly named "A Foot-track." This book brings out the faculty of versifying lying latent in the writer and the poems do credit to him. They have been explained in short notes by his friend Mr. Kanakia, and thus are brought into relief, so far as their subject-matter is concerned. There are several remarkable utterances, *e.g.*, those addressed to *Tarali*, a twinkling star, and those addressed to the different aspects of *Diwali*, the Hindu Festival of Lights.

(1) VIRPUJA, (2) VIVECHAN : *By Mohanlal P. Dave, M.A., LL.B., Surat. Printed at the Gandiv and Yugantar Printing Presses, Surat. 1942. Cloth bound. Pp. 234:230. Price Rs. 2 each.*

The first book contains the 'Lives' of four world-wide reputed personalities, who have moulded the lives of millions of human beings, two of them being foreigners and the rest Indians, *viz.*, Prophet Mahomed, Martin Luther, Emperor Ashok, and Swami Dayanand. For the first two, Carlyle's Hero and Hero-worship and Vincent Smith's book have been extensively used. The work is a critical biography of each of them and very valuable and useful. The second book contains thoughtful reviews of the work of well-known Gujarati literary men, dead and alive, like Kalapi, Tripathi, Khabardar and J. H. Dave. It is a store-house of information also.

K. M. J.

SHOULD WE HAVE FUNCTIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR OUR LEGISLATURES ?

By B. N. BANERJEA, D. N. BANERJEE, N. SANYAL, N. C. BHATTACHARYYA, S. SEN & S. K. LAHIRI

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA :

FUNCTIONAL representation of some sort is neither new to students of public administration nor unknown to India. But, what has brought it into prominence recently is due to the search for a substitute for the present system of communal representation. Unfortunately, the mooting of the idea has been accompanied by (*a*) the introduction of a variety of it in Hyderabad, which came in for a good deal of criticism, specially from Hindu quarters; (*b*) the proposals and steps to start communal chambers of commerce, labour unions, professional organisations; and (*c*) the knowledge of the close relation between corporativism in Fascist countries and this system.

The results of the Hyderabad experiment have not yet been fully appraised. But, certain comments on it are called for. A Reforms Committee appointed in 1937 under the presidentship of Dewan Bahadur S. A. Aiyangar drew up the detailed structure of the present reforms. Hyderabad has an uni-cameral legislature called the Assembly presided over by the President of the Executive Council with a non-official majority. The Hindus and Muslims have been accorded an equality of representation, though the Hindus constitute seven-eighth of the population. The basis of representation is *facultative* or functional, which the Reforms Committee finds to be best suited for importing "a greater degree of realism into legislation, even into politics as such." It should be noted that this radical departure was adopted in the face of a determined demand made from the Muslim side for separate electorates. The so-called joint electorates set up are, of course, limited in effect and remind one of the scheme suggested by the late Maulana Mohamed Ali during the R. T. C. discussions.

The composition of the Hyderabad Assembly is as follows :—Total number of members 85 (including members of the Executive Council ex-officio), of whom 28 shall be nominated (14 of whom must be non-officials), 3 shall represent the Crown lands and 5 the principal landed estates. The 42 elective seats have been distributed as follows :—Samsthans and Jagirs 4, Agriculturists 16 (equally distributed again among peasant proprietors and land tenants), labour 2, industries 2, commerce 2, banking 2, legal profession 2, graduates 2, district boards 2, Municipalities and town councils 2, Hyderabad Municipal Corporation 2. By means of nomination it is intended to secure representation for Harijans (5, selected when possible, out of a panel elected by a recognised Harijan association), Lingayat 1, Christians 2, Zoroastrian 1, Women 2, and also journalists and contractors. It will thus be noticed that the Assembly is a 'hybrid' of more than one stock and is not a strictly functional one, as understood by Mr. Cole, for instance. Though intended to do away with mere majority rule, in the case of the Hindus, and to allow scope to the principle of weightage, several questions naturally crop up.

First, there is the difficulty in apportioning seats. How far and for what objectives should weightage be allowed ? Secondly, the so-called 'tyranny' of the majority has often made democracy a nuisance to the fastidious; but the new polyglot house may from the beginning be the source of unpopular schemes and understandings behind the back of the people—taking advantage of the uncertainty in locating responsibility to constituents. Thirdly, there is the possibility, particularly in a country of loose trade union and agriculturists' organisation, of the manipulation by the employer and landlord of the elections and even subsequent ratifications of agreements between group-leaders *post-facto*. Fourthly, the Hyderabad scheme is an admixture of 'facultative', communal, class and feudal interests : it is an instance of how an otherwise admirable principle may be vitiated in its application. Fifthly, there is the danger of plural representation in the scheme and the arbitrary allocation of functions.

Recently, the proposal of functional representation for British India as an alternative to territorial representation was met with rebuffs from various quarters. The main reasons for the suspicion with which the proposal was surrounded are to be sought in certain contemporaneous developments. One of the objects of the scheme was, it was suggested, to muffle the Congress; and another, the surmise that it was likely to be used as a lever to strengthen the minority seats on the legislature. The European use of the idea in dictatorially governed

countries was another bugbear, and I am afraid that in India *unaccompanied by the party-basis and urge* characterising corporativism in Europe, the functional idea might further entrench the racial (European and Anglo-Indian representation on commercial, trade or territorial basis), class and interest representation and lead to worse results, from the point of view of progressive and popular developments.

It has been proposed that second chambers might well be composed on a functional basis. That is again an accepted basis, though only in part, for our second chambers. But the special significance of such bodies as *will or thought organisations* was not acceptable to the authorities, as is evident from the quiet burial which was given to Sir Arthur Salter's scheme. It was, however, for such a purpose that the Lothian Report in 1932 had approved special class of representation. But, the experience of our legislatures lends little support to the view that this function has been or can be discharged by the representatives of the special classes in any satisfactory manner—*the supplying of expert business and economic knowledge to the legislature.*

I think that it is only in a socialist society that functional representation can have any popular significance. Neither class distinctions, nor feudal or capitalist interest, nor the communal cloak has any chance of abusing the principle. As is well-known, to original propounders of the idea functional representation went hand in hand with an egalitarian order and in Soviet Russia the functional pyramid has been a buttress and bulwark to the forces which may be called really democratic and progressive in outlook. Functional representation, even for an advisory body, is likely to be used in non-socialist countries to tip the scale in favour of the property-owners, and in India also the communal-*raj-wallah*, the wily capitalist wire-puller, the ubiquitous *mahajan* and *taluqdar* and lastly the non-Indian business and bureaucratic interests. The antidote to territorial narrowness again is to be found not through stereotyping existing economic relations based on inequity, but by introducing radical socio-economic changes as a prelude to political changes based on such egalitarianism. In the Indian context also functional representation thus is likely to be a sinister force helping fascist, capitalist and racio-communal tendencies, if introduced now or in the near future.

One cannot but agree with Miss Follet that the "neighbourhood group" is still more representative of popular opinion and convenient for administrative purposes compared to the functional group, unless one wants to act upto Finer's quip that the wisest way of abolishing a parliament is to let it stand, but to take care to fill it with your own nominees.

Debendranath Banerjee:

The territorial system of election which obtains in India now, providing as it does, at the same time, for the separate representation of certain communities through communal electorates, is a negation of the principle on which the English system of representation is based. This evil system has, ever since its introduction, acted as a cancer in the body-politic of India. It has intensified our differences, driven communities farther apart from one another by "stimulating communal interests," and has now led to that suicidal agitation by a section of our countrymen for the partition of India, on the basis of a so-called two-nation theory. The inevitable climax has been reached. We are, therefore, to consider the question of the *territorial versus functional** system of representation for this country in the light of these facts.

I think that in the present circumstances of India our leaders should seriously consider the question of the desirability of replacing the existing territorial-*cum*-communal system of representation by the territorial-*cum*-functional system. What I suggest is that different economic or professional groups should be represented as such on our legislatures through constituencies specially created for this purpose on a territorial basis. There should be no representation on the basis of community or religion as such. The organization of constituencies on the proposed lines will cut across religious or communal boundaries, and include within the same constituencies electors belonging to different religious faiths, on the basis of the identity of economic interests. The formation of constituencies on an economic or functional basis would make us think less and less in terms of communities and religions and more and more in terms of common economic interests, and

* Briefly speaking, "the term functional representation is used in political science to describe the representation of special economic groups, such as the workers or the employers in particular industries or both workers and employers together, the members of a profession and so forth. It must be distinguished from representation by class or rank or wealth, although in some cases the two groups may coincide."—From Prof. W. A. Robson's article on *Functional Representation* in *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VI.

ultimately the communal sense which has been designedly made so active in us today, would, it is hoped, die out.

If it were possible for us now to have joint electorates on a territorial basis even with the reservation of seats for minorities for the time being, I would not have advocated the introduction of functional representation into this country for election to our legislatures. But, as far as I can see, it is not possible.

It may be noted in this connexion that ever since the introduction of the Indian Councils Act, 1909, we have had definitely, in one form or another, some representation of interests on our legislatures, in addition to the system of communal representation. What I now propose is that we should extend the application of this principle further and make it the basis of the organisation of all our future constituencies.

Lastly, it may be argued that the constitution of our legislatures on the functional basis would lead to the formation of coalition governments both at the Centre and in the Provinces. Even if it does, it does not matter. Perhaps it would be well. In the present circumstances of our country, it would be advisable to have both functional representation and coalition governments both at the Centre and in the Provinces. We should try this experiment. Hard realities of the Indian problem today require this.

NALINAKSHYA SANYAL :

As we do not start with a clean slate in the matter of constitutional, administrative or electoral arrangements, we have to look at the problems realistically. After listening to the scientific analysis of Mr. B. N. Banerjee and the reasons for the acceptance of the principle of functional representation adduced by Professor D. N. Banerjee of Dacca, I think I should still advocate the remedy which hold the field, *viz.*, joint electorates with reservation of seats. For functional representation presupposes the organisation of the functions or economic groups: and in the absence of such organised groups in India the introduction of the principle would lead to great abuses. I fully agree that a thorough reorganisation of our economic life must be an essential preliminary to the consideration of any alternative to territorial representation. I would further endorse the apprehension voiced that with the permeation of communalism in our Chambers of Commerce, Trade Unions—even relief organisation and social welfare activities—functional representation would be no antidote to communalism. The establishment of coalition governments as a result of functional representation is also not free from objections. I speak from experience. Coalition governments have led to the evils of patronage, bribery, and corruption, which have proved to be hardly capable of control. May I add in conclusion that the talk of introducing functional representation can not have any significance for the better unless it is related to the conditions of a new social order?

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA :

In a democracy the legislature should serve as the mirror of the nation. It is really of little use if it does not reflect the ideas and feelings of the people. A vast majority of some communities in India regard special representation in the legislature as the only effective means of safeguarding their legitimate interests and culture. Recognition of facts is the essence of political wisdom. In deference to democratic principles and political realities, therefore. communal representation has to be tolerated yet for some time to come in spite of its drawbacks. But the system of communal representation has to be sterilised as far as possible by the acceptance of two principles: (*a*) that it should be coupled with joint communal electorates, and (*b*) that it should be accepted for a temporary period after which communal representation as such should cease to exist.

Functional representation cannot be a substitute for communal representation. Because the purposes of the two are fundamentally different. The former serves economic and social categories, the latter cultural, racial and religious categories. To advocate one as a substitute of the other involves a confusion of ideas. But functionalism may supplement and 'correct' territorial representation by importing into the legislature representatives of vocations, occupations, professions and interests, and thus make it truly representative in character.

On practical and theoretical grounds there is no case for replacing communal representation in India by functional representation.

SACHIN SEN :

Prof. B. N. Banerjea's elucidation is critical and interesting, although I profoundly differ from him. The system of representation is vital to any constitution; the successful working of the constitution which is to reflect the desires and will of the citizens is related to the

adoption of a scientific method of representation. Even in a system of direct, geographical representation which is mainly accepted in our Constitution Act, a member of the legislature is supposed not to be a mere delegate, but a representative. He not only represents his constituency and its mandate, but the general will of the people. But in fact, even under cover of geographical representation, a member becomes essentially a representative of the economic interest dominant in his constituency, or to be precise, a representative of the party to whom he belongs. The party machinery in respect of running elections is becoming so organised and complicated, that a candidate without the backing of a well-knit party has hardly any chance of success, although ordinarily he might have comfortably won the elections. It is evident that economic interests and party machinery are the dominating influences in any election, and the method of representation should take note of these modern developments. If it is true that a member of the legislature is more a representative of the dominating economic interest and popular and organised political party, it is frankly to be accepted that economic life and the organisation of party are more essential than any other consideration. Functional representation lays emphasis on economic considerations and on the grouping of parties around economic issues. In our country, the franchise being limited, persons who discharge no functions to society get preponderance in elections. This parasitical class rules our political life. Through the gateway of literacy, thousands are enfranchised who have no stake in the country and who are functionless in the economic life of the country. Those who are discharging functions in the body economic of the country are relegated into the background Moreover, the method of communal representation through separate electorate is importing communal canker in the political life and in the concept of citizenship, unfavourable for the growth of nationhood and corporate civic life. The introduction of functional representation in the place of the subsisting method of representation will lead our thoughts and concepts on approved lines; there shall be grouping of political parties around economic issues; those who are functioning productively in society will get upper hand in political life; real issues could not thus be clouded by communal approach.

Functional representation is not only a happy alternative to the existing method of representation sanctioned in our Constitution Act, but it is an ideal to be striven after. It is a false reading of history that representatives of different functions will bicker amongst themselves in a legislature—so much so that harmonious political life will be an impossibility. The basic assumption that a representative is not a mere delegate is to be accepted. In a house of consumers which geographical representation stabilises, the interests of producers are really neglected. Those who are making economic life rich and varied do not get their share through the system of geographical representation whose defects are being removed by political parties with a programme switched in favour of producers, workers and functionaries. Through bad grouping of constituencies, it is often found that the legislature where geographical representation operates fails to reflect the will of the community or the representation of the majority of people. In a system of functional representation every economic interest will get its due representation, and it will not be possible, as we find, that in an agricultural country, the representatives in the legislature are largely non-agriculturists. Functional representation also helps the decentralisation of powers of the legislature—a process which is extremely helpful in a large country.

In our country, the depressing factors are too many. Our voters are illiterate; economic life is extremely unorganised and can be led off to wrong track by an unimaginative, vocal party; the majority interest does not get predominance in the legislature; the franchise being exercised by a section which is politically alert, representatives do not necessarily represent the constituencies; the franchise qualifications being unsatisfactory, limited and communal, the influence of non-essential and communally-minded people is great and as such it is corroding the basic structure of the constitution. The introduction of functional representation will make every profession, function and essential factor in economic life alert and active; it will help the organisation of economic life as without trade unions on regional basis, representation would not be ensured; it will give correct accent to economic issues in the public life of the country; it will eliminate the influence of non-essential people; it will also help the emergence of leaders from the economic groups represented in the legislature. If it ultimately helps the decentralisation of administrative and legislative powers and the growth of a kind of guild socialism, that will be more suited to the conditions of India. The details are to be

worked out, if the principle which has a powerful appeal to me is accepted.

SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI :

Prof. Debendranath Banerjee of Dacca University puts forward the idea that as the introduction of the principle of communal electorates in India has produced very disastrous consequences, "our leaders should seriously consider now the question of the desirability of replacing existing territorial-*cum*-communal system of representation by a territorial-*cum*-functional system." Prof. Benoyendranath Banerjea foreshadows the obvious dangers lurking in the proposal. The object of a proper system of representation is to find out individuals who are likely to act in the best interests of the general body of people. In a country like India where illiteracy and ignorance prevail to such a wide extent, the number of men who have the capacity to think and decide upon the course of action that will make for progress and conduce to the welfare of the people, and are at the same time able to express their views quite in an independent way, is proportionately less than in progressive and free countries having better educated and trained men with a longer and wider experience of the working of representative institutions. It is essential, therefore, that the system of representation in India should be such as would ensure the selection of men for the purpose, who are progressive and independent-minded and are at the same time public-spirited enough to desire the welfare of the general body of people. It is painfully true that the system of communal electorates in India has resulted in the growth of pernicious tendencies culminating in the demand for *Pakistan* by a section of Muslims. This retrogressive project has been launched with the support of die-hard and reactionary Britishers, who seek to strike at the root of India's unity and give a death-blow to the evergrowing feeling of unity among different sections of the people of which there is such abundantly clear manifestation. No perfect system of representation has yet been devised. Although we should plant our ideals high, it is at the same time necessary that any scheme of representation that may be decided upon should be such as would not only be simple and be at the same time workable but should also be related to the experience and traditions of the people concerned. India has for all practical purposes no acquaintance with any genuine functional system of representation. The system that has been introduced in the State of Hyderabad is an adulterated and debased form of such representation. It has been introduced only very lately and it is not possible to estimate its value within so short a period of its working. Besides, it does not appear to cast off the pernicious features of the communal system. In view of the suggestion that has emanated from time to time from interested quarters about the merits of the functional system of representation with special reference to the real conditions in India, it cannot be said that there is no risk of an effort being made to foist it on India. In that case, taking into consideration the present attitude of the dominant section of the British Parliament and people towards India one has to guard against the danger. It is feared that any form of representation of that name that may be introduced in this country may have the effect of stereotyping reactionary and non-progressive outlook and stabilising backwardness and fissiparous tendencies. It cannot be denied that the experience that has been gained by the working of the territorial system shows that in spite of its obvious defects it has the merit that if and when worked under proper conditions, it generally supports progressive forces in the country and tends to stimulate the feeling of unity. That is one of the reasons why suggestions have been made by certain people to replace it by some system which according to them is suitable to the country. Every effort should, of course, be made to abandon communal electorates and the *Pakistan* idea. The pernicious tendencies of the communal system can be expected to be countered by an organised and intensive campaign for the rapid extension of education, and the creation of smaller units of administration, along with a wide application of the principle of federation. A proper system of representation is the basis of a democratic form of government and if India is to have a genuine form of such government efforts should be made to correct the shortcomings of the territorial system and modernise it, after careful consideration, by the combination of other suitable systems at selected centres as experimental measures. We should bear in mind the declaration made by Goethe through the mouth of Faust:

> "He only gains and keeps his life and freedom
> Who daily strives to conquer them anew."

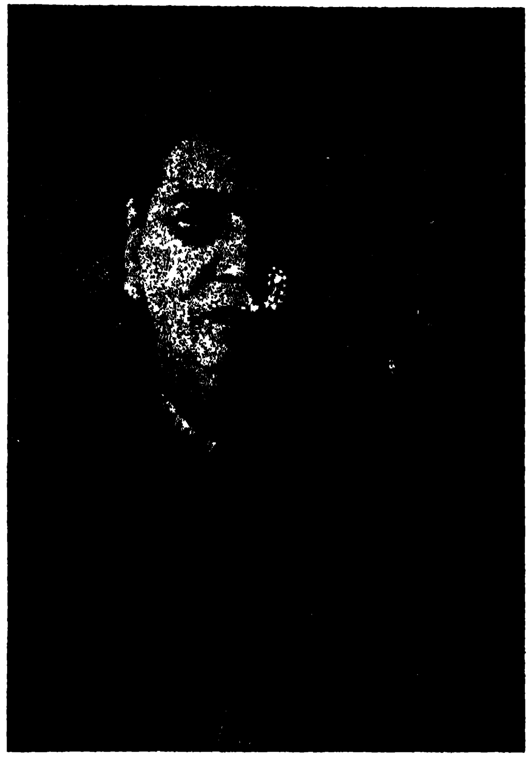
[Report of discussions at recent meetings of the Politics Club, Calcutta.]

THE LATE MRS. LAKSHMIBAI SARDESAI

We are sure our readers will share our sorrow at the great bereavement suffered by our esteemed contributor and foremost Maratha historian, Rao Bahadur Govind S. Sardesai, who lost his wife on the 26th February last. A blended life which wanted only two days to complete 59 years, has at last been torn apart, and the "Sage of Kamshet," himself within sight of his 79th birthday, has been left desolate, as all his children had died before, unmarried. Mrs. Sardesai was the eldest daughter of the distinguished educationist, Moreshwar Waman Kirtane. Fate had been most unkind to her; in November 1925, her brilliant son Shyamkant (an old boy of the Santiniketan school), who had taken a doctorate in Science in Germany, died on the Continent, in the prime of life and hope. Thereafter, Mrs. Sardesai had steeled her own heart, and sustained her husband by her loving care and constant attention for these many years. But at last her worn-out frame could struggle no longer, and she sank down from a simple fever in her 70th year.



Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai



Mrs. Lakshmibai Sardesai

Many earnest students of Indian history have tasted her hospitality at the Sardesai home at Kamshet (Poona district), and they will feel her loss as a personal grief equally with her husband, who thus touchingly wrote to a friend:

"So she has gone the common way which is destined for all of us, after giving me company for 60 years and completing 70 years of life. I hope she and I will have a common resting place soon together. All my life's work has been due to the devotion with which she served me. She is resting in final peace now."

THE MANACLED MIND

By TARANATH LAHIRI

"Men of Athens, I honour and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy," thus declared Socrates in 399 B.C. before hemlock consumed his 78 years old body on a charge of impiety. And in these words live the poignant struggle of the free thinkers against the throttling oppression of the state imposed throughout the ages. Socrates is the most outstanding example of hounded intellect in the classical world. But he does not stand alone. Aristotle, the master mind of his age, Andocides and many other luminaries of the Greek world keep him company.

The medieval times, and the ages following, came with the stake and extinguished the light of many a free mind as heretics. The illumination of the Renaissance and the ardour of the Reformation could not assuage the thirst for heresy hunting. Copernicus was persecuted because his views were pronounced to be pernicious to the Catholic faith. Giordano Bruno asserted the heliocentric theory of Copernicus and was ultimately burnt as a heretic in 1600 A.D. Galileo, the great astronomer, had to appear before the Inquisition at the age of 69 and was forced to swallow the spittle of his pride. Persecution was by no means a monopoly of the Catholics. The Protestant Theological Faculty of Tubingen condemned Kepler in 1596 for views exactly similar to those of Galileo's. The Jesuits, however, honoured his astronomical works and gave him shelter. Spinoza was tried by the elders of the synagogue and excommunicated on a charge of heresy for his opinions. The celebrated Servitus, Vanini and Campanella, memorable names in the history of human achievements, were condemned in their times for their views. The guillotine of Revolutionary France severed the head of Lavoisier in 1794—"his services to science were outweighed by the fact that he had been one of the Premiers Generaux, to whom the taxes had been farmed out by the state." Jean Sylvan Baily, the celebrated astronomer, had shared the same fate in 1793. Condorcet, the conceiver of the great scheme of free education for the entire populace of the French Republic, was another victim of the Revolution. Victor Hugo was exiled for 20 years. Voltaire, the audacious thinker, paid for his unbending intrepidity by a life of suffering, and even at death, was denied by the clerical authorities of a Christian burial in Paris. In 1794, Kant, then an old man of 70, suffered an enforced silence at the hands of the Prussian minister Wollner's rigorous censorship to uphold Lutheran Protestantism. A Birmingham mob burnt the house of Dr. Priestley amid shouts of "no philosophers, church and state." William Hone, the English writer and satirist, was dragged to his famous trial of 1817 in consequence of freely airing unconventional opinions.

During the Napoleonic wars all form of liberal thought was looked down upon in England. The last world war, as the present one, also witnessed the tightening of the scope of free-thinking. Bertrand Russell was sent to prison for preaching his pacifist views; Romain Rolland exacerbated the French ruling class for airing similar views, but his stay in Switzerland allowed him to escape unscathed. The taste and prudery of the top-dogs sometime go to absurd lengths. The creative faculty of a sculptor of Jacob Epstein's standing has been put under interdiction in England in recent times; Joyce's *Ulysses* was publicly burnt in New York.

But since the 19th century and onwards, the practice has been to direct the blows of repression more and more towards the works rather than the person of the free-thinkers; the censor has stepped into the shoes of the inquisitor. Unceremoniously it dips its ravenous fangs into the works of the literati. Mr. Joad writes in his *Liberty Today*:

> "Over most of the so-called civilized world today men's minds have been sent to prison, and their rulers hold the keys to their cells. The Irish Free State seeks to make its citizens moral by refusing to admit the works of Aldous Huxley, James Joyce and Bernard Shaw. The list of books prohibited in Canada runs to half-a-dozen octavo pages. Great Britain excludes *Ulysses* as obscene, and the United States, while admitting Shakespeare and the Bible, recently decided to be shocked by Voltaire and prohibited his works. Sometimes the world's censorships achieve comedy, as when the Indian Government refuses to admit over the frontier some of the early publications of a recent Prime Minister of Great Britain."

The black record of gagging of culture reaches the nadir in the autocracies, in their various forms. Czardom rewarded the Russian litterateurs with sufferings galore. British Imperialism keeps the most pernicious censorship in India. It allows free circulation to Miss Mayo's *Mother India* but prohibits Sunderland's *India in Bondage*. The prospect of punishment and incarceration ever dangles before the

publishers and authors of the country. Amongst the outstanding authors of India many would be found whose one or more works have been scotched with the brand of proscription. Even so valuable and harmless a work as *Letters from Russia* (Bengali) by a person of no lesser eminence than Rabindranath Tagore, was put under the ban. Publications proscribed by the Provincial Government of Bengal from 1925 to June 1934 reach the staggering number of 2245, while the number of pictures, cartoons, etc., proscribed by the same authority for the same period runs up to 406.

Fascist countries, particularly Germany, outstrip even British Imperialism. The galaxy of world-renowned German talents has been so much attenuated by the fury of Nazi reaction that it can hardly be visible today beyond the person of Max Planck. The list of condemned geniuses there is almost inexhaustible. It includes Richard Wills and Fritz Haber, the leading chemists, Otta Meyerhoff, the noted professor of psychology in Heidelberg University, Moritz Bonn, the famous economist and Prof. Zondek, the celebrated gynacologist, as well as the names of persons like Einstein, Freud, and Thomas Mann, to whom the whole cultural world renders homage.

Liberty is non-existent for the literati today in the modern States. The desperate assault of class interest of the present rulers is far more deadly than the blind measures springing from superstition or mere tastes and distastes of the governing class. The spirit of totalitarianism prevails in them in some form or other: some do away with the sheath of the coercing sabre, the others retain it. Imperialism treads the same track as Fascism or Nazism only with a little mannerism, while bourgeois democracy is nothing but an asphyxiating dictatorship of the vested interest for the proletarian school of thinkers and workers. Socialism too, in the transitional phase, is dictatorial. The U.S.S.R. forged the institution of R.A.P.P. to ensure the impact of the revolution in the literary and artistic works; but it overgrew that necessity some years later, and in 1932, decreed the abolition of R. A. P. P. censor. Socialism, however, offers the vista of a classless society in times to come, when genuine freedom will be ushered in and coercion will go for ever. But the interregnum is a ruthless struggle. Can the manacled mind cease its bemoaning clanks till the festering wound of class-cleft society is cured by a major surgical operation?

Santiniketan, January 6, 1943

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

In Memory of Bhaba Sankar Dutt

By SHIB SANKAR DUTT

LAST year my late brother, Bhaba Sankar Dutt, collected and compiled the information about the papers contributed by Indian Women to the Science Congress. I owe it to his memory to compile similar informations for the current year. The following papers were contributed by Indian Women to this year's Science Congress held at Calcutta. Out of the 12 sections in which the Science Congress is divided, women have contributed in 5 sections only; and the total number of papers is also very small, being only 11 out of a total of 356.

I. In the Section of *Chemistry*:

1. Synthetical authelmintics. Synthesis of γ-alkyl β-p-methony (hydroxy) phenyl butyrolactone. By Miss K. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar and K. S. Nargund, Poona.
2. Synthetical authelmintics. Synthesis of lactones similar to desmotropo-santonin. By Miss K. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar and K. S. Nargund, Poona.
3. Long chain acyl and alkyl phenols. By Miss K. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar and K. S. Nargund, Poona.

II. In the Section of *Physiology*:

1. Gastric acidity in the new-born. By Miss Hemlata Mangalik, K. B. Kunwar and V. S. Mangalik, Lucknow.

III. In the Section of *Psychology* and *Educational Science*:

1. Psychology and Music. By Mrs. Bani Chatterjee, Calcutta.
2. A study in the visual estimation of frequency and number. By Miss Shanti Agarwal, Lucknow.
3. Certain observations in regard to the Training of Children in a Montessori School. By Miss Shanti Agarwal, Lucknow.
4. The problem of overaging in A. V. Middle Girls' School—individual cases. By Miss T. Habibullah, Lucknow.

IV. In the Section of *Botany*:

1. On the Chlorophyceæ of Khandalla and Lonavala. By Miss E Gonzalves, Bombay.
2. Studies in the periodicity of the algæ in a tank and pond near Bombay. By Miss E. Gonzalves and Miss D. B. Joshi, Bombay.

V. In the Section of *Anthropology* and Archæology:

1. The angle of humeral torsion in the South Indian. By A. A. Ayer and Miss B. Upshon, Madras.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The First All-India Hartal

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Satyagraha Sabhas had been organised in every large and important centre in our motherland by the time Mahatma Gandhi had reached Madras in his All-India tour to induce urban and rural India to take up the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation. It was during his stay here that the Rowlatt Bill was passed in the Imperial Legislative Council in the teeth of universal Indian opposition.

Mahatma Gandhi tells us that he went to sleep with a greatly disturbed mind after news had been received in Madras of the publication of the Rowlatt Bill as an Act. He woke up rather earlier than usual towards the small hours of the next morning and while "still in that twilight condition between sleep and consciousness," all of a sudden the idea of starting it with a hartal on an All-India scale flashed on his mind.

The idea was that an All-India hartal would at once concentrate the attention of India as a whole on the dangerous implications of the Rowlatt Act, and, if successful, would compel the administration to recognise the fact that opposition to it which had come from the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council had the backing of the whole country behind it irrespective of caste, creed and race.

In this particular instance, the hartal was a sign of mourning for the passing of the civil liberties of India.

The news that the hartal would commence with a fast accompanied by a purificatory bath astonished the older type of Indian politicians and perplexed non-Indians, official and non-official. Sceptics wondered whether the first demonstration of Indian nationalism on an All-India scale would be successful and, if so, what tangible political results could be expected to flow from it.

The result was that the 30th March, 1919, was observed as hartal day in certain areas in Upper India such as Delhi, Amritsar, Multan, etc., where the leadership was strong and militant and where the instructions issued had been received promptly while there was no hartal in other and less accessible parts. Sir Michael O'Dwyer who resented this manifestation of public feeling held Dr. Kitchlew, a Mussalman, and Dr. Satyapal, a Hindu, responsible for the success which had marked the hartal at Amritsar and orders were passed on them on the 4th April, 1919, forbidding them from addressing public meetings. This may be regarded as marking the beginnings of that public irritation on which, fomented by the ill-advised steps taken by the Punjab Government to stop the constitutional expression of public feelings led to the series of unfortunate incidents which culminated in the firing at Jallianwala Bagh and the imposition of martial law in the Punjab.

The Currency Chaos

The present currency inflation in India and the consequent suffering of the people has been, of late, engaging the attention of our people. The problem is very grave. Prof. C. N. Vakil writes in *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

During the war time the Government is the biggest buyer of goods and services. Industrialists and businessmen to a large extent become contractors for the supply of goods to the Government. They work at maximum capacity to carry out orders which go on increasing from time to time. They usually get a high price for their goods from Government. For the same class of goods if there is a private demand, they get a still higher price from the public, because the supply for civilian consumption becomes limited.

The large profits which businessmen are able to earn in this way are shared by the State in the form of Excess Profits Tax. But in spite of this tax, the rich are able to grow richer.

They do not see that these are paper fortunes, that is, though they get more rupees, the value of each rupee in terms of goods is less.

During war Government tries to increase taxation and saving with a view to divert a large part of the nation's current income or saving to itself for purchasing goods and services for war.

If the expenditure of the Government is larger than its receipts from taxes and loans it is financed by the creation of money.

The new money competes with the existing supply and forces up prices and restricts consumption. It is in this way that the Government draws national resources from the people for the war. This particular method, unlike normal times, is continuous so long as the war lasts; the process of creation of money goes on at an increasing pace and the consequent inflation assumes unusual dimensions. The deflation which must follow will also be of equal magnitude resulting in considerable harm to society. Factories and businesses will have then to close down or go into liquidation; in some cases production will be curtailed : only the few strong ones will survive. The poor will suffer because of consequent unemployment.

I am surprised that Sir Chunilal Bhaichand Mehta has said that there is no inflation in India today.

Inflation is an evil for the masses of the people now; it will be followed by deflation which will also lead to suffering for the masses due to unemployment.

Inflation creates and intensifies all the contrast of wealth and poverty, of abundance and shortages. The apparent prosperity of the few rich may delude them into the belief that all is well, but they will realise after the war that this prosperity is temporary. In any case the prosperity of the few is not the prosperity of the country as a whole.

The Genius of Shaposhnikov

The New Review observes :

There is some ground for the recent Nazi contention that the Russo-Finnish war was a huge piece of camouflage, but the battle of the Don-bend reveals Shaposhnikov as a master tactician.

Shaposhnikov allowed the Nazi divisions to wear out in the struggle for Stalingrad, maintaining a defence weak enough to delude the Nazi command into further sacrifices, yet strong enough to prevent a disaster. The losses were tremendous on both sides, but owing to the relative superiority of defensive weapons, they were heavier for the Nazis unsuccessfully attacking the town.

Stalingrad has demonstrated the ample resources of a great city for defence.

Houses and factories, cellars and tunnels, drains and ditches, every building and earthwork, however damaged and ruined, provided innumerable possibilities to build up a network of pill-boxes, a maze of trenches, a labyrinth of shelters and ambushes which could be articulated into a complete and elastic system of defence; it goes without saying that the town was to be sacrificed but Stalingrad has few historical memorials and in any case, Sovietland holds no sentimental regard for the past.

So Stalingrad was sacrificed to attract and destroy Nazi divisions.

In the meantime, Shaposhnikov, with patient coolness, organised his counter-offensive on the Middle Don, which effected a break-through and fell on the enemy's rear. From that moment, the battle developed normally : unsettling of the Nazi command, dislocation of his supply system and disruption of his armies. Hitler attempted a come back with a counter-attack from Kotelnikovo, but failed miserably; he then came to rely on air transport to delay the issue long enough to attempt one more assault to free his encircled armies; but owing to the foresight of Shaposhnikov who broke the Kotelnikovo counter-attack at the start and concentrated his air resources on this battlefield, the Nazi divisions were forced to surrender.

The Nazi soldiers, however, took full advantage of whatever defensive work was left in Stalingrad, and fought long enough to give their Caucasus army time to fight their way back in good order and escape through Rostov and the Kerch straits.

Heavy equipment and isolated posts were abandoned, but once a defeated army has succeeded in breaking off the battle, it can easily avoid capture, though it may have to fall back a long way before reaching a base in which to rest and re-equip. The Russians followed up their initial victory with determination and success; their winter offensive last year had recovered a part of the territory conquered by the Nazis during the previous summer; this year they have regained most of the ground overrun by the last Nazi push, and, what is more significant, they have broken through the old winter line and re-entered Kharkov, Kursk, Krasnograd, Pavlograd. One may well expect that the pursuit will go on till the thaw sets in when the Dnieper and Pripet marshes may bring the rush to an end.

It will be a matter not only of weather, but rather of available resources; at every point the crucial question lies in the relative superiority in men and equipment.

Communiques detail Nazi losses and are silent about Soviet casualties.

Nothing is let out to permit any comparison; British and American correspondents are not even allowed near the front line. The Soviets do not want Allied troops; they only clamoured for planes and tanks which they received in large quantities and acknowledged with measured thanks; Stalin even told Mr. Wendell Willkie that he should rather understate the Soviet case than have the Americans assuming a patronizing attitude.

Shaposhnikov lets all the praise go to Stalin, Hitler must take the blame on himself.

Romain Rolland—the Idealist

An idealist, pacifist and universalist, it has been the misfortune of Rolland to witness three major wars in his lifetime. His is a great life; it opened with great dreams, high and distant ideals. Madan Gopal writes in *The Triveni Quarterly* :

"Go, go and never rest. Go on to death, you must die. Go and suffer, you who must suffer.—Suffer, die but be what you must be—a Man."—JEAN CHRISTOPHE.

"Above all be strong, be Manly : I have a respect even for one who is wicked so long as he is manly and strong: for his strength will make him some day give up his wickedness or even give up all work for selfish ends, and will bring him into the Truth."—VIVEKANANDA.

"O Man ! help thyself."—BEETHOVEN.

That, in short, is the "cult of Man," his message to humanity through all the literary creations of Romain Rolland, the great artist, and the great literary giant of France.

"Never forget the glory of human nature." For "as soon as a man or a nation loses faith in himself, death comes; believe first in yourself and then in God. A handful of strong men will move the world."

Born in 1866 at Clemcey in France, of a Revolutionary and Republican lawyer father and an aggressively Catholic mother, Romain Rolland was confronted with the difficult task of reconciling between Reason and Revolution, on the one hand, and Faith and Religion, on the other.

Happily for Rolland, his mother was well-versed in music and she introduced him to all the great musicians of the west and their important compositions. All this happened at so early an age that Rolland learnt to read the piano notes before he familiarised himself with the A. B. C. of the school primer : "He was born in music." And music turned out to be the most potent influence in his mental development.

At the *Ecole Normale,* he voraciously devoured Victor Hugo, Corneille Nietzsche, Michael Angelo and Shakespeare. Tolstoy was the fashion of the day. His *War and Peace* was for Rolland "a revelation of life and a door opening on to the immense universe." Tolstoy's essays, novels, and his noble ideals of Love, Truth and Pacifism made an indelible impression on Rolland's young mind. These very qualities were again to attract him to Gandhiji in 1923. He admired Tolstoy's ceaseless denunciation of the tyrants and his unrestricted praise for the ocean of humanity. He became Tolstoy's disciple and wrote to him many letters. On the latter's

death in 1910, Rolland felt a deep and personal anguish and wrote his biography.

The study of History and Geography at the *Ecole Normale* widened his intellectual horizon and taught him that "history is an eternal ebb and flow of different epochs," and also that the world is an inter-dependent and closely-knit unit.

An out-and-out idealist, Rolland ascribed all his country's ills to the lack of idealism.

To renew the spiritual life of France, was Rolland's ambition. The easiest and the best, indeed the only, method, it seemed to him, was to provide examples of noble lives of Great Men of all places and all times who would inspire the unthinking masses to do the right thing.

"Man must rest, get his breath, refresh himself at the great living wells, which keep the freshness of the Eternal." These "great living wells" are Rolland's heroes who are "living fountains shedding light in spiritual darkness." "The hero," says the intensely realistic Gottfried, "is a man who does what he can; the others do not do it."

Rolland is a hero-worshipper. But so were Plutarch, Voltaire, Carlyle and Nietzsche. What differentiates Rolland from all these is his attempt at the "progressive spiritualisation of the conception of the hero."

Unlike Plutarch's, Rolland's heroes are neither of noble blood nor great and valiant warriors; unlike Voltaire's they are not scientists, working in cloistered laboratories, thus losing all contact with life and ordinary men; unlike Carlyle's they are not men of *action* and *thought* and do not kindle revolutions and wage victorious wars; unlike Nietzsche's they are not supermen dominating and crushing their fellowmen.

Rolland's heroes—all of them—are human beings prone to human frailties. "They and we are made of the same flesh." The hero is one *of* us, not one *above* us. He is "not the shepherd driving his flock before him; he is the bull marching at the head of his herd."

Rolland was disappointed by the West. They, these Westerners, would never learn to settle their disputes except through the arbitrament of sword. He turned to India.

There was Gandhi beckoning to him. He saw the Light. "For more than 30 centuries the tree of vision, with all its thousand branches and their millions of twigs, has sprung from that torrid land (India), the burning womb of the Gods; it renews itself tirelessly showing no decay."

Rolland decided to interpret that "lofty stream of thought, at once religious and philosophic, moral and social with its message for modern humanity from the depth of India's past"; and "to bring the sound of the beating of that artery (of Immortality) to the ears of fever-stricken Europe which has murdered sleep."

In Gandhi, "the humble servant of humanity" and the apostle of Non-Violence and absolute Truth, he saw the goodness and intelligence of Tolstoy. He admired Gandhi's precepts of peace, truth, *Ahimsa*, celibacy and the control over the senses, fearlessness, idealism and the capacity for suffering. So much was he enamoured of Gandhiji and his philosophy that he declared:

"Either Gandhi's spirit will triumph or it will manifest itself again, as were manifested centuries before, the Messiah and Buddha till there finally is manifested, in a mortal half-God, the perfect incarnation of the principle of life which leads a new humanity on to a new path."

Once his interest in India was aroused, he followed it up.

He could not overlook that 'genius in thought.' Tagore. From the soil of Bengal have arisen other titanic personalities, "the Prophets of New India," Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. "Allowing for the differences of country and of time, Ramakrishna is the younger brother of Christ."

In Vivekananda, too, he found the same fire, the same energy, the same "splendid harmony of the present wherein the past dreams and the future aspirations of all races and all ages are blended." These two sages "with incomparable charm and power have realized the splendid symphony of the soul—they are its Mozart and Beethoven."

These three biographies of Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda finished, Rolland again took up the biography of Beethoven. Some four out of eight parts of this great work are complete. On the rest he is still busy in Occupied France.

The Pakistan Theory Economically Unsound

V. V. Gokhale writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

Taking into consideration the present state of affairs, we find that the major item of expenses of Central Government is that of defence. Hindu provinces are contributing a very high proportion of central revenues which are spent for the Pakistan Provinces in the form of defence expenditure. Hindu Provinces are thus placed at a disadvantage by their exclusion from the army. They are purchasing this disadvantage at a very high price. The revenue of Central Government amounts to Rs. 121 crores. About Rs. 52 crores are annually spent on the army. But the major portion of this expenditure is spent on the army recruited from Pakistan Provinces. This means that Hindu Provinces are paying for the Pakistan Provinces. Hindustan Provinces are sadly deprived of the contribution they have made. They are in a way sacrificing this amount for the benefits of Pakistan Provinces. The money paid in this way to Pakistan Provinces greatly contributes to the economic prosperity of the people of those provinces. The officers in the army are able to send their sons to foreign countries to get higher education. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha states that highest number of students appeared for I. C. S. Examination from the Punjab University in 1940. They got highly paid services and thus they continue to get more and more benefits. Many of them go to foreign countries and get themselves trained in different trades. They start new industries in their provinces as large amount of capital is available to them. Thus they enjoy economic prosperity at the expense of Hindustan Provinces. It must be remembered that Hindustan Provinces are not any way rich to contribute so highly to Central Government. They do so at the sacrifice of their needs.

Thus we would find that Pakistan would be economically detrimental to Pakistan Provinces. It would be advantageous to Hindustan Provinces in many respects. It will stop the heavy drain from Hindustan Provinces for the support of Central Government and Pakistan Provinces. It would definitely add to the wealth of Hindustan Provinces as they would be the receivers of all the benefits derived from defence services.

Maharshi Devendranath Tagore in Quest of Peace

Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati—both may claim to be creations of a seeking mind. Abanindranath Tagore observes in the *Visva-Bharati News* :

What was Maharshideva seeking? His search was for One who pervaded the universe and yet was beyond it, who manifested Himself as bliss (*anandam*) and who was immortal.

What long days of peace and quietude did he not spend on the heights of the Himalayas—sacred to the ancient sages and *yogis* ! I had the chance of seeing him once or twice on his return from the hills, sitting in his room in a half-reclining position, hands folded on his lap and in his eyes -what deep tranquillity ! Yet, with all this, he was never indifferent to his domestic duties and social obligations.

Complications would now and then arise and then Maharshi Devendranath would leave the family house for a quieter place where he could meditate on the Supreme undisturbed.

One such place was our garden-house at Champdani on the Ganges, which was still in the possession of the Tagores. I have heard from the elders of our family that on every 7th of *Pous* anniversary, he would go there with his spiritual companions and disciples and all the boys of the family. There would be recitals of *Kirtan* songs, besides devotional service. That garden-house was the Santiniketan of his early days.

When that garden-house went out of our possession, Maharshideva's search for another such quiet place was resumed. Once, in the course of one such itineration, when he was on his way to visit the Sinhas of Raipur (Srikanta Babu of that family was a particular friend of his, who would often regale him with his *sitar* play), he found himself in the midst of the arid waste of Bolpur which had to be crossed. One can picture the scene in one's mind—the *palki*-bearers struggling with their load under the middy sun, Maharshideva from his *palki* looking on at the vast expanse stretched before him in an unending panorama, broken only by a single *chhatim* tree extending its shade on the space around. I do not know but Maharshideva might have felt the nearness of the Supreme Self at that particular moment—that Self which stands alone like the tree—*vrikshaiva divi tishthatyekah*.

He had the *palki* stopped under the *chhatim* tree, and as he got down, he said : "I will rest here."

This *chhatim* tree was standing erect, surviving the ravages of storms for years, waiting as if for the great seeker who would come and rest his tired limbs under its benign shade.

Half of his life he had spent in this search and at last towards the end of his middle age, he found the place of his choice and I can see him even now in my mind's eye, sitting under the shade of this *chhatim* tree, with his gaze fixed on the horizon, where the sun was about to set, murmuring to himself : "He is the repose of my life, the joy of my heart, the peace of my spirit." What a deep resonant voice he had ! I had the good fortune of hearing the *Brahma-mantra—Satyam Gnanamanantam Brahma*—uttered by him. His voice seemed to be swelling up from the depth of his inner being. Like the tired bird at the end of its flight, he sought refuge in this nest in the desert of Bolpur. He would contemplate the Supreme in the solitude of its vast expanse—that became his heart's desire. The peace that he found in this abode, he has dedicated to the world. This is how Santiniketan came into being.

The history of the birth of Visva-Bharati is no less strange. If Maharshideva was seeking One who was in the world and yet beyond it, his youngest son, Rabindranath, was trying to realize Him in the manifestations of Nature—in the beauty of flowers in the songs of birds and in the service of humanity.

Both were seekers—their paths might have been different, one was a *sadhaka*, a *yogi*, the other was a poet, but their aims and ideals were the same. So when Rabikaka (Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore) proposed to take charge of the Brahmacharya Asrama at Santiniketan, Maharshideva readily and enthusiastically gave his consent, perhaps because his inner eye had discerned in his youngest son a seeker who, too, was trying to reach the goal through music and rhythm and service. The father built the temple and the son gave it the beautiful setting of a garden, as it were. The two together made it a complete whole—harmonious and beautiful.

The bliss that the father had found, he did not hoard like a miser within himself. He asked everyone to share it with him.

When the son found what he had been seeking in Visva-Bharati, he invited the whole world to come and share it with him.

People used to ask me : Why of all places your Rabikaka should found his asrama in the dry waste of Birbhum ? I did not understand it then, but I know it now that it was the fittest place that could be chosen. The nest built by the father came, as it were, by inheritance to the son.

In Calcutta, where Rabikaka never felt very well, he would often confide to [illegible] "Calcutta doesn't suit me, Aban. I wonder if I would ever find a shelter anywhere else." I should have replied, perhaps : "Where can there be a place fit to shelter you—you, who have extended your home to the big world ?"

In this Santiniketan he did, however, build a home for himself and for everyone who would come. Like his father he, too, was *Brahma*-minded and like him, too, he was a householder, not a *vairagi*—a renouncer of family ties. If he were that, would it have been possible for him to create this abode of bliss ? This is the secret of the creation of Santiniketan and of Visva-Bharati.

Æ : Apostle of Irish Democracy

G. W. Russell (Æ) was a poet, a painter, a mystical philosopher and a man of affairs. R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path* :

In his weekly journal *The Irish Homestead*, he devoted himself to the fostering of rural co-operation.

After the Irish treaty settlement in London, Æ became Editor of *The Irish Statesman* and was enabled to turn his creative mind to larger and wider issues.

His influence reached far beyond Ireland. Harvard and Yale Universities each conferred the honour of a degree upon him, while Dublin University made him a Doctor of Letters. He was invited to America to engage in an extensive lecture tour.

Behind his practical work was the outlook of a mystic.

He studied the *Bhagavad Gita* and other treasures of Eastern poetry and philosophy. Æ was early attracted to the Theosophical movement. Behind all his work as an artist, a poet, an economist and a literary man was a conception of God and man and nature as one single and yet multitudinous being

Into his poems Æ infuses some of the delicate colour of his paintings.

Homeward : Songs by the Way, which appeared in 1894, was his first book and it contains poems glowing with colour :

> Faint grew the yellow buds of light
> Far flickering beyond the snows
> As leaning o'er the shadowy white
> Morn glimmered like the pale primrose.

The Great Breath begins :

> Its edges foamed with amethyst and rose
> Withers once more the old blue flame of day.
> There where the ether like the diamond glows
> Its petals fade away.

In his poems and paintings Æ seems to merge into an exciting universe full of colour and sensation upon which he can draw at will.

Writing for an obscure journal, he once signed an article "Æon." But the printer could not decipher the word and it came back as "Æ—?" Russell struck off the query from the proof and retained his characteristic signature.

Æ's lifelong service to the cause of rural co-operation in Ireland began in curious fashion. W. B. Yeats—who had been a school-fellow in Dublin—suggested to Sir Horace Plunkett that Æ might be made an organiser for the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. So he began his pilgrimage, often by bicycle or on foot, over the Irish mountains to the villages, where he talked of the advantages of co-operation and gave advice on loans about seed and every other practical detail.

My first meeting with Æ was in his lofty editorial tower at the top of The Plunkett House in Dublin. His burly genial figure, smiling mouth and eager friendly eyes made him a personality not easily forgotten. And when he spoke he combined wisdom with poetic charm. For several years I called at the *Irish Statesman* office every week to discuss articles and reviews for the journal and never did I fail to be delighted at the breadth of mind, the generosity of spirit and the warm friendliness which shone through his conversation.

When *The Irish Statesman* ceased publication Æ turned to America.

When he left Ireland—although he had the deepest love of the country—he did not mourn his exile.

"I like the sensation of freedom, that none puts a delaying hand on me, and I can, like the Indians, retire to the jungle to meditate."

Meditation, the sensation of freedom, the claims of personality in an organised world—these were the ideas which Æ lived to express, they formed the basis of his belief in spiritual democracy. To the Irish people and to the people of the world he spoke on behalf of the men of his type :

> No blazoned banner we unfold—
> One charge alone we give to youth,
> Against the sceptred myth to hold
> The golden heresy of truth.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and China

In the course of a discussion on the address on "India and China" by Dr. K. C. George Yeh (as published in *The Asiatic Review*), Sir M. Azizul Huque (High Commissioner for India) said that they were all grateful to the Association for eliciting from the learned speaker of the afternoon so inspiring a paper. It helped to create an understanding of another country, and also a mutual understanding, and he was particularly grateful to Dr. Yeh for having in such lucid terms spoken of the inter-connection between India and China.

He placed them side by side as countries between which an inter-cultural understanding had been created. In fact, they formed the two largest cultural units in the world, and the study of their respective evolutions and of the things they had in common was a matter of great human interest. Both took the same pattern in outlook and conception. Both were very largely influenced by physical structure, climate, and geographical surroundings. Both had immense masses of human population and vast areas of country, and by a cruel irony of fortune both had been faced with a common danger today; in fact, both were called on to struggle for the survival of their national existence in face of aggression.

The civilization of China, founded so many ages ago, spread out along its valleys, everywhere it developed characteristically the same pattern, and yet by means of its large sea coast it allowed access to world cultures. In other words, it retained its individual entity, and yet it was never thought necessary for the best survival of that individual entity to create an exclusion of foreign cultures. These, on the contrary, it welcomed.

In fact, there had been a continuity of purpose both in India and China in the persistence of their culture, and in neither country had foreign culture been able to swamp the native product.

Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians who came to either country remained as citizens. That was the spirit behind the history of both countries, and between them there was much common ground. The social and economic fabric of both countries was family life. They had a similar philosophy and ethical outlook. In other ways they were also similar. Both had great density of population. Both had a vast agricultural population. Urban populations were relatively small both in India and China, and it was the vast number of villages that dominated the common life. Yet industrial progress and scientific attainment had been marked in both.

In both countries, again, there was an aristocracy, not of capitalism, but of learning. Sometimes he felt—and he knew that he was speaking in a Western democracy—that China and India had known a freedom which did not depend on their resources in coal and iron and steel, nor upon the imports from other countries, and it was this freedom which had conferred the greatest social stability. The cavalcades and the armies had passed by, but the social stability had remained.

Personally, he felt that individual freedom was a greater human asset than the freedom of a democracy in which it was necessary to depend upon outside resources.

That Eastern freedom of the individual was of greater value, at least to them in the East. In fact, it was this that had created the larger unity, the unity which came about through culture, not through economic interests. It was not through international economic conferences but through the diffusion of culture and understanding that unity in the two countries had been brought about.

In India they attached great importance to those pilgrims from China who came to India in their travels in past ages, some by the sea route, others by land. The sea route was interesting because that pilgrimage started from a Chinese town and terminated in the Presidency of Bengal in forty-five or forty-six days—a good example of speed before modern times. The speaker referred to one or two of the great Chinese pilgrims who from 400 A.D. onwards travelled through Central Asia into India; for example, Fa-Hien, who entered India from Afghanistan and journeyed down to the Bay of Bengal, and, in the seventh century Hsuan Tang, who travelled to India from China by the Central Asian route. He described the welcome which some of these pilgrims received—the reception by rulers and officials, the eager, crowded streets, where people expressed their joy in festive music. These pilgrims crossed trackless wastes, climbed formidable mountains, forded dangerous rivers, and the work they did in the translation of the sacred books of Buddhism was imperishable.

When he studied these records of the distant past he thought also of modern pilgrims, especially of the Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, whose recent visit to India had been so noteworthy, and he thought of the struggle and unity of all these nations—India, China, America, Russia, and Great Britain. He hoped and believed that as a result of the new situation which was developing before them there would be a new revolution in world history, that East and West would combine and meet together in the great commonwealth of man, and not only would there be a greater understanding of East and West, but a greater understanding among all the countries of the world, each of the others, on a common and equal platform.

The Post-War World

People out in the Far East, too, are thinking about what sort of world they want after the war. Lest you imagine that Britain and America have a monopoly on ideas for the future, here are some points from a declaration adopted by a group of young people in Travancore, India, who are members of the Indian Student Christian Movement. In an article in the

Worldover Press, E. Dixwell Chase observes:

The message to which these young Indians ask the statesmen of the world to listen has many points in common with declarations adopted by British and American religious leaders. It asks for a new spiritual basis for world affairs—a common body of ideals upon which the formal organization of a world federation can be founded. It condemns economic nationalism, finding it responsible for the war of 1914-18 as well as for the present one. It calls for control of capitalism in the public interest, and the gradual development of democratic ownership and control of productive facilities. Racial discrimination and the subjugation of one nation by another must cease, it says.

These, the Indian young people state, are the goals they want to see the world move toward. But they fully realize that there is a long and rocky road to be traversed before the goals are reached.

People of Asia are probably more conscious than we in the West of the length of time that will be needed to build a just world order. They know that there is more to it than simply devising a mechanically perfect blue-print, for they have before their eyes the spectacle of terrible mass poverty, illiteracy, and ignorance. They realize that no lasting world organization can be built while millions of people live under such conditions. Therefore, these youths stress particularly the need for education and for the abolition of poverty. "It is not by a high level of culture for the few, but by the average education of the common people that a country will prosper." Together with a tremendous campaign of education must go another campaign—to wipe out degrading poverty. Minimum standards of living must be established and maintained by a central planning authority, and must take precedence over private or sectional interests.

"Since the future is likely to see further congestion of population, the careful teaching of each generation in turn as to the vital necessity of goodwill in dealing with the idiosyncrasies of other people becomes of primary importance. Text-books which give a contemptuous or one-sided description of other races must be revised." Each race has a special contribution to make to the enrichment of human life but any sense of superiority or inferiority brought about through the denial of complete racial equality will hamper the free exchange of these special talents.

Finally, these youths insist that no blue-print for a world order will work unless men and women want it to work and agree to make it work. The failure of the League of Nations is an illustration. But in order that people may agree, a common body of ideals, a common spiritual purpose, must be recognized, and conceded a higher authority than man-made laws. In the great religions of the world, they assert, is to be found such a common body of ideals. Materialism, teaching that there is no higher authority than man, has miserably failed. The new world must draw its strength from something greater.

Alaska

In an article in *The Catholic World*, Sister Mary St. Maureen portrays a romantic picture of Alaska, old and new:

To the average American, Alaska, "the land of the long night," is but another name for frigid isolation and unrivaled loneliness, a "desolate, storm-tortured waste," a country of unending winter, a sprawling, sea-bound protuberance on the map of North America. Furs, fish, seal, Eskimos, and Yukon gold would perhaps complete the average idea-content summing up this corner of the world where men come who "run from civilization until now they can go no farther." this 378-million-acre "icebox" purchased in 1867 from a disillusioned Russia for less than $20 per acre. To the average person, this vast world of the North is a stark, inscrutable land bearing "secrets in its bosom of which no white man dreams"; yet within the past four decades, men and women of other lands, lured by its very secretiveness and aloofness, have sought with warm and persevering interest to discover the pulsing heart beneath its forbidden exterior. They have been rewarded as a prodigal Nature usually rewards those who come to her "not seeing but believing." To them she has opened her treasure chest of strange new experience in beauty, that storehouse whence men may draw "good things . . . both new and old."

In the middle seventeenth century, parties of Cossack hunters in search of sable, otter and seal, crossed the barren Siberian wastes and came to the Pacific at Okotosk.

Bancroft estimates that 2,500 miles of territory were thus explored and occupied by these roving bands in search of fur and fossil ivory. Russian explorers under the intrepid Dane, Vitus Bering, later sailed through the strait that now bears his name and brought back to the court of Peter the Great the first definite knowledge of the great unexplored regions to the east, a new land of vast unexploited resources, whose bordering waters teemed with salmon and seal. Much of our earlier knowledge of Alaska is due to the enterprise of this monarch who but a few days before his death set

on foot a program for exploring the seas to the eastward from Kamchatka. Twenty years later, a small party surviving another expedition reported to Catherine II, Peter's peasant wife and successor, the assurance of sufficient profit from fishing and fur trade to warrant further efforts to foster commerce and colonization in the new land.

Russia saw to it that little was known, except to herself, of the great resources in this new land.

From 1779 on, the policy of that government was definitely directed toward the exclusion of other nations, so far as was possible, from participation in the affairs or advantages of Alaska. Long and bitter disputes between rival trading companies, unscrupulous methods of competition, and a brutal subsidizing of the natives marked the early years of Russian commercial enterprise, and the history of the territory until its acquisition by the United States in 1867 is the history of Muscovite domination. With the establishment of the Russian American Fur Company in 1780, a new force was introduced in the person of the dynamic and astute Alexander Baranoff, who guided Russia's commercial policy into more sane and profitable channels and held it there with a sure and steady grip for more than twenty-five years. It was largely the financial ignorance and mismanagement of Baranoff's successors that eventually gave rise to Russia's desire to rid herself of the white elephant which she then considered Alaska had become. The new possessor, however, saw this uprooting of Russian domination from the western hemisphere as a *coup* that would have been cheap at many times the price.

Now, after seventy-five years, Alaska, the eldest of her territorial children, has become America's "last frontier."

As a figure in economic life, Alaska's national wealth has baffled all attempts at accurate estimation; gold, it is said, has already yielded more than fifty times the purchase price paid to Russia, while the "total riches of ore, coal, petroleum, and hidden oil lakes" are roughly estimated at one hundred times that sum. Platinum recently discovered runs the figure still higher, and the fishing, sealing and mining industries place the ultimate evaluation at an almost incredible total. Yet the country's potential material wealth is virtually untouched despite the years of extractive activities. It has been realized, in addition, that Alaska possesses a greater and more significant worth. In recent months, new and repeated emphasis has been laid upon the strategic geographic importance of this land of the far north. In the present scheme of national defense Alaska's most vital role unquestionably will be in repelling possible invasion from the air; and all the facilities provided there to prevent enemy operations against the American mainland will be found to have an equally utilitarian value for peacetime commercial needs. They lie along the logical routes between east and west—the airlanes of a peaceful tomorrow.

Gone is the Alaska of the story-writers, the inscrutable "dead end" where anything could happen; gone the primitive isolation of pre-Yukon days; gone the immeasurable distances which defied the best efforts of dogtrain and "musher." The trails to the "rainbow's end," blazed by prospector and missioner alike, are no more; White Horse and Miles Canyon, those "roaring death-traps," and Chilcoot Pass, the almost impassable—names that in the gold rush days had struck terror to the hearts of even the most daring—have felt the encroachment of modern times and modern ways, and have bowed before the irresistible march of progress. Boat and dogsled have yielded place to the railroad, and the railroad to the airplane Well maintained highways now lace the territory in many directions, so that for all seasons of the year there is transportation to the remotest points of the Vicariate. In the graphic words of Rex Beach, who knew the old Alaska, and who succeeded in catching more of the real spirit of the country than perhaps most other writers, "every purple valley was a pathway to the unknown, and peril walked with those who followed them. But its distances have shrunk. Its trackless wilds can be crossed in a matter of minutes or hours, and its impassable mountain barriers have become a mere spectacle to look down upon."

Brazil

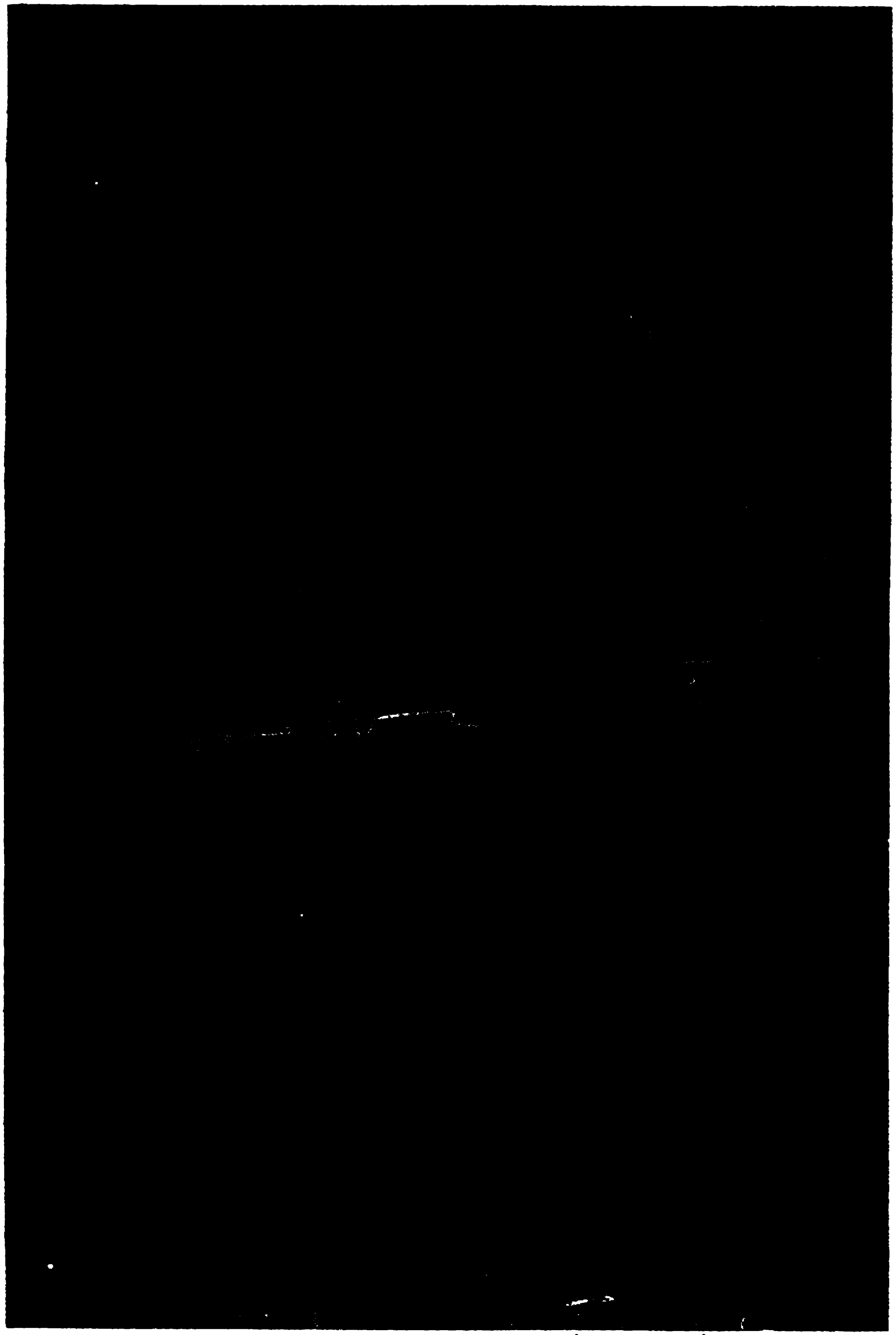
Jalmar Bowden asks in the *Worldover Press*. "After Vargas—What ?" and concludes that 'fast-paced Brazil is heading towards genuine democracy' :

The traveller who has not seen Brazil during the last 15 or 20 years could scarcely imagine what this enormous country is today. Great industrial cities have sprung up, and Brazil's own factories now provide at least a part of the country's needs in almost every line of consumer goods. Other South American countries are coming to depend more and more on Brazilian industries. Already paper and cotton goods are being shipped all over the continent, although the range of quality is not yet great.

Brazilian labor was for years notoriously poorly paid and subject to impossible conditions. When President Vargas took over more than a decade ago he realized that he had the makings of bloodshed and revolution on his hands. With vigor he undertook the task of developing new social legislation. From almost zero he developed enlightened legislation governing relations between labor and capital in such things as minimum wages, hours, vacations, sanitary conditions, old age and sickness insurance. Enforcement of these regulations naturally encountered some resistance, but progress is steadily being made, and no class seems more loyal to the government than labor.

Before Vargas, Brazil was a group of federated states. Now it is a unified nation, but certainly not in any totalitarian sense. Many are asking: "After Vargas, what ?" They hope that the way is being prepared for genuine democracy, and their hopes seem to be justified by the rapid progress which is being made in that direction. The native good sense and love of liberty which is so much a part of the Brazilian people give reason to hope that the goal will be achieved.

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NOTES

Man Made Famine in India

The New Statesman and Nation writes:

Rice, the staple food, is said to cost about 1sh. a pound in Bombay instead of the usual 1d. or 1½, while potatoes are quoted at 9d. a pound. These are prices which would break us; they mean death by hunger to the Indian masses. Not even in India will men meet starvation with the passive tactics of non-violent, non-resistance. Food riots are becoming common. At Nasik, in the Bombay Presidency, the other day, the angry crowds were so formidable that the armed police had to call in the troops. The policy seems to be to rely on ruthless severity, for a general order has been given to the troops to fire without warning. That is an impolitic cruelty which Mr. Amery will have to justify to Parliament, if it fulfils its duty.

Prof. Laski had, some time ago, analysed the membership list of the present Parliament and had shown how the present ruling class had vital stakes in the Empire. He had fully explained why the Parliament cannot fulfil its duty to the cause of democracy and freedom particularly with reference to India. Knowing this, there is no difficulty for Churchill, Amery and Linlithgow to rely on a policy of ruthless severity.

Bureaucracy has no Achievement

The bungling with the food situation by the bureaucrats of India and the worthlessness of their arguments have been ably summed up by the *New Statesman and Nation* in the following words:

The Bureaucracy, until the other day, did nothing, though the shortage has been growing for at least six months. It has a reputation for ability, because its members pass a stiff competitive examination. Like the rest of mankind it does very well what it believes in doing. It seldom fails in the policeman's job; it can preserve law and order. But when it comes to the welfare of the people, it has a stern and unbending faith in *laissez faire* which is in the realm of theory the perfect expression of the indifference of the rich to the welfare of the poor. There have been and are today among the small body of British Civil Servants in India individuals who toil devotedly. It is also true that railways and roads and in a few places water-power have prevented the frequent famines of the past. But this is no great achievement for the bureaucracy that has lived through a century and half among this half-starved, short-lived, impoverished and illiterate population. Sometimes it would have been better if it had done nothing. In one fit of activity it imposed landlords on these peasants to rack-rent them. In the present instance its plea was that it had no powers; food was a provincial question. That is rubbish. Six of the 11 provinces are under direct bureaucratic rule. The Viceroy can always over-rule a provincial governor and today he is armed with emergency powers, which authorize him to do what seems good to him. That his excuse was an evasion is evident from the fact that in the last week or two quite a lot has been done. Exports has been stopped; wheat is being imported and provinces with a surplus have been ordered to let it go to their neighbours.

Only a National Government Can Solve Food Problem

The New Statesman and Nation concludes:

Our first suggestion is that coercion be applied not to the starving masses, but to the profiteers. If shooting there must be, why not start on a few usurers? The first thing to do is obviously to commandeer all stocks of food and put them on the market at a reasonable price—even below cost price. The peasant remains to be dealt with, who hoards because he is afraid. If

in this island the people were suffering from lack of confidence, a wireless talk by Mr. Churchill would put heart into them. That will not work in India. Few of her villages boast even one wireless set and her Churchills are in prison. A wireless talk by Lord Linlithgow would chill even loyal hearts. The only way to deal with the food problem in the village would be to appeal to its public opinion as a unit. When an Indian village does make up its mind about anything it thinks and acts with astonishing unanimity. It would, if it really meant business, deal with a hoarder by outcasting him. But first of all, it has to be persuaded, re-assured, and taught how to act. Bullets will not do that. That official machine is useless, for the police—with good reason—are hated. No white man could do it, and still less could a tame Indian. Only an Indian National Government could do it.

But even these lashes fail to rouse the conscience of the rulers of India !

Link India not by Might, but by Spirit of Christ

Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, gave an address attended by Sikhs, Hindus, Moslems and Christians, Indian and British, in March last. It has been reported in the *Birmingham Post*. The Bishop said :

We are met today to pray for the welfare of India and for a closer union of mind and spirit between the British and Indian peoples. We need to replace enmity by friendliness, unhappy memories by the spirit of co-operation, suspicion and jealousy by confidence and trust on both sides.

The time seems to me to be ripe for a new attempt at mutual understanding. The whole world situation has changed since the black days of the Mutiny or even of Amritsar. India now takes its place among the countries of the world as a group of peoples with a distinctive civilization spreading through a vast population. By sheer weight of numbers combined with intellectual ability of her leaders, India must inevitably in the future play an important part in shaping the destiny of the world.

I personally am convinced that, as regards India, such a slogan as "What we have we hold" is out of date. The mental attitude that it suggests is that of our early 19th century nabobs. To regard Indians as subject races held down by force of arms is wholly incompatible with the outlook of a modern Christian democracy. When England and India meet on equal terms, with friendly respect on both sides, then a new era can begin.

Dr. Barnes reminded the Christians that

We need to remember that Christianity came from the East and that instinctively Mr. Gandhi appreciates certain of its fundamentals better than any European. Let us never forget that while we can show to India the Nordic virtues inherent in Christianity, India can in return give us a deeper understanding of the mystical content of our faith. We pray, then, today, for an enlarged sympathy, a new unity, a turning back from repeated mistakes to a true fellowship in the future. We must link India to our Empire not by might, nor by power, but by the spirit of Christ.

Dr. Barnes believes that a profound misunderstanding has been created between the East and the West by the slogan "East is East and West is West, the twain shall never meet." He said :

For this reason there has been in England profound misunderstanding of Mahatma Gandhi's fast. That he has survived his fast leaves us thankful : we feel that, in God's goodness, we have been spared an outcome that might have evoked great bitterness. I myself cannot believe that the fast was of the nature of blackmail. It may seem so to many among us because they do not understand Gandhi's religious outlook. Though the doctrine of atonement lies deeply embedded in Christianity; though we express our faith in the efficacy of prayer and fasting and in the spiritual power of suffering, our trust in force is so complete and our outlook so materialistic that Christian essentials, profoundly real to Mr. Gandhi, mean little to some among us. A Christian theologian may stress "the redemptive power of innocent suffering" but when our politicians see it used with simple trust, they cannot understand it; they suspect madness or profound duplicity.

Britain's Profits from India

Mr. Herbert Morrison delivered a speech at New Delhi Castle in which he made a survey of the British Empire. Commenting on this speech, *The New Statesman and Nation* writes, "In contemplating the dependent Empire as a whole he feels a flow of satisfaction which we wish we could share, but he is aware of some rather extensive patches of shadow." It then goes on to say :

Mr. Morrison then went on to India. The report we have before us cannot be verbatim. We know that he is concerned about its immeasurable, its sub-human poverty. Probably he recalled the fact which horrified even Lord Curzon, that in his day the yearly income of its inhabitants was £2 a head. It has risen considerably since then, but so have prices. Mr. Morrison's ministrial colleague, Tom Johnston, has again certified that over a long series of years, doubtless prosperous years, for every £12 which the British jute mills of Calcutta paid to their Indian workers they sent home in profits £100. Mr. Morrison might have dwelt at some length on the fact that for the best part of two centuries a steady annual tribute, measured by the surplus of India's exports over her imports, went from the dependency to this country. In the first three decades of this century it averaged £23 millions a year. That, over two centuries, year by year, helped to build up our capital equipment—steel mills, electric girds, workmen's dwellings. India, deprived of this surplus, did without these things. Her workers consequently inhabit pigsties, and her industrial development has only just begun.

The *New Statesman* has learnt by this time that a new rule has been added to the already voluminous D.I.R. the net effect of which will be a stoppage of whatever little industrial advancement there was going to be. The Jute Mills of Calcutta are under British management but they are not British Mills, 60% of their shareholders are Indians. In spite of this fact, they were sending home in profits £100 for every £12

paid to their Indian workers. This, however, is not complimentary to the Indian shareholders.

"*Greater Part of India in Revolt*"

The *New Statesman* adds,

> Mr. Morrison, conscious of the fact that the greater part of India is in revolt against us, went on to say that India can have self-government after the war for the asking. We hope, however, that he added that what all her parties without exception demand is not merely self-government, but independence. We hope, too, that he fully explained to his audience that the future self-determination of India depends on the Princes. These gorgeous autocrats, who rule without civil rights and appropriate for their privy purses what they please of their Budgets—one-third is a moderate share—are to nominate their delegations as they please to the Constituent Assembly. Their people will have no say. These Princes are our puppets, our tenants at will, whose thrones rest on our troops. They—or the Power behind them—will control a third of the votes in any Indian Constituent Assembly. The Princes have the whip hand, and not merely by their swollen vote of nominees. Their States interlock with the provinces like the pieces of a child's jig-saw puzzle. They cut across rivers, railways, electric girds. Without these States India could not live; with them she cannot be free.

The British Government's sympathy with the native states is always expressed in terms of their autocrat Princes. The aspirations and legitimate demands for freedom of the States' people are ignored because the needs of Imperialism are greater than their rights.

India, the Microbe's Paradise under British Rule

Mr. Beverley Nichols, the celebrated Journalist, telegraphing to the *Sunday Chronicle* from one of the principal hospitals in Peshawar, where he was a patient , said :

> In India—in the India of today—there is only one trained nurse to every 60,000 inhabitants; indeed, in some provinces, there is only one to every 100,000. India, compared to Britain, is the microbe's paradise—the continent abounds in diseases—diseases due to climate, to appalling sanitation, to centuries of ignorance and superstition. Her need, even on the strict basis of population, must always be greater than ours. Is it any wonder that the Indians' expectation of life at birth is barely half that of the average European ? And is it any wonder that these facts are seized upon by the agitator who cries, 'You British have ruled India for nearly 300 years—can you pretend to be satisfied with what you had done for her ?'
>
> Well, can we ? I think the completely honest answer to that question is a 'no.' We can be no more satisfied with what we have done for India than what we have done, say, for Wales. The cost of a day's war expended in the distressed areas of Wales would have saved endless misery and hardship. The cost of a day's war expended in India might initiate the beginning of a new era.

Microbes thriving in this country under the protection of the British, give a new touch to the picture of British trusteeship in India painted by the Tories.

Lift the Ban

> Holding that the book entitled "A Phase of the Indian Struggle" by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, an ex-Minister of Bengal, is not a 'prejudicial report,' the City Magistrate of Allahabad, sitting as Special Magistrate under the Special Criminal Court Ordinance, acquitted yesterday the Manager and another employee of a local bookshop of the charge under Rule 39 of the Defence of India Rules of being in possession of seven copies of the book in question to be a prejudicial report.
>
> During the course of his judgment, the Magistrate observed : "This book has been studied by me from cover to cover. It contains a series of letters addressed by the author to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and H. E. the Viceroy. Besides these letters, it contains a short criticism of the Cripps' Proposals and the record of a speech made by the author. There is nothing in any of the contents except the letter of resignation of the author from the Ministry which can even be remotely construed as passages which come within the definition of prejudicial report. Attention is thus fixed on his letter of resignation and in respect of this, I have before me a certified copy of the judgment of the Bombay High Court in respect of this very letter of resignation in which it is clearly held that there is nothing in the letter of resignation which can be construed as 'prejudicial report.' In the absence of any view contrary to this held by the Hon. Allahabad High Court, I am bound by the findings of the Bombay High Court and accordingly I hold that since the book—"A Phase of Indian Struggle" is not a prejudicial report no offence has been committed by the accused."

It would have been graceful for the Government of Bengal to lift the ban on the book instead of brooding over the potential danger of getting a rebuff from the Calcutta High Court as well.

Price of Cloth

The average annual consumption of cloth in India in normal times has been about 6500 to 7000 million yards. Of this demand, the Indian cotton mills supplied about 4000 million yards, the handloom about 2000 million yards and imports from U. K. and Japan about 700 million yards. Imports have stopped, but the mills and handlooms are still in a position to supply 6000 out of the normal requirement of 7000 million yards. The handloom supply could be largely expanded provided yarn was supplied to them, which, however, was difficult under the present conditions. According to the Bombay *Commerce*, about 30 per cent of the mill production had been earmarked for military consumption. Some quantity was being exported, but that was not much. After allowing for military consumption and exports, the Indian mills and handlooms are still in a position to meet more than half of the present-day civilian requirements. There is

therefore no earthly reason for 500 to 600 per cent rise in piecegoods prices. There has been some rise in cost of production, but that is not so steep as to warrant a 500 per cent rise in the prices of cloth. Mr. M. L. Shah, presiding over a meeting of the Bengal Mill-owners' Association, stated the other day that the quantity of cloth available for consumption in 1943 was expected to be at least double the quantity available in 1942. Sir Jeremy Raisman's drive against the cotton traders has brought about a decline in cotton prices, thus reducing a big item in production costs. But in spite of all these reassuring factors, price of piecegoods does not show any sign of a falling tendency.

It is now essentially necessary that cloth prices should be controlled by the fixation of a maximum price. Hoarding and greed for excess profits are the two real reasons for the present abnormal rise in the price of cloth.

Stalin's Charter

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Red Army Stalin outlined "the programme of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition" as follows:

1. Abolition of racial exclusiveness;
2. Equality of nations and integrity of their territories;
3. Liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights;
4. The right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes;
5. Economic aid to nations which have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare;
6. Restoration of democratic liberties; and
7. Destruction of the Hitlerite regime.

Atlantic Charter was signed by Mr. Churchill, but Article III of it, *viz.*, the right of self-determination of the enslaved nations, had not been accepted by him. Has Stalin been able to secure his concurrence to clause 4 of his Red Charter? The whole world in the meantime had witnessed how clause 1 of this charter had been violated in South Africa with the concurrence of Churchill and Amery.

Issue Not Trivial

The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial, discussed the ruling of the Federal Court of India declaring D.I.R. 26 invalid and the subsequent amending Ordinance. The newspaper writes:

> "There is one consoling feature in what is otherwise most unsatisfactory. That is that in India we have courts (in each of these cases presided over by an Englishman) which are independent, impartial and ready to condemn the action of the Executive when it conflicts with their interpretation of the law. But the Executive itself does not come out well.
>
> "It would be a mistake to say that the issue is trivial, that it only concerns 'technicality' or that it is a mere matter of words. All law is a matter of words. The argument is that the Indian Government had powers to detain these 9,000 prisoners, that it had only to put these powers into right words but that unfortunately through carelessness it chose wrong words; now it will choose right words and what does it matter? It matters because the Indian Government is not an arbitrary despotic body but acts under the control of the Secretary of State for India who is responsible to the British Parliament for his actions and subject to the laws which it passes. From top to bottom the rule of law is supposed to prevail. It is true that some of the fundamental peace-time laws which safeguard the liberties of the subject are suspended in war and emergency rules may supersede *Habeas Corpus* for the day. But that does not in the least diminish the obligation on the Indian Government to ensure that its acts are done according to the forms of law that exist. Most of all does such obligation bind a Government which is at odds with a large part of those whom it governs and is therefore liable to be suspected by them, even if unjustly, of the worst motives when it is found in error"

Guardian's comment reminds one of what Lord Moira said about British justice. He said, "In the infancy of the British administration in this country, it was perhaps a matter of necessity to confine our legislation to the primary principle of justice, not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of a refined humanity, but that coarse though useful virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises, whose guide is the square and the rule, and whose support is the gallows." Lord Linlithgow has done little beyond proving that India has not passed the stage of infancy even after two centuries of "beneficial" rule by the British.

Economic Aggression by Britain

More than three centuries ago, Britain started her economic aggression throughout the world which is going unabated down to this day. Countries which grew wiser, have shaken off this new type of yoke but India and Africa still remain its victim. Mr. Sumner Welles, addressing the Toledo Forum of Peace in Ohio, revealed the true character of British economic policy in the following words:

> It was important to distinguish between economic aggression actuated by "ignorant selfishness" and economic aggression actuated by "the evil ambition of international domination." "We and Britain and nearly every other country have been guilty of an economic [illegible]ion of a selfish and unlightened kind. But the [illegible] of such policies have been realised and their [illegible] been reversed in the direction of economic co-

operation. The whole history of the British Empire's preferences is a history of economic aggression in the sense in which I am now using the term.

Industrial expansion of the East, particularly that of India, was never looked upon with favour by the British commercial interests who share Britain's economic policy. In spite of this, Indian industries did some amount of spade-work during the last war. During the present war, the British vested interests seem to have become more alert and Indian industrial advancement this time has been checked from the very beginning. Government's step-motherly treatment to Indian national industries is too well-known to recapitulate. Seth Walchand Hirachand and Sir M. Visvesvaraya's statement still remain fresh in the public memory.

In spite of Governmental apathy and opposition, Indian industry was thriving to some extent. The Defence of India Rule 94 recently promulgated by the Viceroy, will now put an end to whatever little expansion that was being made. Licenses will now be required for the floatation of new industries and the expansion of the old ones. Discrimination between "(India) Ltd." Companies and the purely Indian ones may now become easier and more effective. Mr. Sumner Welles was perfectly right when he said that the whole history of the British Empire's preferences was a history of economic aggression actuated by the evil ambition of international domination. Mr. Phillips had had an opportunity to tell his countrymen that no change in the British economic policy was yet perceptible.

Australian Industrial Policy

It may not be out of place here to have a glimpse into the industrial policy pursued by Australia during the present war. The Australian Tariff Board, immediately after the war, recommended that the import difficulties and export possibilities brought about by the war might be expected to lead to the starting of new and expansion of existing industries highly desirable. Prevalent uncertainty as to tariff protection after the war was a deterrent in both cases. To prevent setting up of industries which should not be started, and to remove existing barriers to expansion, the report suggested that the Tariff Board should examine proposed new industries and classify them as (*a*) desirable for permanent establishment, which should be assured for protection after the war; (*b*) undesirable for permanent establishment but desirable to meet temporary exigencies, of whom Government might consider giving reasonable assistance in liquidation after the war if justified; (*c*) industries not coming within (*a*) or (*b*) should receive no assistance.

To give a concrete example, during the 5 months ended November 1940, Australian Government spent £47,260,000 of loan moneys, in addition to £42,230,000 provided out of revenue for industrial expansion of the country. The latter was only some £2,600,000 ahead of the comparable amount for the previous year, but the expenditure of loan moneys showed an increase of nearly £38,000,000. The distribution of these large amounts had given a pronounced stimulus to secondary industries and through them to trade in general as well as to other sections of commercial activities, including transport and entertainment. As a result employment was at an exceedingly high level and large numbers of wage-earners were receiving substantial sums for overtime in top wages at the higher rates in force in most classes of industry. During the last two years their prosperity has further increased.

But what about India ? Industry and trade have been fettered in thousand and odd ways under the D.I.R. Railway transport has been virtually denied to make way for military traffic and motor lorries have been knocked off the roads for shortage of petrol. To crown them all, D.I.R. 94 has now made its appearance.

A Move in the Right Direction

The amount of Excess Profits Tax has been further raised, but the interests of the consumers would have been better served if it were raised to 100%. Every one of the industries is now making very good normal profits. The greedier of them have not been content with their normal profits, and have continually raised the prices of their commodities higher and higher in order to snatch out a share of the Excess Profits. In their eagerness to earn revenue through an easy source the Government of India have so far encouraged this dangerous practice and have placed the 400 million consumers of the country at the mercy of a handful of greedy merchants. Matters have now come to such a pass, that the Linlithgow Government have begun to feel shy. The tax has been raised and Sir Jeremy Raisman has warned that it would be collected. This measure, however, has not brought about any decline in the price-level. Raising of the E.P.T. to 100% together with the fixation of maximum prices on the basis of production costs, would have relieved the consumers.

Sir Hasan's Formula for Pakistan

At a joint meeting of the East India Association and the Royal Central Asian Society held in London, Sir Hasan Suhrawardy read a paper entitled "The Indian Crisis: Muslim Viewpoints.". This paper has been published in the *Asiatic Review*, January 1943 and the writer has been designated as Professor Sir Hasan Suhrawardy. How and when Sir Hasan became a Professor we do not presume to know. This much only is public knowledge that in the Anderson Government's quest for a Muslim Vice-Chancellor for the Calcutta University, Sir Hasan, then Lt.-Col. was picked up from the E. B. R. and installed in that *gaddi*. He was a high official in the Railway Medical Department and is at present an Adviser to the Secretary of State for India drawing a fat salary from the Government. He had no link with the public life of the country, either in general or Muslim in particular.

There is nothing new in his paper besides the barren and oft-repeated arguments of Mr. Jinnah. For example, he says:

> "The Congress organisation long ago ceased to be national. It is dominated by a highly educated caste Hindu oligarchy, many of whom are militant, and others are Fascist totalitarians who want to grasp governing power in their own hands. These tendencies were clearly demonstrated when after April 1, 1937, for the best part of two and a half years, seven of the eleven provinces of British India were under Congress rule as autonomous Provinces."

Sir Hasan then went on to describe in the usual manner that India was already divided, Pakistan meant only a *de jure* recognition for a *de facto* division; that the Muslims were mortally afraid of the Congress and the Hindus; that the Pakistan meant autonomous Muslim States enjoying Dominion Status within the British Empire; that the Congress had no influence over the Muslims and finally put forward a special claim on the British Government, for the acceptance of the principle of separate Muslim States, as having replaced the Muslim Empire of India.

Mr. St. John Philby was the only person present in the meeting who appeared to have had some knowledge of the Indian situation. He said:

> "The Pakistan proposal was new, it would not have arisen if India had been made independent twenty years ago. . . Discovery of Pakistan was not yet ten years old. . . Whether India was to have independence or not was settled, but *let them not be tempted to say that the inability of the Hindus and Muslims to agree on the Pakistan issue absolved the British from the obligation to keep the promise to give independence to India.*" (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

He also said:

> "They had to be very careful indeed in discussing this Indian question to be fair all round and realise that Congress had played a greater part and a more successful part in bringing about the situation in which the British Government had come forward with an offer of independence to India than any other party whatsoever. In its demand for independence Congress had the united sympathy of all the other parties, and it was very important to realise that all the political parties and all bodies or individuals who could be taken as representing Indian political opinion had been demanding independence for India. Therefore they should be very careful not to say too much against Congress. . . . The Congress leaders were no longer in a position to represent their case for the world's judgment, they were in prison, and Mr. Churchill had said what His Majesty's Government thought about Congress. What he said was that it was a political party centring round a machine supported by manufacturing and financial interests. Was that a very grave condemnation of any political party? Would not the same definition fit the Conservative Party, of which Mr. Churchill was the leader, or any other of the great political parties?"

Mr. Jinnah's Statement

An Associated Press message from Bombay, dated the 28th May, states that Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has just made a statement on the *communique* issued by the Government of India with reference to Mr. Gandhi's letter to Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah says that this letter of Mr. Gandhi can only be considered as a move to embroil the Muslim League to come into clash with the British Government. "There is no change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi and no genuine desire to meet the suggestions made by me at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi. Though I have always been glad to meet Mr. Gandhi or other Hindu leaders, yet, merely expressing the desire to meet me is not the sort of letter I have suggested. I have received a communication from the Secretary to the Government of India that Mr. Gandhi's letter merely expresses the wish to meet me, and this letter, the Government have decided, cannot be forwarded to me. There is no real evidence of any change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Hindu leaders."

Mr. Jinnah says that his speech was directed to meet an appeal that was made to him that the Muslim League should do something towards the solution of the deadlock, and his suggestion of the kind of letter Mr. Gandhi should write to him was in response to this appeal, although he could see no change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Hindu leadership, as the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy showed.

Nevertheless some of the responsible Hindu leaders pressed upon him that Mr. Gandhi had now realized that he had made a mistake and that he was prepared to change his attitude and was willing to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan and that the British Government was preventing a Hindu-Muslim settlement by refusing people of standing and position to establish contact with him.

"I therefore suggested," says Mr. Jinnah, "that if Mr. Gandhi were to write me a letter, indicating that

he is prepared to retrace his steps and is even now willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan, we will be willing to bury the past. I still believe that the Government would not dare to stop such a letter from Mr. Gandhi."

That Gandhiji made a sincere and straightforward attempt at a settlement of the Hindu-Mahomedan problem will be acknowledged by all unprejudiced minds. Mr. Jinnah's statement makes it clear, that no reliance can be placed on his words, as he changes his position with such frequency and quickness. Mr. Jinnah and his supporters are completely mistaken if they think that by such dubious tactics they would be able to break the opposition to the project of Pakistan. S. K. L.

New Appointments to the Viceroy's Executive Council

A *communique* issued from New Delhi on the 2nd May states :

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Muhammad Azizul Haque, C.I.E., Dr. N. B. Khare, M.L.A., and Sir Asoke Kumar Roy, Advocate-General, Bengal, to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

PORTFOLIOS

The following appointments to portfolios have been made by the Governor-General :

To be Member for Supply.—The Hon. Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I., at present a representative of India at the War Cabinet.

To be Commerce Member.—Sir Muhammad Azizul Haque, C.I.E., at present High Commissioner for India in London.

To be Member-in-charge of Information and Broadcasting.—The Hon. Sir Sultan Ahmed.

To be Law Member in succession to the Hon. Sir Sultan Ahmed.—Sir Asoke Kumar Roy.

To be Member-in-charge of the Department of Indians Overseas.—Dr. N. B. Khare.

It is extraordinary that the British Government should take such a long time to fill up the vacancies caused by the resignation of Mr. Aney, Sir Homi Mody and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker as a protest against the policy pursued by the Government with reference to the present political *impasse*. S. K. L.

Hemlata Sarkar

It is with deep regret that we record the passing away in Calcutta on the 12th May last of Mrs. Hemlata Sarkar at the age of 75. Mrs. Sarkar was the eldest daughter of the late Pandit Sivnath Sastri and widow of the late Dr. Bipin Behari Sarkar of Kidderpore. She made her mark as a talented authoress, an impressive speaker, and an earnest social worker. Her works, *Bharatbarsher Itihas*, and *Nepale Banganari*, as also her biography of her distinguished father, brought her well-merited recognition as a writer of graceful, lucid and concise Bengali. The well-known Maharani Girls' School, at Darjeeling, established 35 years ago, owed its inception to her enthusiasm for the education of women. She was its first Secretary and became subsequently its Lady Principal. She was also Secretary of the Darjeeling Brahma Samaj and she often preached from the pulpits of the Brahma Samaj in Darjeeling and Calcutta. Her varied public activities carried on for a long span of years won her the sincerest esteem of people among whom she lived and worked. She leaves behind her two sons and three daughters, all married and well-placed in life.

S. K. L.

Mr. Bernard Shaw Demands Gandhiji's Release

The Hindu now publishes a fuller version of Bernard Shaw's indictment of the British Government in imprisoning Gandhiji. He writes :

"You may quote me as declaring that the imprisonment of Gandhi is the stupidest blunder the Government has let itself to be landed in by its right owing to the incurable diehards * * * * The King should release Gandhi unconditionally as an act of grace, unconnected with the policy, and apologise to him for the mental defectiveness of his Cabinet. That would do what is possible to save the Indian situation."

S. K. L.

The Food Muddle

The food situation in the Province shows no sign of improvement. The inter-district and inter-provincial controls have at last been removed but the mischief had already been done. We had repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government to the danger of such control which would help the speculators to divide the market among themselves. A district market is easier to control than a provincial one.

The de-control policy must now be associated with a declaration of fixed maximum price to expect any result. We fully agree with the Publicity Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, Sj. Janananjan Neogy, when he says, "The withdrawal of 'Control' on an inter-related regional basis could have been helpful in January last. It is too late now. All stocks in these areas have already been either booked or earmarked. Abolition of 'control policy' unpursued by a 'fixed price' policy cannot be at all effective on market rates."

The average annual yield of rice in Bengal is, according to Government figures, about 260

or 270 million maunds. Of this quantity, it can be reasonably estimated that not more than 50 million maunds come to the open market, the rest being retained by the cultivators for their annual consumption or for purely local village transactions. 50 million maunds come to the market for the consumption of the non-agricultural population. This quantity is controlled by two classes mainly, the well-to-do ryot who holds his surplus for sale and the merchant, the share of the former being much larger than the latter. When a Government split up the provincial market into 27 isolated units, independent of each other, it was easy for the speculative merchants, in command of large amounts of the inflated money, to control the market.

The normal price of rice should have been somewhere between Rs. 12 and 15, taking into consideration the increased employment created by the war. Any price in excess of that is manipulated and must at all costs be checked. The merchants who have by this time made millions will have no reason to grumble, if the price of rice is fixed at Rs. 15/- and a ruthless drive is launched against all speculators and hoarders. Any price over Rs. 15/- is purely speculative and artificial. It will come down as soon as the Government translate their warnings against hoarders into action. The consumer hoarders can be left out because such hoarding does not disturb the market except for a short period, that quantity of demand being off the market. All attention of the Government ought to be directed against hoarding for profit.

The new Ministry have been repeatedly telling the people that there is sufficient rice in the Province, but their actions are being construed to convey the opposite meaning. The reduction of working hours by half in the controlled shops on a poor plea together with a reduction in supply to every individual by half, may reasonably be interpreted as the Government's inability to supply more than one-fourth of what they had so long been supplying to the handful of controlled shops. The Chambers of Commerce have at the same time, drastically cut down their supply to the industry. What the Huq Government told the people in so many words, the present ministry is proving by their action. If Mr. Suhrawardy is really sincere to make the people believe his figures for sufficiency, he must take these criticisms into consideration and keep up the supply to the controlled shops and the industry intact.

Mr. Suhrawardy will render a real service to his country if he can muster courage to face the really powerful hoarders and break the evil combination of Hindu-Muslim-Christian *cum* Indian-European vested interests backed by a set of corrupt Government Officials.

"Can England Defend Herself Single-handed?"

Louis Fischer was present in a party given by Lord Linlithgow to celebrate America's Independence from the British Empire. His reply to the stock arguments against India's independence will be found illuminating. He said in his San Francisco speech:

> On July 4 while I was in India the British Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, gave a party in his great marble palace in New Delhi to celebrate America's independence from the British Empire. (Laughter). At that party I heard all the arguments against India's independence from the British Empire. A British General who had been in Burma said to me, "But could a free India after the war defend itself?" I said to him, "Could England?" What country nowadays can defend itself single-handedly? Not England, not France, not Italy, probably not the United States and Russia. If only those countries which can defend themselves are to be independent after this war then there will be very few independent States, and the General's question only means that after this war there will have to be an international organisation which will defend all countries against all aggressors. At the same party I was asked to sit down next to Lady Linlithgow, a handsome, regal lady, the wife of the Viceroy. She tried to talk to me about the weather which is a ubiquitous subject of conversation in India, it being 110 degrees usually from morning until late in the afternoon, but I soon got her off on to the subject of politics and India's independence, and she said, "But are these people capable of ruling themselves?" Sometimes I'm blunt in conversation. I said, "Lady Linlithgow, you know that's a very queer question to ask on a night like this. That's exactly what the British Tories said about the thirteen colonies in 1776."
>
> The question is not whether India is ripe for freedom. The question is whether we are ripe for Indian freedom. If there were a new England emergency out of this war, if there were a new England to supplant the old England of Chamberlain and Churchill, it would not wish to hold India. That is really the issue.

During the last War, as also during the present one, particularly after the victory of Tunisia, it has been demonstrated that Indian troops are in no way inferior to any other fighting race in the world, provided they are given the right opportunity. Her potential resources are so great, in men and wealth, that she can very reasonably aspire to command an adequate army, navy and air force. A Free India can rank as the third country in the world who might claim to defend herself independently after this war.

" India was Never as Anti-British as It is To-day "—Linlithgow

Louis Fischer, the eminent American Journalist, delivered a speech on the failure of British statesmanship in India before a packed house at Sanfransisco in February last. Extracts from his speech are available now. It has appeared in *The Hindu*. Louis Fischer had spent a lot of time in India and came into close contact with Mahatma Gandhi. He fully utilised this opportunity of understanding the mind of nationalist India. He had also occasions to study General Wavell and Lord Linlithgow. The following extracts from his speech will throw a flood of light on the inner side of the Indian problem. He said :

The key problem in India is rarely mentioned because its solution cannot even be undertaken until India is free. The key problem in India is economic. The population of India is increasing five million each year. When I came back from India I spoke to Pearl Buck who was, as you know, a missionary and a missionary's daughter in China, and also knows India well. She said to me, in words which she subsequently used in a *New York Times* magazine article : "The Chinese peasant lives infinitely better than the Indian peasant." You can imagine how poorly the Indian peasant lives. I went into Indian villages; I asked the peasants how they felt about the war. They never answered. They said : "We're hungry." I asked about their attitude toward the British. They never gave a direct answer. They said : "We're hungry." India's politics are made in the stomach. This is the report of every person who goes to India. The last statement I have seen along the line was made by Sonia Tomara, who is the *Herald Tribune's* experienced correspondent in India and she finished a recent article in that paper, saying : "The more one stays here (in India) the more one is oppressed by the surrounding air of discontent, misery and frustration." As we know from our own experiences, if something goes wrong, we blame the Government and in India to an increasing extent, the Indian people blame British rule for their privation and their physical misery—so much so that the British Viceroy of India himself, Lord Linlithgow, said to me : "India was never as anti-British as it is to-day."

" Do not Drive all Asia into Axis Arms "—Chiang

Louis Fischer, in the same speech, revealed that Marshall Chiang Kai-shek had warned Churchill and Roosevelt that the attempt to suppress the Indian freedom movement in the midst of the war may drive all of Asia into the arms of the Axis. Fischer said :

All this did not have to be. Gandhi, when I saw him in June and subsequently, was in a conciliatory mood. He had publicly whittled down his demands. He was not asking for what the British could not give. There did not have to be a civil disobedience movement. There did not have to be all the killings (the accusation by the British levelled against Gandhi that he has provoked violence sounds fantastic in the mouth of a regime which is based on violence). The killings did not have to take place, nor did the fast have to take place. Gandhi begged twice this summer to see the Viceroy, but the Viceroy refused. Gandhi wanted a conciliatory agreement—the Viceroy wouldn't have it. The reason is simple; Winston Churchill said when he was fifty-five, and he hasn't changed since then : "The truth is that Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed." And this is Churchill's first opportunity in high office to grapple with Gandhi. The British have definitely thrown a challenge to the Indian national movement. The British have definitely decided to try to break Gandhi, to try to break the Indian movement for freedom. Chiang Kai-shek has warned Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt that this attempt to suppress a great movement for freedom in the midst of a great war for freedom, may drive all of Asia into the arms of the Axis.

Gandhiji Not Pro-Japanese

Fischer explained the real cause of spreading a canard about Gandhiji's pro-Jap mentality. In the following words, he has proved that this charge is entirely false :

This summer I spent a week with Gandhi, I walked with him every morning from a quarter to six to a quarter after six. I took a solid hour's interview with him every afternoon and had lunch and dinner with him each day. I'd gone down expecting to encounter an austere, forbidding cold saint. Actually he's very warm and human, with a delicate sense of humour and plays with the kiddies, but he has one extremely embarrassing characteristic—he says everything he thinks. We each of us carry a blue pencil in our minds. We exercise an internal censorship. But among the very few things that Gandhi carries on his person you will find no blue pencil. I was walking with him across the fields one day and asked him how he had come to introduce his weekly day of silence—on Monday, as you know he doesn't speak—which might be recommended to others. He explained that it happened years ago. He said : "I used to travel morning, noon and night in hot trains, and on open bullock carts through hot India, and thousands of people would come to me to ask questions, make pleas and beg that I pray with them and I used to get tired; so I introduced the weekly day of silence. Since then I have clothed this weekly day of silence in all kinds of moral virtues and given it a philosophical content, but actually it was only because I wanted to take a day off." Now, he didn't have to put it that way, but Gandhi has a devotion to the truth and an uninhibited tongue which makes him tell the whole story; it gets him into all kinds of difficulties.

He said to me, for instance, and he has said subsequently in writing : "I would go to Japan and sign a treaty of peace with the Japanese." Now he immediately added in the conversation to me, "I know the British will never let me go to Japan and I know that if I ever got to Japan the Japanese wouldn't sign a treaty of peace with me." Then why talk about it ? Because the idea had occurred to him and for Gandhi the fact that an idea isn't practicable doesn't mean that he mustn't talk about it. However, this statement has enabled persons, who for very ulterior motives wish to smear Gandhi, to say that Gandhi is pro-Japanese. Now there are many Americans and many English whose word as to who is pro-Japanese I would not accept, because many of those Americans and Englishmen were themselves pro-Japanese

and appeased the Japanese and sent Japan the scrap and oil which our boys are now getting back in uglier form. Chiang Kai-shek knows that Gandhi is anti-Japanese, pro-Chinese and Anti-Axis, and Gandhi has proved it. But it's simply Gandhi's manner of speech that exposes him to these false charges.

Stalin Shoots His Rivals, Churchill Digests His

The real inner meaning of the Cripps mission remains a mystery even to this day. Louis Fischer, in his Sanfransisco speech, has thrown some more light on it and has shewn how Churchill killed two birds at one stroke. The following extract will speak for itself.

Gandhi did the same thing in the current political crisis. Against the background of India's eternal misery and the mounting resentment and bitterness there occurred the British military reverses in the Far East—Hong Kong, Malay, Singapore and Burma—British prestige in Asia dropped to zero. There was panic in India. The Indians were afraid that the British would run from India as they had so recently from Burma. There was no confidence among Indians in England's ability to defend India. The British Government in London realized that an emergency had arisen in India, but it was only after a very healthy prod from President Roosevelt that the British War Cabinet rushed one of its members, Sir Stafford Cripps, out to India to repair the damage. Churchill needed Cripps popular support and took him into the War Cabinet; and Cripps was dismissed from that Cabinet three days after Rommel's defeat in Egypt and after we landed in North Africa; in that perspective it becomes clear that Cripps' mission to India was only part of the destruction of Cripps. Stalin shoots his rivals and Churchill digests his. Cripps tried to succeed, but he failed because certain reactionary British imperialists did not want him to succeed—did not want him to become a greater figure in England than he was, but whatever the causes of Cripps failure, the fact is that he failed to repair the damage. The damage, therefore, grew worse. It was as an intuitive spontaneous reaction to that deterioration of the Indian situation that Gandhi said, "I'm sick of this, the British must go." Then he thought; friends talked to him, and he said, "That was wrong. I have no right to say that," Gandhi is one of the few big men in the world who is big enough to admit his errors in public. And Gandhi said, "I cannot ask the British to quit India during the war. That would mean making a present of India to the Axis." Gandhi has said from that day to this "The British and Americans can stay in India. They can reinforce their armed services in India. They can use India as a base for military operations against the Axis Powers." Neither Gandhi nor any other Indian leader is asking the British to get out of India during the war. Neither Gandhi nor any Indian leader expects complete independence during the war. All that Gandhi or the Indian leaders are asking for is an Indian National Government which Gandhi said to me in so many words, which were subsequently published, "an Indian National Government which would not interfere with military operations, but which would immediately sign a treaty of alliance with the United Nations to help us win the war." The Indian leaders contend that it is only by giving India some such concession, some such instalment during the war on complete independence after the war, it is only in this way that you can arouse the Indian people to support the war for freedom.

Louis Fischer has made it clear to the American people that neither Gandhiji nor the Congress had demanded complete Independence *during the war*. Gandhiji never asked the British to get out of India *during the war*. Gandhiji and the Congress had demanded only a National Government in India for the duration of the war and a declaration that India would get her freedom within a specified time after the war.

"No Sir"—Churchill

The two words, "No Sir," spoken by Churchill in the British Parliament have decided the fate of India. Louis Fischer heard these two words when they were uttered, realised the full meaning of the words and has now told the whole world all about it. He said :

I sat in the gallery of the House of Commons in September, 1941, when Churchill, after his rendezvous with President Roosevelt in the Atlantic where they drew up the Atlantic Charter, came to the House of Commons. A member of Parliament arose and said, "Mr. Prime Minister, does Article III of the Atlantic Charter. (which gives every country the right to choose its own form of Government) does the Atlantic Charter apply to India ?" Churchill stood up and said, "No sir," and sat down. Nothing which Smuts or Halifax or Herbert Morrison or Cripps or any British spokesman has said since that day at all mitigates or diminishes the validity of those two words, "No sir." Indeed, Churchill himself reinforced them on November 10, when speaking in London, he said, "England will hold her own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire." And by calling the British Empire a British Commonwealth you don't change its spots. Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia are free dominions, but India is an oppressed and unhappy colony. If we are to use India as a base for the defeat of Japan, we will have a sorry time if there is turmoil and bitterness and discontent among the hundreds of millions.

Death of Mr. Allah Buksh

The tragic news of the sudden death of Mr. Muhammad Umar Allah Buksh, ex-Premier of Sind, at the hands of assassins, has been received all over the country with feelings of the profoundest sorrow. According to statements appearing in the press, on the morning of Friday, the 14th May last, somebody called on Mr. Allah Buksh at his residence in Shikarpur, with the request to inspect a garden site in the neighbourhood. Mr. Allah Buksh proceeded to the spot in a tonga with two companions, and when he was returning from the inspection, at about 9 A.M., he was shot dead by some unknown assailants. He was immediately

carried to the Civil Hospital but he succumbed to the wound before any medical assistance could be rendered. Prior to the inauguration of Sind as a separate province, Mr. Allah Buksh was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. When Sind was separated from the Presidency of Bombay, he became a member of the temporary Advisory Council set up in 1936. Subsequently he became a member of the Sind Legislative Assembly when it was constituted. He held the office of Chief-Minister twice. As a result of his letter to the Viceroy relinquishing the titles of Khan Bahadur and O.B.E. as a protest against the policy of the British Government "to continue their Imperialist hold on India and persist in keeping her under subjection, use political and communal differences for propaganda purposes and crush the national forces to serve their own Imperialistic aims and intentions," he was dismissed from his office of Chief Minister in October, 1942. This was regarded as quite unconstitutional and exposed the utter hollowness of the plea that the provinces in India enjoyed provincial autonomy under the present constitution. Mr. Allah Buksh was the President of the First Conference of independent Mahomedans held in April, 1940, at Delhi, in opposition to the separatist policy of the Muslim League. He was also associated with the work of the Leaders' Conference, held under the presidentship of the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, which urged that the British Government should release Gandhiji and thereby pave the way to the settlement of the Indian problem. He was a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and he worked wholeheartedly with a view to paving the way for the establishment of communal harmony and peace. It is a matter of the deepest regret that the life of such a noble and valuable worker for the uplift of the country should be cut short so prematurely at the age of 42. We offer our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family of the deceased.

S. K. L.

Serious Menace to Peace and Life in Sind

Mr. Allah Buksh was the third Member of the Legislative Assembly in Sind to be shot in recent years. It was extremely unfortunate that though a police party happened to be near the scene of the tragedy, the assailants escaped and up to the time of writing nothing had been heard of the results of the enquiry set up for the purpose of tracing the culprits. Mr. H. A. Alavi writing to the press from Karachi, in this connection says:

> He is the third member of the Sindh Assembly to have been murdered. Murderers of Mr. Pamnal, M.L.A. and Mr. Sitaldas, M.L.A. have gone scotfree. So have the murderers of Sindh's greatest poet-singer, Bhai Kanwal and of many other citizens besides. It is significant that our dear departed leader and friend was shot at and killed a few steps away from the police chowkey and the desperadoes all of whom were on foot got away in broad daylight. Only a fortnight ago, one notorious character willing to be hired for any desperate work openly threatened to kill a well-known man in public life of the province. This was brought to the notice of a District Superintendent of Police by a responsible person and yet nothing has been done to take any action against this *goonda* who has previous criminal convictions to his credit.

This is an extremely perilous situation. It is a matter of very great regret that those responsible for the administration of the Province, headed by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, should so far have failed to deal in a proper manner with this continued menace to peace and life in Sind.

S. K. L.

Anti-Indian Legislation in South Africa

According to the provisions of the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill, as passed by the South African Union Legislature, Indians can neither acquire any property nor occupy any premises (which includes any room or apartment in any building) in the areas reserved for Europeans. A company of which Asiatics are promoters cannot hold any shares or debentures or property in European areas. Indians cannot carry on any business or trade in such areas. "Asiatic" includes for the purposes of the measure an interest which is held on behalf of or for the benefit of an Asiatic. The measure thus precludes an Indian carrying on any business or trade through a European in such areas. These provisions are in contravention of the well-known agreement called the Cape Town Agreement which came into effect in 1927. The agreement lays down in a quite unequivocal manner, that such of the Indians as have adopted the European mode of life can live in European areas and the Union Government of South Africa and the Government of India were parties to it. The number of such Indians living in European areas is so infinitesimally small, that even the Broome Enquiry set up to ascertain the actual nature of Indian penetration of European areas has been constrained to characterise it as "a trickle." The provisions of the measure are humiliating in the extreme to Indians and are besides in

contravention of previous assurances and agreements. It has been adopted in the face of the strenuous opposition of Indians in South Africa and in this country as also against the wishes of the Government of India. The Indians in South Africa are naturally anxious in this circumstance to continue the agitation against the measure until it is revoked. They call upon their compatriots in this country to render all possible support and help to them in the matter. We commend to the notice of the Government of India the example of a previous Viceroy and Government of India who in a more acute situation in South Africa in 1913 did not hesitate to take a firmer and more courageous stand than the former have chosen to take now. The pronouncement then made on the policy of the Government of India in such a matter by the then Viceroy bears repetition. In the course of a public address Lord Hardinge said :

"Recently our compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they considered invidious and unjust. This is an opinion which we, who watch their struggles from far, cannot but share. They violated, as they intended to violate, those laws with full knowledge of the penalties involved and ready with all courage and patience to endure these penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India but also of those like myself, who, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country. But the most recent developments have taken a very serious turn and we have seen the widest publicity given to allegations that this movement of passive resistance has been dealt with by measures which would not for a moment be tolerated in any country that calls itself civilized.

"These allegations have been met by a categorical denial from the responsible Government of South Africa, though even their denial contains admissions that do not seem to me to indicate that the Union Government have exercised very wise discretion in some of the steps which they have adopted. That is the position at this moment. And I do feel that if South Africans desire to justify this in the eyes of India and the whole world, only one course is open to them, and that is to appoint a strong impartial committee upon which Indian interests shall be fully represented, to conduct a thorough and searching enquiry into the truth of these allegations and as the note that has appeared in this morning's paper will show you, I have no hesitation to press that view upon the Secretary of State."

The Government of India should at this juncture take a bold stand and act in a way which would uphold the dignity and honour of this country and its Government. May it be hoped that the Hon. Dr. Khare, the new Member of the Viceroy's Council in charge of the Department of the Indians Overseas, will take up the question and induce the Government of India to move in the matter. Any solution of the problem, short of providing the same facilities for Indians to visit, emigrate to and trade and settle in all parts of the British Empire as white men enjoy in India, cannot be recognised as just, satisfactory and lasting.

S. K. L.

U. K. K. C.'s Activities and their Repercussion on India

A summary of the very comprehensive activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, in respect of mobilisation of India's varied resources, with a view to their utilisation for the benefit of a number of foreign countries, engaged in the war against the Axis Powers, as supplied by a *Reuter* message from London, dated the 26th May, throws a flood of light on the causes of the very abnormal rise in prices of India's industrial, agricultural and mining products and of the present unexampled scarcity of even the barest requirements of the Indian people in matters of food and clothing as also on various complicated problems arising out of these. The summary runs thus :

Mobilisation of India's industries, agriculture and mining resources to meet the vast supply needs of Russia and the Middle East countries was described by Sir Francis Joseph, Chairman of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, at a luncheon given by the Corporation in honour of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representative in the War Cabinet, and to congratulate him on his new post.

Sir Francis, recalling that the Corporation began to operate in India in June, 1940, and it was necessary to get a great variety of goods quickly to the Near and Middle East, said that India was now one of the major supply bases of the United Nations.

With the help of the Government of India, the Corporation had lost no time in drawing on this source for the supplies urgently required. Prompt shipment of Indian wheat had spared Persia the rigours of famine in the spring and early summer of 1941.

Persia had received from India foodstuffs such as sugar and tea, and manufactures such as cotton piece-goods. Shipments ranged in bulk from several thousand ton lots of cement to small parcels of pharmaceuticals.

Syria and Palestine were the other Middle East countries which have drawn on India for supplies. Turkey received iron and steel, cotton yarns, hessian cloth, jute bags, rope and hides.

Soon after the Corporation began to work in India, the Germans invaded Russia. It was clear that part of Russia's needs could be met from India. Orders were at once placed through the usual trade channels for a long list of commodities, all for prompt delivery and in very large quantities. The list covered such articles as hessian, gunny sacks, jute rope, cotton, canvas, hides, shellac, *atta* and groundnuts, pepper, tobacco and graphite.

It is not possible to give details of actual tonnages, but the scope of business done in India for Russia was indicated by the fact that one recent order was for eleven million gunny bags.

The matter should engage the prompt and energetic attention of our public men.

S. K. L.

Another Effort to End the Indian Deadlock

A weighty statement has been just issued over the signatures of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. M. A. Jayakar, Dr. Sachhidananda Sinha, Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth and Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad as another effort towards ending the Indian deadlock. The distinguished signatories of the statement urge that the Government of India should set up an independent and impartial tribunal to deal with the charges made against Congress leaders now under detention. But if, for any reason, the Government are not prepared to adopt such a course of action now, as an alternative, they should be set at liberty to enable them to reconsider the whole situation in consultation with other parties. In such circumstance, "justice no less than expediency demands that," the statement points out, "Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues should be set at liberty, so that they may apply themselves, as freemen, as we expect that they will, to a review of the situation and to the solution of the present deadlock in consultation and co-operation with other important parties."

The signatories state at the outset that they themselves have already expressed their regret that the Congress should have passed the Resolution of the 8th August, 1942, that they have condemned the acts of violence and sabotage that followed the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, and that they do not themselves believe in Civil Disobedience, either on principle or as a matter of expediency. They also state that they do not seek for any concessions for Mahatma Gandhi and his chief associates. "We are not" they further add, "petitioners on their behalf for clemency or tenderness. Our demand is for justice and no more and no less."

The charges against the Congress leaders are mainly that, first, they are responsible for the disturbances that followed their arrest, and, secondly, that they are pro-Japanese and pro-Axis in their views. With reference to the first charge the signatories state that they feel that Mr. Gandhi has already repudiated the acts of violence and it is their conviction that so far as he is concerned his adherence to the doctrine of non-violence is as strong to-day as it ever was. With reference to the charge that the Congress leaders are pro-Japanese they state: "To the best of our knowledge and belief there is no truth in the allegation." They very naturally consider it extremely unfair and improper that such grave allegations should be made and that at the same time those who could meet them should be denied all opportunities of rebutting them. In this circumstance they urge:

> Taking the situation as it is we urge that the *ipse dixit* of the executive Government should not be regarded as sufficient to justify the prolonged detention of imprisoned leaders without impartial investigation. Let those *ex parte* accusations be investigated by a tribunal of unchallengeable status and impartiality—a tribunal so constituted as to satisfy all reasonable men that it will carry on its investigation without fear or favour, and that its decisions will in no way be influenced by the published views of the executive Government. We consider that the setting up of such a tribunal is in the highest interests of the Government itself.

Mr. Gandhi himself had urged the urgency of prompt action in this connection in the following words in his letter to the Viceroy dated the 7th February, 1943:

> "You say that the time is not yet ripe to publish the charges against the Congress. Have you ever thought of the possibility of their being found baseless when they are put before an impartial tribunal? For that some of the condemned persons might have died in the meanwhile or that some of the evidence that the living can produce might become unavailable?"

The statement further points out how the authoritative decision of the highest judicial authority in India that the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders was invalid, the subsequent action by the Government to legalise their illegal action by a validating ordinance, and Mr. Amery's "tauntingly provocative" description of their detention as "innocuous" have increased public resentment.

S. K. L.

Attitude of the British Government

The attitude of the British Government with reference to the effort now made by the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other distinguished leaders to end the Indian deadlock is indicated in the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons as contained in the following telegraphic message by *Reuter* dated the 27th May from London:

> The Secretary for India, Mr. Amery, stated in the House of Commons today that the Government of India have no intention of staging a trial of Mr. Gandhi and other detained Congress leaders.
>
> Mr. Amery was replying to the Labour member Mr. Sorensen, who asked whether any response had been made to the recent plea of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other non-Congress leaders that Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues should appear before a judicial tribunal to

enable them to refute the allegations of pro-Japanese sympathy and other charges contained in a White Paper.

Mr. Amery added that the Government of India's statement republished in a White Paper made no charges of pro-Japanese sympathy.

The Delhi Correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard* throws further light on the subject in the following words:

> The fact, however, that Mr. Phillips is returning to India is taken here as an index that during the Washington talks the Indian problem had been seriously considered and some move (what none can say) should be anticipated to resolve the deadlock. While it is recognised that British diehards and officialdom in India would not want a change, the logic of events would compel them to revise their attitude. But nothing should be expected, according to observers here, as long as the present Viceroy holds the reins of office.

It has taken such a long time for the British Government to realise that they were wrong in making the allegation of pro-Japanese and pro-Axis sympathies against Gandhiji and his Congress associates. What even a short visit to this country made plain and simple to persons like General Chiang Kai-shek, Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Louis Fischer and Mr. James Gunther, and many others, could not be realised by the highest British executive and the permanent officialdom in India. Similarly they will be unable at the end to sustain the charge that they have so lightly brought against the imprisoned Congress leaders, that they are responsible for the disturbances that took place after their arrest. Is the allegation made by Mr. Louis Fischer then correct? In the course of a remarkably outspoken speech on the Indian situation at San Francisco, at the end of February last, the distinguished American writer is reported to have said, that all this was an attempt on the part of the British Government, "to try to break Gandhi, to try to break the Indian movement for freedom." He threw further light on the subject and said: "The reason is simple: Winston Churchill said when he was fifty-five and he hasn't changed since then: 'The truth is that Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed.' And this is Churchill's first opportunity in high office to grapple with Gandhi. The British have definitely thrown a challenge to the Indian National movement." And then he remarks that "the British controvert their own statements of Gandhi's waning influence by the tremendous energy and money they spend in trying to prove that Gandhi's influence is waning."

S. K. L.

Gandhiji's Letter to Mr. Jinnah and After

It may be remembered that in the course of his Presidential Address at the last session of the All-India Muslim League, held at New Delhi, in April, Mr. Jinnah was reported to have thrown out a hint to the effect that Mr. Gandhi ought to write to him with a view to a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. Mr. Jinnah then said:

> Nobody will welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League. Let me tell you that will be the brightest day both for Hindus and Muslims. If that is Mr. Gandhi's desire what is there to prevent him from writing direct to me? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is the use of going to Viceroy? Strong as this Government may be in this country, I cannot believe that they will be daring to stop such a letter if it were sent to me. It will be a very serious thing if such a letter was stopped.

Mr. Gandhi actually appears to have addressed a letter evidently in response to Mr. Jinnah's suggestion. A *communique* issued by the Government of India from Delhi states that they received a request from Mr. Gandhi to forward a short letter from himself to Mr. Jinnah, expressing a wish to meet him. In accordance with their known policy in regard to correspondence or interviews with Mr. Gandhi, the Government of India have decided that this letter cannot be forwarded and have so informed Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. The *communique* goes on to state:

> "They are not prepared to give facilities for political correspondence or contact to a person detained for promoting an illegal mass movement, which he has not disavowed and thus gravely embarrassing India's war effort at a critical time.
>
> "It rests with Mr. Gandhi to satisfy the Government of India that he can safely be allowed once more to participate in the public affairs of the country, and until he does so the disabilities from which he suffers are of his own choice."

The New Delhi correspondent of a local contemporary throws further light on the subject. It appears that the matter was not raised at the Viceroy's Executive Council. It is said that the members of the Council were simply informed of Gandhiji's letter and the Government's decision, which was presumably the decision of the Viceroy and Sir Reginald Maxwell. The correspondent adds:

> Political quarters do not take a tragic view of the Government of India's refusal to forward Gandhiji's letter to Mr. Jinnah. "It is another proof positive that so long Linlithgow, Maxwell and Churchill-Amery combination continues, no change in Whitehall or Delhi's policy is expected," said a prominent member of the Assembly, who is here in connection with the Railway Convention Committee.

S. K. L.

"Melancholy Episode"

The comments of the British Press, as published in a telegraphic message by *Reuter* from London, show the nature of reaction of this episode on both official and non-official minds. The message runs thus :

Commenting on India Government's refusal to forward the letter from Mr. Gandhi to the head of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, the *Manchester Guardian* says : "This may be consistent, but consistency is not the final virtue in governing, and the Indian Government, to do it justice, has often been inconsistent in the past.

"Does it propose to pursue its seclusion policy indefinitely ? Mr. Jinnah can now say that he has appealed to Mr. Gandhi to establish Indian unity—as the British and Indian Governments are always telling them both to do—and that he has had the door which might have led to it shut by the Indian Government. Mr. Gandhi will say that when for his part he was anxious to respond the Indian Government kept the door shut.

"Is it wise to antagonise everyone ? Why should not the Indian Government allow other leaders to see Mr. Gandhi and find out what comes of it."

The refusal of the Government of India to allow Mr. Gandhi to write to Mr. Jinnah unless Mr. Gandhi withdraws his summons to civil disobedience "illustrates painfully the nature of the deadlock in which the constitutional issue is at present gripped," writes *The Times*.

"Nothing is more to be desired than a Hindu-Muslim approach to communal differences as obstructions to the constitutional advance. Is Government committing the blunder of frustrating a promising departure ? The question itself reveals the tactical weakness of the Government's position, but it provokes one or two others. Is Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Jinnah unaware of the tactical effect of these moves ?

"The moral of this melancholy episode is that a wholly fresh start is needed in India, that neither Mr. Jinnah nor Mr. Gandhi seems able or willing to achieve it and that it is more than ever necessary for the new Viceroy to be a man qualified to encourage new endeavour and leadership in India."

Dealing with the reasons why the Government of India refused Mr. Gandhi's request to forward a letter from himself to Mr. Jinnah, *The Yorkshire Post* in an editorial says : "The danger is that the arrangement of a meeting between the two leaders would open the way, not to a reconciliation but to a recrudescence of troubles from which India has been saved by firm Government action. This first request would be quickly followed by others. Mr. Gandhi, having talked with Mr. Jinnah, would wish to take counsel with his own Congress colleagues. And before long it would be suggested that Congress leaders should be freed to carry forward discussions. The Congress Party would adroitly seise the chance for which it is waiting to recover its lost prestige and with renewed vigour into the political arena."

The *Yorkshire Post*, as usual, expresses the official view of the matter. The arguments advanced by it in support of the action taken by the Government of India reflect the 'die-hard' Tory view in Indian affairs. The comments of the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* show that influential British non-official opinion considers the action of the authorities in this very important matter as shortsighted and unwise. It is fully in accord with the Indian point of view that after the British authorities have so frequently and with so much insistence declared with all solemnness that no political advance is possible in India so long as a settlement is not arrived at between the Congress and the League the present action of the British Government amounts to denial of any opportunity to achieve this aim.

S. K. L.

Brailsford's New Book on India

In a new book, entitled "Subject India," Mr. H. N. Brailsford deals with India's outstanding political problems and outlines a plan for a settlement of the Indian question. We are obliged to *The Hindu* for a brief telegraphic summary of the main contents of this new publication as transmitted by its Special Correspondent in London. Mr. Brailsford's suggestions are :

(1) A Pacific Charter containing a joint offer of independence by the United Nations; (2) transfer of Indian affairs from the India Office to the Dominions Office; (3) a new Viceroy should be appointed, preferably an Indian such as Mr. Jinnah or Sir T. B. Sapru, who will open his term of office with an amnesty to Congress, simultaneously with Congress calling off civil disobedience; (4) a Congress-League pact assuring provinces which demand self-determination following either a bare majority vote of its newly elected legislature or three-fourths vote of members returned by the largest communal electorate, the right to have the issue decided by an arbitral court which may provide for a plebescite for territorial division, frontier rectifications, etc.; (5) to meet the "Hindus wholly proper ideal of Unity" the Paramount Power is to insist on full civil and political rights for States' subjects; (6) formation of a National Government to conduct war effort and prepare the draft of a new constitution.

Mr. Brailsford thinks that the "Cripps draft offers the smoothest and by no means the longest road" to India's independence or secession. "If," he adds, "Indians reject the easy road they will not win independence more quickly and may bring on themselves and on us a tragic and ruinous struggle." About the communal question, he says that "religion is being prostituted" "to preserve the ascendancy of the propertied classes." In his opinion, however, "Hindusthan could not live or achieve independence if the Princes and States remain in the hands of the Paramount Power." The writer observes that the Congress has never accepted the Fuehrer-Prinzip though it "too often obeys Mr. Gandhi with perilous fidelity." About the success that Gandhiji has already achieved, Mr.

Brailsford says that Mr. Gandhi has given to those who have come under his influence an inner sense of independence that they are free within. "This subjective liberation is a mighty event in India's history for Indians were oppressed even more by their inner fatalism and sense of racial inferiority than by the British Raj. These inner fetters Mr. Gandhi broke." With reference to the problem of Pakistan, Mr. Brailsford has made some very weighty observations. He says that "Indian geography is not as simple as Mr. Jinnah's logic." He expresses his "doubt whether separation would last for much more than a generation." He considers that "the independence of Pakistan would be somewhat nominal." "With Bengal Pakistan would become at once a financial possibility and a geographical absurdity. Without Bengal it is difficult to believe that the shrewd Punjabis will ever shoulder the economic burdens that Mr. Jinnah's scheme would entail."

Progressive, thoughtful and practically minded Indians would mostly be in agreement with the main suggestions and observations made by Mr. Brailsford. In dealing with the communal problem, from the summary of his work available to us, it does not appear that he has been able to take a proper consideration of the very important fact that it is British policy which is almost wholly responsible for its introduction and intensification, culminating in the demand for Pakistan. Many others, Britishers, Americans and Indians, are fully in accord with his view that a new Viceroy should now be appointed. Not many others, however, will give their assent to his proposal about Mr. Jinnah in this connection. Could he have thought of a similar suggestion with reference to the Irish *impasse?* And even if such a suggestion were made at the time what prospect was there of its acceptance by either the British or the Irish people? There are many who do not share his enthusiasm about the Cripps offer. Important changes are certainly needed to ensure its acceptance.

S. K. L.

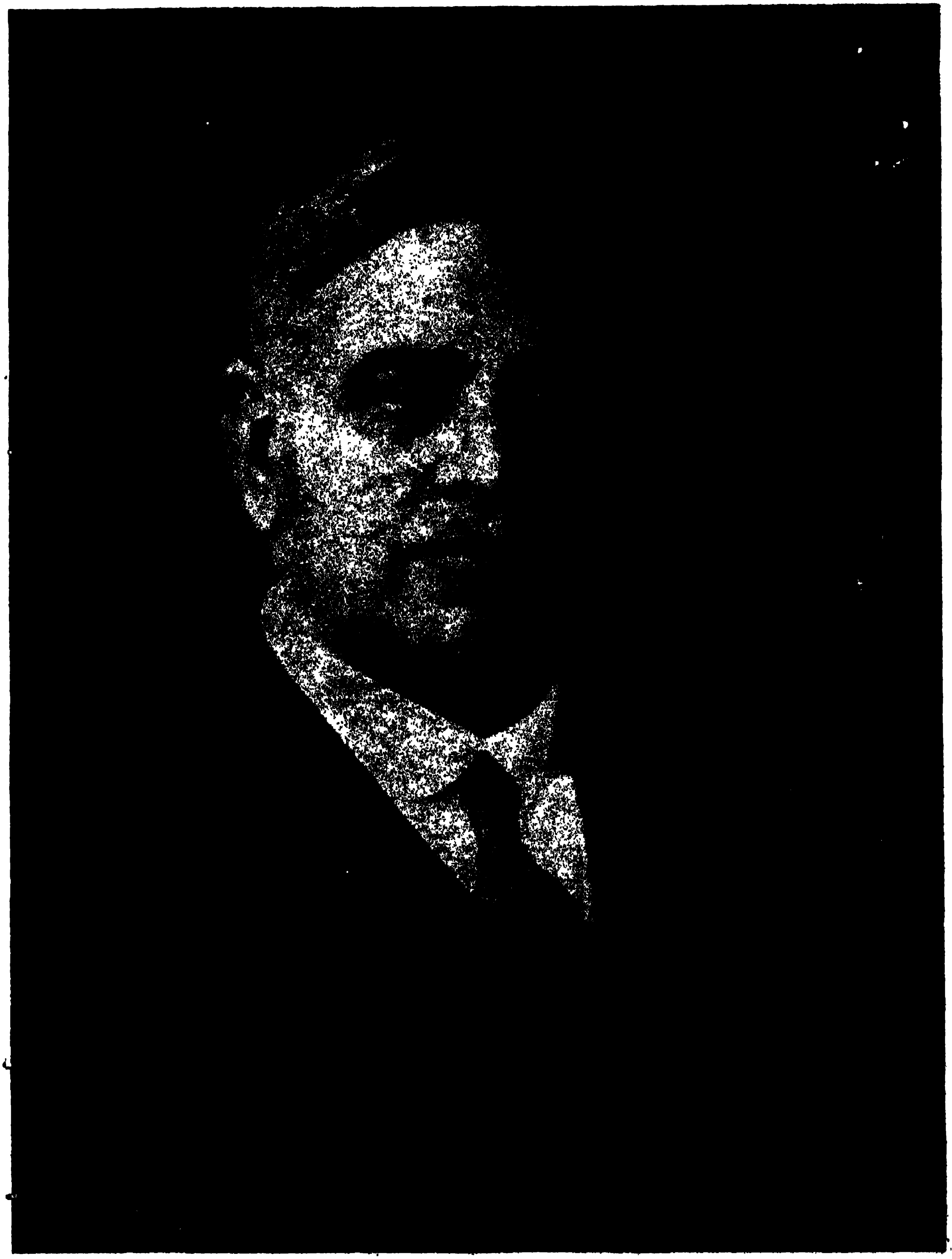
Institute of River Training in Bengal

We are glad to find that the Government of Bengal have at long last succeeded in securing the services of an expert in connection with the scheme for controlling periodic flood and famine in Bengal. Some two years back Dr. N. K. Bose of the Punjab Irrigation Research Institute was deputed to this province to prepare a scheme of river training after personally conducting an enquiry into the conditions of some of the rivers in Bengal. His suggestions having been accepted, the Bengal Institute for River Training has now been started, with Dr. Bose as its Director. The long delay that has taken place in the establishment of the Institute has been due to the inability of the Punjab Government to spare Dr. Bose's services. As an expert in river training Dr. N. K. Bose had been attached to the Irrigation Research Institute in the Punjab since its foundation and had occasionally been its Director during the absence on leave or deputation of Dr. M. Taylor. We look forward to the success of the new scheme for the control of periodic flood and famine in Bengal, which cause such dire havoc and untold misery to the people of the province.

S. K. L.

Problem of Quinine

While quinine is being sold at fabulous prices and there is a woeful shortage of it, due to well-known causes, we are asked to be content with the assurance of a supply from the United States of America along with the publication of a brief outline of the Bengal Government's very elaborate scheme for rationing quinine supplies available for the Province. As the quantity of indigenously manufactured quinine amounts to about one-third of the total amount required, there has been an insistent demand for the production of an adequate quantity in the country. Unfortunately, however, this demand has so far met with no proper response on the part of the authorities. In this connection it may be recalled that Government deputed an expert to prepare a scheme for a larger production of quinine in consultation with the Superintendent of Cinchona Plantation in the district of Darjeeling in December last. In view of the very lamentable shortage of the quantity of quinine required in the country, specially in a malaria-ridden province like Bengal, we would ask the authorities to place before the public the results of the enquiry along with the report on it which, it is understood, is now with Government, and to state the action that they have taken or propose to take on it.



SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

BY S. K. LAHIRI

Sir Nilratan Sircar passed away at the age of 82 at Giridih, a popular health-resort in Chota-Nagpur, on Tuesday, the 18th May last. His death not only creates a void in the medical world in India, which it would be difficult to fill; but his disappearance from the wider sphere of his varied activities for the social, cultural, political, economic and industrial advancement of India causes irreparable loss to the country as a whole and the cause of her progress and development.

Sir Nilratan Sircar's death removes one of the most accomplished and skilful among the physicians of the day, who had attained world-wide celebrity as a leading exponent of the medical science and won recognition as one of the most brilliant ornaments of the noble profession to which he belonged. But the claim of Sir Nilratan Sircar to the remembrance of succeeding generations rests not on his unique achievements as a medical man and as a consummate manipulator of the humanising art of healing alone.

His earnest solicitude for public welfare along with his ceaseless devotion and never-failing enthusiasm impelled him to take a very active and prominent part in the public life of the country, notwithstanding the very high pressure on his time and energy that the multifarious duties of his extensive professional work entailed; and this enabled him to render invaluable public service in various spheres of activity calculated to promote the well-being of the people.

Though Sir Nilratan Sircar began his life in very humble circumstances, by his manful struggle against poverty and adverse circumstances, he achieved unique success and rare distinction. He retained till the last moment of his life his original simplicity of character and unassuming manners. His sweetness of temper endeared him to his patients and generated confidence and assurance in their minds; his consideration for the poor and suffering was well-known; his sympathy and regard for his friends was a notable trait of his character. He always abstained from speaking ill of others and in criticising those with whom he differed, he was in the habit of taking scrupulous care not to hurt anybody's feelings. He never showed any inclination to play to the gallery. Sir Nilratan Sircar's remarkable career, his spotless character, his notable public spirit, his devotion to public duty and the high ideal by which he was animated, along with a singular combination of uncommon intellectual gifts with rare moral qualities will serve as an inspiring example to the youths of the country.

Sir Nilratan Sircar's achievements in the domain of medical science and practice placed him in the forefront among the medical men of his day, and he had the unique distinction of holding the position of leader of his profession for over half a century. To him along with the late Dr. Sureshprasad Sarvadhikari belongs the credit of raising the status of Indian practitioners of medicine to a position of equality with British members of the Indian Medical Service practising in India. They demonstrated that given the same opportunity, Indian practioners of medicine, in all its branches, were equal to their British compeers. He took a prominent part in the establishment of the Carmichael Medical College, the first non-official medical college in India manned by Indian teachers of medicine, besides a number of important hospitals and medical institutions. Besides, he rendered signal service to the cause of medical education and research by attempting to place medical education in India on a more systematic and scientific basis, and in other ways.

The country owes her gratitude to Sir Nilratan Sircar, in an equal measure, for his services in other spheres of public activity. He was ever anxious to serve the cause of educational advance and expansion. His long and intimate connection with the Calcutta University,—as an elected Fellow since 1893, as an influential member of the Syndicate, as Vice-Chancellor, as President of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts and also as President of the Post-Graduate Department in Science, and as a member of numerous Boards, Committees and Faculties,—his membership of the legislature of the Province for a number of years and of various other institutions enabled him to attempt to further educational extension and improvement in all possible ways. His interest in education was of a comprehensive character and this interest continued till the last days of his life. His ardour for education was not restricted to a narrow sphere; he concerned himself with education in most of its branches and all its stages, namely, general education, from the

primary to the highest stage, scientific education and research, medical education, technical education, etc.

Whenever the situation demanded—and such occasions occurred often in this Province—Sir Nilratan did not hesitate to raise his voice against official encroachments on the field of education. He maintained his interest in education even when advancing age and failing health made it difficult for him to participate actively in matters affecting this most important problem. Sir Nilratan's devoted labours in connection with the organisation of the National Council of Education, and the establishment of the Bengal Technical Institute, which has subsequently developed into an engineering college under the National Council of Education, will be long remembered with thankfulness. He took a prominent part in the drafting of the first set of rules and courses of instruction together with the constitution of the National Council of Education as Secretary, with the help and advice of the late Sir Brajendranath Sil and many other distinguished citizens of Bengal. It may not be remembered that he was mainly responsible for influencing the late Sir Taraknath Palit to make his magnificent gift for the promotion of scientific and technical education. It was chiefly with the help of Sir Taraknath's contribution in the beginning that the Bengal Technical Institute was brought into existence and Sir Nilratan was for a number of years connected with it in an active and intimate capacity as Secretary. He was associated with the work of the National Council of Education as also of the Visva-Bharati till the last days of his life.

Sir Nilratan played an important part in the promotion of industrial development in Bengal. He was one of the pioneers of the tanning and soap industries in the Province. He took a bold step in starting a tannery with a view to producing finished leather goods, the managing agency of which was ultimately made over to Messrs. Martin & Co. He also set on foot a soap factory. It may be noted with satisfaction that his example in these spheres has been followed by many young men as a number of tanneries and soap factories have subsequently been established in the precincts of Calcutta. His enthusiasm knew no bounds, and he took active steps, during the Swadeshi Movement, for the purpose of an enquiry into the requirements and prospects of manufacture of chemicals and allied products. Even so late as in October, 1939, while delivering the Convocation Address of the Andhra University, Sir Nilratan pointed out how each time a war blockaded the communications between the East and the West, they discovered their helplessness in the supply of medical preparations and chemicals. He urged that with the excellent natural advantages which India possessed as regards her soil, climate and plant flora, and with proper and adequate training of young students in chemistry and allied subjects for handling these and other relevant matters, it should not be necessary or difficult for them to depend wholly on imports from other countries in the matter of the supply of medical preparations and chemicals. It may not be known to many that even the burdensome financial strain produced on his resources by his industrial ventures did not cool his enthusiasm for the industrial development of the country.

His long and intimate connection with the Indian National Congress until the split that took place on the eve of the introduction of the Montagu Reforms, his activities during the agitation in connection with the Swadeshi Movement and the Partition of Bengal, the bold attitude that he took up at the time of the Panjab disturbances, the intimate connection that he maintained with a member of public institutions and his numerous activities for raising the status of his country and his fellow-men, in various departments of life, during the entire course of his active life, showed how genuine and real was his interest in the political advancement of India.

Sir Nilratan joined the Brahmo Samaj early in life. He was a member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of which he became President. He took very active interest in the work of the Samaj in the earlier stages of his career, but his interest in the activities of the Samaj continued till the last days of his life. He presided over a session of the All-India Theistic Conference some years ago.

Sir Nilratan Sircar was, perhaps, the first among the physicians of India, whose great abilities and distinguished services received acknowledgment from European and American medical men. During his visit to Europe in 1920 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. and the Oxford University the degree of D. C. L., *honoris causa*. Since his passing away a number of eminent physicians in England and America have come forward to pay eloquent tributes to his memory and acknowledge his signal services and eminent position among the physicians of the day in befitting terms.

UNITY IN SPITE OF DIVERSITY

An Indian Problem Solved

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, kt., c.i.e., d.litt.

Akbar's Achievement and Place in History

Nearly four hundred years ago, a man used to sit down at early dawn, on a flat stone lying in an old nook near the palace buildings of Fathpur-Sikri, but retired from habitation. There, day after day, he would indulge in lonely meditation with his head bowed in prayer and his chin resting on his breast in anguish of spirit. He was a King of Kings (*Shāhān-Shah*), a Protector of the World (*Jahān-panā*); he had conquered many rich and fertile provinces, he had crushed his enemies till hardly one was left, north or south, east or west, of his dominions. And yet, he had not found happiness. As he told his best friend, "Although I am the master of a vast kingdom, yet my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds."

How to give political unity to India amidst her differences of race and creed, was the problem that faced Akbar. He did not abandon it in despair, as many before, and *after* him too, have done; but he boldly grappled with it and solved it by his statesmanship which has left an example for posterity, if only we have eyes to see and ears to listen to reason and hearts to enshrine country over self.

Professor J. Holland Rose, after summing up the achievements of Napoleon I, rightly concludes, "Such a wonder-worker was Napoleon. The man....must ever stand in the very forefront of the immortals of human history." We may, with equal reason, claim that Akbar was one of the immortals of Asiatic history. No doubt his activities ranged over a smaller area and left less enduring fruits than Napoleon's. But the Indian historian may rightly plead that Napoleon was the heir of the French Revolution and himself completed and confirmed the work that had been begun by others,—while Akbar was nobody's heir, but the *creator* of a system of imperial peace and unification of India which the British have inherited, revived and completed.

Upon the clash of diverse races and sects in India descended Akbar's policy like a healing balm,—or, to change the metaphor, a cementing force. The result was that the strongest and bitterest opponents of Mughal rule in India became its most devoted supporters, because they felt themselves to be *equal partners* of a national Government of which the head merely happened to worship in a different church from theirs. The fruit of Akbar's statesmanship is seen even a century after him, when the favourite daughter-in-law of the bigoted Aurangzib (Jahān-zeb Bānu Begam) harangued her Hindu escort on a Maratha battlefield with the words:

Sharm-e-Chaghtaia ba-Rājputia ek-ast,
"The honour of the Mughal Emperors is identical with that of the Rajputs."

For, by this time, the victor and the vanquished had become one in interest and feeling, though still differing in creed, because the State had now been placed above the Church. It is only a united India—and an India united thus by political equality, religious toleration, and patrotic devotion to a common Motherland (and not to Arabia or Khurasan) that can defend her sacred soil from alien outrage.

Such a harmonious blending of the people along the line of least resistance and the greatest common measure of agreement, enforced by the curbing of all separatist and self-centred communities,—was attempted by Akbar and achieved within certain limits. The exact opposite of it is illustrated by England's treatment of Ireland, which has yielded the fatal fruit that in every crisis of its history the conquering race has found, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." Such a fate Akbar averted for Muslim rule in India, so long as his policy was honoured and followed by his successors. How to make the diverse peoples of India one, without crushing them down to the uniformity of slaves? This quest for *Oneness* was the sole pursuit of Akbar's waking hours and the dream of his nights, as we can see if we interpret aright the highly rhetorical prose of the Emperor's bosom friend and chosen historian, Abul Fazl.

There comes an age which may be rightly regarded as a turning point in the life of a people or even in that of the entire human race. Such a period was the 16th century. The hour had come, and most fortunately for India's evolution, the MAN also appeared. To Akbar belongs the glory, shared by so few in the world's history,—of being the creator of an age.

Akbar's Policy; the Lines on Which He Moved

Let us first trace the main lines of his policy. He appealed to reason as against so-called

revelation, to political expediency as against ancient tradition, to practical experience as against the dead weight of custom. He secularised the State, and for the first time tried to infuse into it the modern spirit of rationalism, experiment and progress. In our own times and in another Islamic land, the Ata Turk has done the same work with complete success, and if the net result of Akbar's reign falls far short of Kamal Pasha's, the blame must be shared by the Indian Emperor's age and people.

Reason cuts away the roots of revealed religion which governed men's minds before Akbar's time. Experiment means that we are dissatisfied with the existing state of things and are prepared to revolt against the authority of our forefathers and scrap up our inherited social and political institutions in an attempt to create something better. This was the spirit of those who made the French Revolution, and this was truly the spirit of Akbar.

The time-chart of Akbar's reign seems to illustrate a clearly thought-out and farsighted policy. Peace must come before progress, and therefore Akbar must bring all North India under one sceptre. This was the indispensable preliminary of imperial peace. Akbar could truly claim, as he has done in one of his reported speeches, "Kingship is a supreme blessing, for its advantages extend to multitudes....The saying that the coming of monarchs brings security and peace, has the stamp of truth." He no doubt began by annexing all the neighbouring States to his empire, but he did not end with mere annexation. He gave to all parts of his vast empire internal peace, compactness through administrative uniformity, and a higher culture with a glimmering sense of a common nationhood. The Mughal Empire did ensure to more than one-half of India an amount of internal peace which this country had never known before. And if that peace was not so all-pervasive nor so unbreakable as Pax Britannica, we must remember the rudeness of Akbar's age and the fact that he was only a pioneer.

Now, all history tells us that internal peace can be better enforced by a large empire than by a score or more of petty States, each with very limited resources and eternally engaged in war with its neighbours.

Annexation was followed by administrative consolidation,—or, to borrow a phrase from British Indian history, non-regulation provinces were developed into regulation provinces. In the year 1586, Akbar sent out orders creating in every province the same form of administration. Hitherto they had been ruled by military commanders, like the Major-Generals of Cromwellian England, in a rough and ready manner, which was inevitable at the first stage of conquest. But as soon as the subjugation of the old dynasty was completed, each province was placed in charge of five departmental heads, appointed from the capital and with well-defined functions: they were, the viceroy (with a deputy or *naib subahdar* to take care of the province during his chief's temporary absence or a sudden vacancy), the *diwan* or revenue minister, the *bakhshi* or Inspector-General an Paymaster of the Forces, the *mir adil* or Criminal Judge, and the *Sadr* or Civil Judge. To these were added a group of minor but very important officers,—the police prefect, the district governors and the news-reporters.

This was the steel frame of the provincial administration. We can easily realise what an immense gain it was to the Indian people to have a regular and well-known administrative machinery close at hand to redress their wrongs and to legalise their relations with the Government. The governed knew where they stood and to whom to go for a particular purpose. And as this administrative type was imposed on all the parts of India under Akbar's rule,—which embraced the whole of Hindustan except the mediatised principalities of Rajputana,—and as one official language, one currency and one official era prevailed everywhere, a long stride was thus taken towards uniting India into one nation. Akbar began the work; the British have only completed it and spread it over South India as well.

Next, an improved method of land survey and revenue settlement was ordered for the Empire and gradually worked out in many of the provinces, because this work of minute details takes time. Thus the peasants knew definitely what rent to pay and how to pay it. This was an improvement on the guess-work method followed in former times, and it represents, in theory at least, an honest attempt to stop the extortion and oppression of the cultivators who formed nine-tenths of the Indian population in that age. Akbar's system has remained as the basis of the British Indian revenue system (called the *ryotwari band-o-bast*.)

Peace and the growth of wealth having been secured, Akbar's Court became the centre of intellectual life and the source of light for the whole country, because of his equal treatment of all sects and his personal comradery with

many Hindu princes and gifted artists. His patronage of Hindi music led that art on the way to the high development that it has now reached. In painting he ignored the Islamic prohibition of the representation of living creatures as an impious presumption to rival the Creator. The Persian painters invited to India by his father and himself met the representatives of the indigenous Hindu school of art—the last descendants of the painters of Ajanta,—and the fusion of the two styles under the Emperor's eyes gave birth to a new and very charming method of painting which we call the Indo-Saracen or Mughal school. And this art did not stop at the Delhi Court; trained pupils of the royal art studio,—among whom were many Hindus of newly discovered genius,—gained service with the vassal Hindu princes, and worked at their capitals on subjects chosen from Hindu mythology epics and folklore. Thus was developed the so-called Rajput school, which followed exactly the same technique as the Indo-Saracen school, but confined itself to purely Hindu *motifs*. In architecture, the blending of Saracenic and Hindu elements effected under his patronage and inspiration strikes the eye of even the most casual observer in the delicate corbel brackets and thin pilasters of Fathpur-Sikri and the Red Mahal of Agra Fort.

In literature, Sanskrit epics, story-books, and scientific works were translated into Persian, and some Turkish and Arabic works were also rendered into the same language by the Emperor's paid agents. Here we ought to bear in mind that Persian was then the language of polished society in their correspondence and of the *literati* in their compositions, besides being the medium used in all administrative papers,—just as French was in much of western Europe in the 18th century. Indo-Persian literature received an immense impetus and a rich and varied development—in certain branches, like history, epistles, fiction and conventional poetry,—took place from Akbar's patronage.

His Modernisation of the State

Akbar tried to modernise his State. Now, the basic principles on which a modern State stands are three, namely, (1) Universal toleration, without the Government identifying itself with the championship and propaganda of any particular religion. (2) The equality of all nationals of the country before the law. (3) In the public service, the rule of "careers open to talent" irrespective of caste, creed or birth. These were the three rights which the French Revolution of 1789 won for the world, but Akbar had adopted them two centuries before that upheaval in Europe.

Further, he anticipated the very latest activities of European States by undertaking uplift work for the masses and introducing social reform, such as the prohibition of enforced *sati*, the discouragement of child marriage, etc., and opened schools and industrial workshops. If the scale of his activity in this field was very small, we must remember that he was the first Islamic sovereign in India to make such an attempt and that the age was rude. His openness of mind and boundless spirit of inquiry are illustrated by his experiment for discovering the original divinely intended language of man!

A large and rich empire like Akbar's requires the strongest possible defence against foreign enemies. Akbar had learnt the urgency of the problem from the experiences of his father and grandfather. The North-Western Frontier was then India's chief danger zone. So, like Balban and Ala-ud-din Khilji before him, he held the Panjab by means of strong garrisons and well-repaired forts. But unlike these Delhi sultans, Akbar was the owner of Afghanistan also; therefore, he made Kabul his first line of defence; he repeatedly chastised the border Afghans in order to keep the Khyber and Karapa passes open, and posted strong forces and able viceroys in Kabul.

To ensure national defence, Akbar set himself to improving his army,—its racial composition, organisation and armament. His gradation of ranks by the *mansabdari* system introduced order and discipline of some kind where a rough and ready haphazard arrangement had prevailed before. This strengthened the authority of the supreme head of the State and introduced unity of command,—the first requisite of military success. He stiffened the feudal army by means of a *corps d'elite* called *ahadis* or gentlemen troopers, directly recruited by him on a higher pay and status than the common soldiers. He forced his feudal chiefs—or, more correctly, his military fief-holders with only a life tenure of their lands,—to maintain their proper number of troopers and horses, by strict muster, branding and descriptive rolls (*dagh wa chihra*). This attempt provoked a dangerous and wide-spread mutiny, but the rule was not abandoned.

Technical improvements were made under his orders and sometimes at his own suggestion, in the artillery, the gun-carriages and the muskets, and he had also a well-equipped

flotilla and a swift-pacing camel corps (though small in number). Special attention was paid to the breed of the horses, as the cavalry was the main arm of that age.

HIS PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION

The work of moral reconstruction must be preceded by the destruction of the rotten old order, just as the peasant burns the stubble and tares before sowing the next crop. And this task brought Akbar into conflict with the vested interests represented by the Islamic theologians (*ulema*).

He was a rationalist, they were traditionists. The intellectual foundation of his reforms was the belief that legislation must be progressive and not a mere imitation or perpetuation of immemorial old customs,—the conviction that what was suited to an earlier age requires to be modified, or even abolished altogether, in order to serve the needs of a changed later age. The Muslim theologians, who monopolised the offices in the departments of education, justice, charity and legislation, constantly appealed to the precedents of the immutable Quranic law and the sayings of the Prophet as embodied in his Traditions (*Hadis*).

Against this spirit came up Akbar's open declaration, dolefully recorded by the pious Badayuni: "The founders of this religion (*i.e.*, Islam) were nothing but poor Arabs, a set of scoundrels of highway robbers." (Text, ii, 262.)

The Prophet, as we know, was illiterate (*Al Nabi-al-ammi. Qur.* vii) and he was a primitive Arab. We can easily imagine how such a highly modern criticism as this saying of Akbar shocked the *ulema* of his time. But what Akbar meant, and what the narrow-minded orthodox theologians did not perceive, was that rules which had been good for a society of nomads six hundred years after Christ were not necessarily good a thousand years later, because India is not Arabia and the whole world had changed during this first millennium of the Hijera era. Hence the need for progressive legislation.

EQUALITY AND PROGRESS

But Akbar was no fanatic even in suppressing other people's fanaticism. He approached the question of religious truth with an open mind, and at first ordered debates to be held in his presence on the tenets of Islam, by the theologians of that creed. The wrangling among the different sects within Islam itself,—seventy-two such are formally admitted, besides others of lesser fame—first awakened disgust, then doubt in his mind. Select teachers of other faiths,—Hindu, Christian, Jain and Zoroastrian—were next admitted to this royal House of Worship (*Ibadat-khanah*) and held forth on the philosophy of their respective creeds. Akbar's faith in the intellectual basis of Islam was shaken by this convergence of light from diverse angles. As a ruler of men he was troubled by the conflict of so many creeds in his realm. One of his recorded sayings runs—"Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, yet my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds."

The next step in the path of his spiritual emancipation was the logical one of his adopting the policy of universal toleration* (officially called *sulh-i-kul* or peace with all men) as the one thing needful for a diversified population like India's. This was diametrically opposed to the cardinal doctrine of Islam, namely, the exclusiveness and finality of the Quranic revelation. "There is no object of adoration except Allah, and Muhammad is the agent sent down (*rasul*) by Allah to preach His will." The Muhammadan faith when logically interpreted cannot for a moment admit the liberal doctrine of Akbar that there are some grains of truth in every religion sincerely professed. Within the fold of Islam itself, in Akbar's own time there had been murderous persecution of minor sects like the Shias and the Mahdavis, by the Court theologians of Delhi, with the full power of the civil Government at their back. Akbar was determined to stop it. Hence arose his war with the orthodox Islamic clergy. A modern European writer has entitled his book on the reformed Turkey of Kamal Pasha as *Allah Dethroned;* it would have been more correct to call it *Mullah Dethroned.* That was exactly the work of Akbar, and he had to bear the full brunt of the attack of the dethroned Mullahs and of the partisan writers in their camp, who have spread a cloud of calumny over his State policy and private character in the pages of their orthodox histories.

Akbar's social reforms, like his policy of religious toleration and his new variety of Sufism called the Divine Monotheism (*tauhid-i-Ilahi*), failed to change Indian society and disappeared soon after his death, because the people could not be educated to carry them out generation after generation. It is not an official Gazette that can give life to a social reform;

* "It is my duty to be in good understanding with all men. If they walk in the way of God's will, interference with them would be in itself reprehensible, and if otherwise, they are under the malady of ignorance and deserve my pity."—*Sayings of Akbar.*

the people alone can do it by their own efforts. Akbar was too far in advance of his age. Thus the darkness of tragedy slowly descends on this great Emperor in his declining years; he becomes more and more melancholy and solitary. His personal friends Birbal and Abul Fazl die violent deaths, and Prithviraj (of Bikaner) a natural one. Two of his sons die of hard drinking and the sole survivor among his progeny, Salim, rebels against him.

Thus the curtain drops on the brightest and most instructive scene in Indo-Muslim history. History, however, judges men not by what they have actually achieved, but by what they have loftily planned and nobly attempted, though the prize of material success may have eluded their dying grasp.

In the Arabic language, *akbar* is a superlative adjective meaning "the greatest," and here was certainly the greatest of those sovereigns who have borne the title of the Great Mughals.

RABINDRANATH ON RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

By Principal KSHITIMOHAN SEN, Shastri, M.A.,
Santiniketan

On or about January 15, 1927, a party of American tourists came to Santiniketan in course of their travels in India It appeared that in addition to sight-seeing there was also another purpose behind their visit; namely, to sound the possibilities of preaching Christianity to the people of the country. They, however, hesitated for some time to refer to this matter explicitly when they interviewed Rabindranath, presumably because of his well-known views on religion, as embodied in his *Gitanjali* and *Sadhana* Then straightaway they asked the Poet, "In your country do all the people understand the highest truths of religion? Don't you think one could preach the truths of Christianity at least to those who do not?"

Rabindranath replied: I do not agree that the illiterate are incapable of understanding the highest truths of religion. For, our ancient social system made it possible for both the literate and the illiterate to imbibe these easily. No doubt, to-day the commerce of thought between the two has slackened because the field of Indian education, as the Blue Books show, has considerably narrowed down since then, while in other countries the benefits of knowledge have been broadcast far and wide, thus enabling the people to understand Truth. I would, therefore, wish you to spread education among the illiterate of the land, rather than preach your religion to them.

For the matter of that, do all the people, in your own country, educated though they be, understand the truths enunciated by Christ? Have they made those truths part and parcel of their private and public life? The fact is that the message of the Master has not as yet illuminated their minds and activities. Had it done so, Christianity would not have needed any propaganda, for then their own lives would have been the most eloquent and powerful testimony to its truths For, speech is at best a very poor substitute for truth

Again we believe that only those who are qualified for the task, the illuminated ones,—have some justification for advising others about things spiritual As a rule, compulsion of any kind in life is bad, but in the spiritual life it is nothing short of a calamity. For, every one can interpret an ideal or truth only in his own way and follow it according to his own lights.

What is of the essence of the matter is that one should be free in his pursuit of truth. There can be no dull uniformity in the realm of spiritual life Its very beauty, on the contrary, is in its variety Even in the physical world we find that the needs of the people, whether in respect of work or of food, are different and that these cannot be regimented into a deadening monotony. For, we realize that to do so would be fatal. Thus, in the world of Spirit the Santhal wrapt up in his particular gross form of worship and the illuminated soul absorbed in the subtle modes of meditation can live their separate religious lives side by side.

The only thing which should be borne in mind is, to see that no obstacle of any sort is placed in the Santhal's aspiration for or way of understanding the highest truth of the spirit. If he could be assisted in this direction, well and good, otherwise the life of a man of self-realization exercises a more far-reaching and permanent influence than any set words or stereotyped injunctions.

In your own country, I dare say, there are quite a large number of people who have not as yet understood the truths of your religion, although these have been forced down their

minds by the church in spite of their incapacity to take them. The result is a shocking discrepancy between their belief in the precepts of their religion and their practice of the same. A kind of unconscious hypocrisy has, thus, crept into their life, hence, the strange phenomenon of the co-existence in your country of the institution of the church alongside that of lynching.

The truth is that only he whose own soul has been illuminated can kindle the souls of others. A piece of fuel-stick, which has not itself caught ignition, cannot ignite other fuel-sticks At most it can only give smoke. Your burning enthusiasm for preaching your religion to one and all irrespective of their individual requirements is like that smoke. The present state of affairs in the west with its poison of mutual hatred and thirst for blood is a clear indication that the message of the Master has not as yet become operative in the life of the people there. Then, further, whom do you wish to send here to preach Christianity to us ? Or why send any one at all ? You may rest assured that the moment it has kindled its light in the hearts of the people, the darkness of distrust and destruction and delusion will disappear For, light is its own advocate, and it needs no propaganda or publicity.

The Jews had made of religion a monopoly of their own people. Christ came and destroyed this spirit of sectarianism. To-day his followers are attempting to re-introduce the same by splitting the Truth, presented by him, into so many dogmas. Thus, it would appear that his crucifixion did not end when he was placed on the cross, but that it still continues. For, the adherents of the Faith, bearing his name, have narrowed down the content and circumference of his message. Are they, then, qualified to preach it to others ?

It would be far better, instead, if they tried first to win the hearts of the people of their own country, and enter into the spirit of their struggles and sufferings, fears and hopes. For, love will easily transmit to them the light of the life of those who work among them More than precept or philosophy of religion, what is required is the spirit of friendship, of identifying oneself with others completely

Why not, however, first establish the truth of Christ in your own hearts ? Once you have lighted your own lamp, the encircling gloom as a matter of course, will vanish

INFLATION OR SCARCITY ?

An Open Letter to Mr. G. D. Birla

By Prof ANATH GOPAL SEN

Sir,

I have gone through your pamphlet entitled "Inflation or Scarcity ?"* with the care and attention which a subject of such vital importance and a man of your position deserve. But I must confess at the outset that while I must unhesitatingly congratulate you for the clearness and lucidity of your treatment and also for the collection of certain valuable data, I regret I cannot agree with your central theory. As a matter of fact, from the very title of your booklet it would appear that you have started on a wrong hypothesis. The difference which the title of your booklet indicates and which you have tried to develop throughout the pages, between Inflation and Scarcity, is a difference without any distinction. There can be no question of inflation unless the increase of production has failed to keep pace with the increase of money. In other words, there can be no inflation unless in relation to the quantity of money in circulation there is comparative scarcity of goods. So the two terms Inflation and Scarcity are almost interchangeable and the presence of scarcity rather proves inflation than disproves it. From the conditions prevailing you cannot deny that the country is in the grip of inflation just as your opponents should not deny that she is also in the grip of scarcity. It is only a question of difference in emphasis. But your position, you will excuse me if I say so, is more untenable than that of your opponents as the title of your book as well as the trend of your arguments seem to suggest that inflation and scarcity are two different things and while there is scarcity there is no or hardly any inflation which is an impossible proposition in view of the currency figures furnished by you and the abnormally high prices and other conditions prevailing. The appropriate title of your booklet in my opinion should have been : "Inflation and Its Remedy," and instead of taking

* By Mr. G. D. Birla, Hindusthan Times Press, New Delhi. February, 1943.

so much pains to disprove inflation, which was unnecessary (though we have had certain valuable facts and figures therefrom which will be useful to us in other contexts), you should have done better to devote more thought and space for showing how production could be increased in this country at the present moment to counter the effects of inflation and in which direction. Unfortunately you have done with it in 3 or 4 lines only in the last paragraph of your pamphlet.

The weakness of your position lies in the fact that nobody denies that there is scarcity but they say that this scarcity or reduction in consumable goods is the *sine qua non* of war finance and inflation is one of the means to bring about the desired scarcity.

Inflation has been defined thus by Geoffrey Gronther, Editor of the *Economist* and Author of *Paying for the War* (Oxford Publication on World Affairs) : "It is the name given to the method of reducing the consumption of the public by increasing the prices of the things they buy." It will appear from above that scarcity of consumable goods is the inevitable and also the deliberate policy of War finance. And what is the test of Inflation ? Says the same author : "The test is this—Has any pound that the Government is spending been taken out of somebody's income ? If so, there is no inflation. But if the Government's expenditure increases without the Public's expenditure being reduced, *pound for pound*, then, whatever the outward appearance of the financial devices adopted, they are, in fact, inflationary."

With all the facts and figures you have marshalled, you have nowhere attempted to prove that the public expenditure and the Government's expenditure have moved in inverse ratio. If you could prove this then and then only there will be scarcity of consumable goods and yet no inflation and no rise in prices.

As I had already hinted, you should have admitted inflation and suggested increased production only as a measure of remedy. Everyone will agree with you that the conditions in India are very much different from those of other progressive and industrialised countries at war, such as, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In so far as scope for increased production is concerned, whatever might be the conditions in other countries, there is no doubt that there are still untapped resources and forced idleness throughout India. But here again there are certain insurmountable obstacles, if we should look hard facts in the face, which stand in the way of increasing her production in spite of her favourable position in certain respects. Even assuming that further production was possible with the now available unskilled labour and strictly limited industrial equipments and transport facilities at our disposal, the Government would not and cannot produce goods for public consumption but would try to increase the output, if at all possible, of goods for war purposes only. With strict control of all enterprises and the want of machinery, plants and tools, expansion of industries in the present circumstances to meet public needs is not possible and it is also not to the interests of any Government at war. Secondly, we should not forget that even for the interests of war, the British Government could not be persuaded to establish such industries in our country which might make them lose the Indian market hereafter. The only field where there is room for increasing production is agriculture but this will also call for an extraordinary organisation to give it the requisite push and drive and shall also demand immediate solution of certain vital problems, such as provision of long and short term loan for the agriculturists, necessary implements, good seeds and manures —problems which could not be solved in the last 100 years. With the men at the disposal of the present Government, nothing more than expression of pious wish and distribution of grow-more-food pamphlets could be expected of them. However, in this sphere a National Government could do something even within the present restricted circumstances. But those who would run the national Government or could "inspire, plan and mobilise the country's mind and capacity" are ploughing their lonely furrows inside their prison house. So, increase in the production of consumable goods even in India under the present circumstances is not less "unpractical" than purchase of Government's requirements in countries other than India or stoppage of export of essential food-stuffs and cotton piecegoods from India. India must be made to contribute her men and materials, to her utmost capacity, to all parts of the world within her comparatively easy reach. In doing so, the interests of the people are bound to suffer from reduction of consumption. You may agitate against it but to ask for increased production of consumable goods with all the unlimited demands of a totalitarian war is to ask for the moon or for the armistice.

If you had kept the two fundamental wartime economic phenomena in view : (*i*) "the

task of any form of war finance is to reduce popular consumption"; (*ii*) "Taxation and borrowing do it by taking money out of the pockets of the people before they can spend it; inflation lets them spend as much as before, but sees that they get less for it," the answer to your question (" should we, then, by way of applying a remedy, curtail private purchasing power and also private consumption ? ") should have been easily found. That answer is a clear and emphatic 'yes'. You cannot enter into a totalitarian war and have your old-time consumption intact. You cannot have both ways —eat your cake and have it. Your fundamental mistake lies in your contrary conception.

The point is not that there is less purchasing power or less private consumption. The real point is—how the aggregate sacrifice caused by this inevitable scarcity is to be equitably distributed among the different classes of people—the rich and the poor. Unfortunately you have totally overlooked this most important and vital point and treated the entire population on one and the same footing. Of the three methods *viz.*, taxation, borrowing and inflation, available for taking goods and services away from the people and giving the Government power to command them, the first (*i.e.*, taxation) if on high progressive scale is distasteful to the rich though best from the viewpoint of equity and the last (*i.e.*, inflation) is a hot favourite of the rich, though ruinous to the poor: Says Lord Keynes the celebrated Economist, "*Inflation greatly benefits some important interests.* It oils the wheels everywhere, and a regime of rising wages and profits spreads an *illusion* of prosperity."

It is too late in the day to try to defend inflation which is now universally admitted to be a dangerous menace of the war-time finance and which should be carefully avoided and deliberately checked as it is a thing which happens by itself if nothing else is done. It is also useless to deny the existence of inflation in face of the soaring prices which have shot up higher in proportion than those in England. If more economical and efficient marshalling of our men and resources and their more judicious and balanced distribution are not possible by the present Government, which has no popular sanction behind it, let there be more taxation on progressive scale and more borrowing. But for God's sake, inflation must be checked, to avoid present inequity and heart-burning and future class conflict and financial disaster.

From an enlightened and broadminded man like you, the country expects a correct lead and it is for this reason that I have taken the liberty to address you this open letter which I would not do to any other Capitalist Entrepreneur out-and-out. Your fair name, your right to speak on such subject with authority, are likely to strengthen the forces of mischief and weaken the cause of those unfortunate millions who cannot share the spoils of inflation but have only to bear its heavy brunt. Hence this letter in open cover.

Yours Truly,

ANATH GOPAL SEN

THE INDIAN CRIMINAL

By C. V. RAMANA

WHAT happens to the criminal after his release ? Does he change mentally after undergoing his long term of penal servitude ? What impressions does he gather during the period of imprisonment ? Have the criminal instincts in him been transformed into some form of creative construction of which society approves ? Is he now, after the imprisonment, capable of earning his livelihood ? Could the prison make a better man out of his monotonous "existence" behind bars? Has his health improved, and if not, why not? What diet is he given? And finally what has the prison done in moulding him into a social being ? Obviously these are the questions that arise, if we wish to understand both the mental and physical aspect of a prisoner's life. Naturally in this brief study we shall only make an attempt at answering all these questions.

None are born criminals. This is a very well-known fact that has only been established after a thoroughgoing study into human instincts and character, by many psychologists and doctors. One who commits a crime, a murder or a burglary, does so because certain circumstances arise in which one thinks that a murder or a burglary ought to be committed in order to master the circumstances and to a very great extent in order to fulfil one's selfish motives. One commits a theft for economic reasons mostly, one does not do it for the mere pleasure of it. It is starvation that drives the criminal to commit the act that is so much condemned

by law. Law does not try to understand the motives implied in the conduct of a human being which compel him to cross the boundaries of law. Law, without understanding human nature, imposes certain penalties that only further demoralise the victim and make him a person unacceptable to the present society. So long as law does not think of reforming an individual by understanding the circumstances and motives implied in the act, which the law looks upon as "illegal and criminal," the criminal's lot will remain the same. As Kripatrick says:

> "It is the society that corrupts and deteriorates the mind and turns the human being into a criminal perplexity resulting in criminal acts and it is not in any way a born complex in man."[1]

The criminal needs as much or even greater care, and comfort than the political prisoner. In fact it is the criminal that is to be reformed into one acceptable to society and not the political prisoner. People in general feel that a criminal is a parasite in society. Very few seem to realise that it is the very same society that has made him commit the acts, and which now looks upon them with contempt. Reforming the criminal would mean that society is improving; improving society would mean less criminals or even none at all. So it is a problem concerning society as a whole. But the present society looks upon the criminal as one who was born with such instincts. Indian society being dominated by retrograde forces that influence its ways both culturally and intellectually, one can well understand why this society does not protest against the cruel treatment that the criminal receives in this country. Society attaches greater importance to the treatment of politicals undergoing imprisonment, because politicals are more intimately connected with society in their actions and their everyday life. Gradually Indian society is realising what exactly the role of vested interests has meant to her.

Looking at the treatment the Indian criminal receives during the period of imprisonment, one is bewildered by the appalling conditions under which the criminal lives for years together. The diet is so poor that it often happens that even near relatives or friends no longer recognise the prisoner after long periods of imprisonment. It will surprise the reader to know the nominal amount spent by the government on each criminal on his diet. Everyday the criminal is allowed a sum of six pice (one anna and a half only) by government for his diet.[2] It is no consolation to know that even from this small menial amount the gaol warders and contractors have their share. So what actually the criminal receives would be an anna only. In Indian prisons the criminals are given their food according to weight. Newcomers to the prisons do not know the actual quantity of food materials they ought to receive. So in such cases the warders most unsympathetically exploit this ignorance for their own profit. Some gaol-birds who have been in prison more than half a dozen times know the exact quantity of food material they ought to receive, so in such odd cases the warders do not benefit very much. Though here too they have their share by brute force and power.

The vitamin content in the food supplied is almost nil.[3] With such malnutritious food the criminal is forced to labour from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. and again from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. In the morning the criminal labours with an empty stomach, as he receives his dole of food at 1 p.m., this being the first meal for the day. Time for rest is not provided for the criminal as he is to start labouring again at 2 p.m. The diet which the prisoner receives contains almost next to nil of proteins, no protein content is given to make the criminal energetic. The rice, pepper water with chilies, salt and some vegetables with very little oil, in fact produce a lethargic effect on the criminal's physical condition. After the Congress government came into power buttermilk was given to all prisoners,[4] but the quality was so bad that the difference between not having it and having it was not great. For the amount of labour that the criminal turns out, he very badly needs nourishing food. Even if one-fifth of the actual amount the government profits by the free labour of the criminal is spent for the criminal's diet, it will go to improve the criminal's health. A majority of the criminals after serving long periods of imprisonment are affected with some chronic disease or other. Dr. Henry Morrison in his brilliant article on the criminal's health gives the following data. Out of 65 prisoners of long penal servitude released in Mexico, where criminals are treated

1. *Individual in the Making* by Kripatrick, page 76, Chap. 8, "The Criminal Mind."

2. *Madras Gaol Manual*, published by the Government of Madras, 1939.

3. Report and Recommendation submitted by the Congress to the Central Government for amendment of gaol regulations and improving the quality and quantity of food. 1938.

4. Change of Gaol diet made in 3 provinces only: Madras, Bombay and United Provinces. Changes being introduced by Ministers of Public Health, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan and Mr. Gilder.

as badly as in India, 15 were suffering from tuberculosis, 6 from venereal diseases, 5 from apoplexy, 10 whose mental condition necessitated admittance into lunatic asylums, 5 from miscellaneous diseases of a less serious type, the rest of course from under-nourishment.[5]

Apart from insufficiently nourishing diet and ill-health, the criminal suffers from "isolation" of a strange type. There is no variety at all in the criminal's life in prison. Everyday there are the same monotonous tasks which he has to perform. In case the criminal refuses to perform his task, he is whipped and forced to work, and is given much harder work than usual for his stubbornness. For fear of pain he labours hard. This being the case no kind of friendly relation can exist between the gaol officials and the criminals. The criminal is always suspected. All movements of his are watched with scrutinising care. He is not trusted in anything. No sort of privacy is permitted to the criminal. Usually such odd treatment affects the criminal's nerves. But how is he to express his feelings? He only suppresses his emotions and feelings in such a way that it helps him to brood more and increase his worries. The cell he lives in is ill-ventilated, smelly, dirty and crowdy. In a small room of 6000 cubic feet 6 criminals are allowed to stay. Within such a small area no allowance is made for the prisoner's private life. Usually it is a corner without any screen. Considering all this, one comes to understand the unhygienic conditions under which human beings are forced to live. Now, it will not surprise the reader to know that the maximum number of deaths occur in the prisons of India and Japan. Nicholson is right when he says:

> "The fact that the greatest number of prisoners die in India and Japan goes well to prove that because of the very fundamental necessities for human beings being deprived, the number of deaths reaches such an astounding height. Most of the released prisoners are either semi-neurotic or in state of mental persecution which ultimately leads to final stages of neurosis."[6]

The question of sex-hunger, "libido" being one of the fundamental features in the life of a human being, has to be suppressed by the criminal. The criminal in India is not allowed to have physical intimacy, even not with his wife. A healthy emotional and sexual life being out of the question, the prisoner suffers from hunger for food and sex, neither of which can be satisfied. This being the case the criminal is forced, as there is no other alternative, to inhibit his fundamental desires very strongly. The criminal is also not given scope for sublimating his desires into something useful and active. This cannot be done unless the criminal has freedom to select the job he prefers and work as he desires.

This being the case, the criminal is filled with illusions regarding every aspect of human life. The mind of the criminal gets into such a complex of illusions that the criminal no more cares what happens to him. Now his pleasures are turned into dreams. He derives satisfaction from his dreams. The criminal creates his own private world which only his mind can imagine. The disillusionment he derives from actual conditions around him increases so long as he is not allowed expression of his suppressed inhibitions and strong desires. These fundamentals being denied to him, his inhibitions become stronger and are more complex in their nature. His whole thought is occupied by such strong illusions Dreams occupy his imagination. The creative aspect of his imagination is baffled. He sees nothing but madness in him and around him. Contact with the outer world, with which he is so accustomed, being barred to him, the illusions increase. He has no one near him whom he trusts and from whom he, previous to his imprisonment, derived comfort and consolation. Everywhere around him he finds force and cruelty, no trace of kindness being visible. This being the case he falls into a stage of semi-neurosis, wherein his present state of mind occupies itself with imaginations and brooding over illusions. A brilliant analysis of the criminal mind has been given by Ernest Jones[7] in his address to a gathering at Zurich. Dr. Ernest Jones giving facts about a criminal whom he had analysed, states that committing a certain crime is not an instinct but is circumstantial. If proper environment is given, the criminal can very easily be made to adjust himself to society.

It is a fact that a majority of the criminals who undergo long periods of penal servitude are admitted into lunatic asylums in India. 56% of the lunatics in Indian asylums are criminals.[8] These facts reveal in detail that the treatment given to prisoners in India is most unsuitable both mentally and physically. A criminal who

5. Article entitled "Criminal's [illegible]nt and their Health" by Henry Morrison, Hyg[illegible], May.

6. Nickolson: "Death-rate in [illegible] Prisons and its Cause." Article in *Times* (U. S. A.), dated Jan. 6, 1941.

7. "The Criminal Mind"—a talk given by Ernest Jones in Zurich. Published in *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, 1931.

8. *Madras Medical Report* (1936), Page 12.

is suddenly released after a long period of sentence finds to his surprise, that he is unnoticed, no chains, none to threaten him, no work to do, and that he is at liberty to do anything that pleases him. This sudden freedom to the mind comes into conflict with the illusioned ideologies of his semi-neurotic condition, hence this sudden shock only turns him into a perfect neurotic instead of into a sensible creature who can live and adjust himself to society.

How are all these problems met with in other countries? No country has been so negligent about its criminal offenders as India. After the dawn of Psychology and Psycho-analysis the treatment of criminals has fast improved. Society as well as individuals who care for the criminals have tried to understand the differences between human errors and crimes. In the prisons of Russia the criminal is very well treated. Firstly, the role of force has been abolished, proper nourishing diet is given Variety and entertainment, which the Indian criminal lacks much, is provided. The Law is very sympathetic in its understanding of the criminal.[9] The criminal does not feel that he is in a place where he is being tried for an offence for which he is to be punished. He lives only in separate quarters, no difference being made between prison-life and the life the criminal has been accustomed to previously. Games, books, creative recreation are provided for the criminal. The question of sex-starvation does not arise at all.[10] The prisoner in Russia enjoys the presence of well-qualified and capable doctors, psycho-analysts, and tutors. Many novels[11] give detailed pictures of Russian prison-life. Thus it is clear how the problems arising from the treatment of criminals are intelligently solved. In Europe almost all countries realise that a criminal is not a pest, but one to be looked after with greater care and better supervision, so that a criminal who goes back to live in society is able to adjust himself easily.

Even in Germany where the worst of human tortures are supposed to be prevalent, the criminal is treated in a much superior and scientific way.[12] It is the political agitator that meets with the inventions of inhuman torture. He, according to the rulers, is a menace to the growing society. This being the case the domineering power tries to put an end to the menace. Stefan Lorant[13] gives a good picture regarding the treatment of criminals as well as of political offenders. He relates in detail the vivid experiences he had as a political agitator. When Stefan Lorant was released, his child who had by then grown up greets him first with a "Heil Hitler,"[14] and not as father. Due to fear and also because of training, the child forgets to greet its parents as its guardians, but greets them in an artificial manner. Details of the life of German prisoners are clearly depicted in Feuchtwanger's plays and novels.[15]

The prisons of England are slowly improving and conditions are much better than in India. Continuously thorough-going investigations regarding criminals, their mind, and treatment, are being conducted on progressive lines in England. Palme Dutt[16] gives clear accounts of some prisons in England, specially the one in Putney, London, where experiments are being carried on regarding the treatment of criminals. Cole[17] gives details of "pre-reformed" prisons in England and their conditions. Readers interested may go through his article in *Time and Tide*, to compare and contrast the conditions of the criminals there with those prevailing in India.

In America the prisons are places where the criminal reforms himself and comes out healthy both mentally and physically. As the name "Reform House" itself suggests, the prison is like a hospital where certain bad and unnecessary elements are removed from the body. The prisons are fast improving. Psychology is applied to the advantage of the nation in order to know and understand the criminal. Upton Sinclair's novel[18] gives a fairly good account of these "Reform Houses."

In conclusion we may say that one finds a large difference between the treatment of

9. *Soviet Communism, a New Civilisation* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Chapter 18 and 26. 1936.

10. *Soviet Democracy* by Pat Sloan (Pages 213, 14, 17, 19). 1938.

11. *Great Offensive* by Maurice Hindus, 1931. *And then the Harvest* by Panferov, 1940.

12. *I was a German* by Ernest Toller. 1937.

13. *I was Hitler's Prisoner* by Stefan Lorant (Penguin). 1939.

14. *I was Hitler's Prisoner* by Stefan Lorant, Page 248.

15. Plays of Feuchtwanger, New York; and *Power* by Feuchtwanger, New York.

16. "The New Cell," Article by Palme Dutt, Editor, *Labour Monthly*, in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, dated May 11, 1939.

17. "The English Criminal," Article in *Time and Tide*, dated Jan. 4, 1937.

18. *Co-Op.* by Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, *n.d.*

criminals in India and abroad. Nothing much has been said regarding the prisons in the East as they are similar to, or even worse, than those in India. Gradually in India too the importance of the treatment of criminals is being realised, though the rate, at which the government and the public in general come to realise the significance of the problem, is indeed very slow.

It will not be hoping in vain to expect the people of India to understand the urgency regarding the criminals and their treatment in the Indian prisons.

GUERILLA WARFARE—A HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

By M. B. DEOPUJARI, M.A., LL.B.

THE part played by guerillas in China and Russia has proved the importance of this form of warfare even in these days of highly mechanised and scientific war. In both these countries, the aggressors were prevented from taking complete hold of the conquered territories and consolidating them by guerilla bands of patriotic men and women, many of them erstwhile peace-loving citizens. They stepped in when the regular armies had to quit the field. And they did the job. So conspicuous has been the role of these guerillas that attempts are being made in all countries to organise guerilla bands alongside the regular armies. It would be therefore interesting to study the historical origin and the importance of guerilla warfare as such.

History tells us of the struggles of nations and peoples. In the past, aggression of one nation over another or of one community over another was the order of the day. The issue of the struggle, in all such cases was determined by the kings and nobles who fought it out—out among themselves alone. The common people did not come into the picture at all. They would accept the resultant change of masters as a matter of course having neither the spirit nor the requisite training to rally together in defence of their country. In this way the Mohammedans came in India in the 12th century and found themselves in possession of an Empire no sooner did they defeat an ill-assorted league of Rajput kings headed by Prithviraj Chauhan. For centuries thereafter the Hindus acquiesced in the domination of the Muslims. But for an all-round defence of the Fatherland such as we witness in western countries to-day, a vast country like India would not have gone under so easily.

In the 17th century there came a reawakening in the land specially in the South and the people began to experience the surge of new life. Leaders had to turn the spirit of patriotism to fruitful account which meant organising resistance to the hitherto strongly entrenched Power. It was the genius of Shivaji the Great that pointed out the way. Shivaji was a true statesman. He assessed correctly the possibilities of the times and found out the best means to realise them. He exploited all the advantages nature had bestowed on his country-men His hill-forts were the centres of his strength His enemies, the Bijapuris and the Moguls strove their utmost to draw him out on the plains but Shivaji avoided pitched battles and chose his own methods to defeat his foes. His tactics were to send out small parties of men to raid enemy camps, loot their baggages and destroy their ammunitions. At a moment when the enemy thought himself secure from attacks Shivaji's men would make their appearance and spread terror among his soldiers No time was given to the enemy to recover from surprise. The episode of Shahista Khan's narrow escape from his Poona house is a good illustration of the boldness of Shivaji's plans and their skilful execution. Thus Shivaji was the father of guerilla warfare. He put into practice the tactics associated with guerilla warfare long before the Spaniards conceived of them. The term guerilla was applied first to the irregular troops which attacked the French Army of occupation in Spain during the Napoleonic wars and turned it into a 'running sore' for Napoleon. On account of the obstinate resistance put up by the guerillas, Napoleon was forced to keep several of his best divisions locked up in Spain and had to face a war on two fronts.

At the time of Shivaji's death the Maratha kingdom was firmly established but it was still in its infancy. On the other hand, the Mogul Empire had reached its zenith and Aurangzeb personally arrived in the Deccan to lead an all-out campaign of extermination against the Marathas. Resources in men and material of the greatest empire of the world of those days were matched against a petty State hardly a

decade old. Could the issue of such an unequal struggle—a struggle between a giant and a dwarf—be in doubt? But then a miracle happened. True to the traditions and methods of the founder of the kingdom, Maratha leaders made ready to face upto the aggressor. The war of liberation lasted 20 years. The Emperor lived long enough to witness the failure of his grand army and his grandiose plans. In spite of his commanding talents, religious zeal and love of power he died a disappointed man. Students of guerilla warfare will come across many a deed of valour and devotion wrought by the guerilla leaders of those days. Santaji Ghorpade was the foremost among them. He had received his training under Shivaji and was a master of guerilla tactics. While the Moguls had to all appearances subjugated Maharashtra by capturing Sambhaji, the Maratha King, and Rayagarh, the Maratha capital, Santaji was preparing plans to attack and harass the enemy from outside. During the prolonged siege of Jinji, the war-time capital of Maharashtra, Santaji sent parties of his men to disrupt enemy lines of communications and spread confusion among them. On a seven hundred mile front which included Maharashtra and Karnatak Santaji's men operated against the enemy incessantly, giving him no respite. The Moguls found it impossible to bring him to bay. The strain of pursuing such an elusive foe taxed the resources of the Moguls to the utmost and systematic subjugation of the country was rendered impossible. Presently the besiegers of Jinji found themselves besieged by Santaji's Marathas. They faced starvation as no supplies could reach them and they were forced to blow up their own dumps of ammunition lest they might fall into the hands of the Marathas. At last the Moguls were forced to raise the siege and return to safer places. The initiative soon passed into the hands of Marathas. Not only did they save their kingdom but emboldened by their successes set on a career of conquest.

During the quarter of a century following the death of Aurangzeb, the Marathas annexed parts of central and eastern India. Bajirao the great Peshwa was like Shivaji a master of guerilla warfare. While his lieutenants were plundering the Doab, the Mogul Emperor sent Sadatkhan, the founder of Oudh, to oppose them. In an action against the Marathas, Sadatkhan won some success which he magnified into a great disaster for the Maratha arms. While the Emperor was gloating over the great victories of his General Sadatkhan, Bajirao who was near at hand detached a few of his divisions to retrieve the situation in the Doab and he himself suddenly appeared before the very gates of Delhi. Indescribable was the panic and consternation the news caused in the Mogul Court and urgent messages were sent to the Nizam summoning him to Delhi. Asafjah the Nizam was the most determined enemy of the Peshwa. He felt delighted to have a chance of wrecking vengeance on the Marathas for many of their past misdeeds. He went post-haste to Delhi and elaborate plans were drawn up to crush the Maratha power. But Bajirao kept himself well informed of all his moves and took steps to prevent any succour from reaching from the south. Then he confronted the Nizam as he reached Bhopal and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. The Battle of Bhopal has been described by the eminent historian Sardesai as a master-piece of guerilla warfare. The Marathas made effective use of guerilla tactics in defensive as well as offensive operations.

The lightly armed Maratha horseman, subsisting on bare necessaries of life, generally a loaf of bread and chutney and practising the motto "fare hard and journey fast," has not yet become a relic of bygone days. We find his counterpart in Russia and in China and in all the occupied countries of Europe today. The full contribution of the guerillas in the present titanic struggle for human freedom and justice is yet to be known. Though methods of warfare have vastly changed since the days of Shri Shivaji and Bajirao, the conception of total war such as is waged by Germany and Japan and Italy, necessitates the mobilisation of all the resources of the modern State. In such a scheme the guerilla forces are complementary to the regular forces and form, as it were, a second line of defence. A regular and methodical training of the people in guerilla warfare is a real desideratum. It was with the object of drawing attention of the Government to this problem that Revered Doctor Moonje, with his usual political foresight, issued an appeal to the Government of India two years ago. He followed it up by approaching leaders of the country in the same connection and has, with their co-operation, succeeded in making a beginning in this direction. It is to be hoped that his efforts will lead to a fuller appreciation of the importance of guerilla warfare both by the Government and the people.

THE THEORY OF THE CLASS-WAR

By D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

The theory of the class-war was first propounded in a systematic manner by Karl Marx assisted by Engels in the Communist Manifesto which appeared in the year **1848**. Karl Marx, it may be noted, was not the originator of the socialist idea, as many wrongly suppose, but was only the originator of the doctrine of the class-war which is really the distinguishing feature of Marx's contribution to the general socialist thought.

Although socialism as an idea was born long before Marx's time it was confined more or less to utopian theories but with the advent of Marx it at once assumed importance both as a philosophical interpretation of the history of mankind and as a practical guide for the achievement of the socialist goal. But neither the Communist Manifesto nor the more detailed later work 'Das Capital' can be taken to have said the last word on socialism; indeed, socialist thought has progressed a great deal since Marx's time and even to this day it continues, still, to be a growing idea which has yet to take final shape.

While a number of thoughtful writers before, during and after Marx's time, have contributed to socialist thought, Marx's contribution is significant as a land-mark in its growth and development just as the contributions of Darwin and Freud are significant as distinct land-marks in the growth of the theories of evolution and pshycho-analysis.

According to the theory of the class-war, the inherent clash of interests in the various groups of society would be reduced ultimately to a direct conflict between the exploiting on the one hand and the exploited on the other in which the exploited all over the world would join hands to wrench the power from the exploiting, and establish a proletarian dictatorship which in its turn would pave the way for the achievement of a classless society wherein all exploitation would be at an end. This, in substance, is the Marxian brand of socialism commonly known as communism. It will be helpful to note here that the fundamental difference between those that call themselves communists and the other socialists, who do not, is really one of method and detail; thus while the communists swear by Karl Marx and his doctrine of the class-war the other socialists do not.

Karl Marx, it may be noted, not only predicted the phase of the class-war as inevitable but believed there was no other way of attaining the socialist goal.

Before accepting or otherwise of this theory it would be instructive to examine how far things have progressed in the direction Marx envisaged: A good many tendencies Marx predicted have remained not only unfulfilled even to this day but actually developed in exactly an opposite direction. Thus for instance, instead of class-strife it is national rivalry that has been becoming increasingly marked. To-day the exploitation of one nation by another is more marked than the exploitation of one class by another. Can any one dispute the fact that the exploitation of the working class either in Britain or India pales into insignificance before the much more systematic exploitation of India by Britain? Since the publication of the Communist Manifesto people everywhere have grown more nationally conscious than class-conscious. The experience of this war as well as the last shows clearly that people who talk of international class-war do not hesitate to join their respective nations promptly at the out-break of wars between rival nations.

The British Labour Party has again and again shown by its attitude that it prefers a capitalist England with all her colonies rather than a socialist England without any colonies. This is nothing strange since the average British worker knows his interest too well and is much more shrewd than the average communist to be led away by 'international slogans.' It ought to be clear then, that class interest does not necessarily prove stronger than national interest as Marx mistakenly supposed.

Coming next to the progressive deterioration in the condition of the working class which Marx predicted, nothing of the kind has happened. Working class conditions without exception have improved all over the world though in subject nations like India the pace has been slower.

Then again instead of society developing into two clear-cut camps of exploiting on the one hand and exploited on the other, strangely enough, it has developed into an anomaly where most of us find ourselves both exploiting and exploited at the same time. This is what Bertrand Russell says in his book *Roads To Freedom* (pages 154, 155):

"There is no alchemy by which a universal harmony can be produced out of hatred. Those who have been

inspired to action by the doctrine of the class-war will have acquired the habit of hatred, and will instinctively seek new enemies when the old ones have been vanquished.

"But in actual fact the psychology of the working man in any of the Western democracies is totally unlike that which is assumed in the Communist Manifesto. He does not by any means feel that he has nothing to lose but his chains, nor indeed is this true. The chains which bind Asia and Africa in subjection to Europe are partly riveted by him. He is himself part of a great system of tyranny and exploitation. Universal freedom would remove, not only his chains, which are comparatively light, but the far heavier chains which he has helped to fasten upon the subject races of the world.

"Not only do the working men of a country like England have a share in the benefit accruing from the exploitation of inferior races, but many among them also have their part in the capitalist system. The funds of Trade Unions and friendly societies are invested in ordinary undertakings, such as railways; many of the better-paid wage-earners have put their savings into Government securities; and almost all who are politically active feel themselves part of the forces that determine public policy, through the power of the Labour Party and the greater Unions. Owing to these causes, their outlook on life has become to a considerable extent impregnated with capitalism. And as their sense of power has grown, their nationalism has increased. This must continue to be true of any internationalism which is based upon hatred of the capitalist and adherence to the doctrine of the class-war."

From the above it should be clear that the exploited of one country may very well be the exploiting of another and that workers do not always find the communist slogan 'Workers of all nations unite' a suitable one! Bertrand Russel in the same book, *Roads To Freedom*, gives the instance of Bernstein, the German socialist who 'even goes so far as to maintain that European nations have a right to tropical territory owing to their higher civilization.' There is nothing strange in this, since there is no reason why a country while wanting to be socialist at home should not want to be capitalist abroad when countries which while professing to be democratic at home can have no scruples to be autocratic abroad. The fact is socialism is not incompatible with nationalism.

To-day Russia which is a socialist country is fighting in the name of the fatherland and not in the name of socialism. Whatever might be the conditions that induced Karl Marx to believe in the inevitability of the class-war as a necessary phase of the socialist revolution, the conditions of the present-day world certainly do not warrant that assumption. It has been shown already that the assumptions on which Marx bases his theory of the class-war—class-consciousness rather than national consciousness that would tend to be more marked, that the working class conditions would tend to deteriorate steadily and that society would tend to develop more and more into two clear-cut camps exploiting on the one hand and exploited on the other,—proved totally incorrect. This is so because Marx largely arrives at his conclusions from what he witnessed of the working class conditions in England, France and Germany of his own day. No doubt the early uncontrolled private capitalist enterprise resulted in a good deal of wretchedness of the working classes but this was rather due to allowing the theory of *laissez faire* to exercise its influence beyond the limits of its utility than to the inherent callousness of the capitalist class as Marx was mistakenly led to believe. The doctrine of *laissez faire* is everywhere at a discount now and is not likely to be revived until, perhaps, a democratic world federation comes into existence.

Then again, because even in England, the bulwark of democracy, the working class did not possess the right to vote during his time, Marx wrongly supposed that democratic government could never be possible in a capitalist country. Hence he thought the only way of capturing the government by the workers lay through revolt. This also naturally confirmed his belief in the inevitability of the class-war. But as is well-known England introduced universal suffrage soon after and though continuing to be a capitalist country has been running ever since an essentially democratic government. Indeed, not only England but a good many capitalist countries have adopted democratic forms of government and introduced measures in the interest of the working classes, which Marx could never have thought possible, purely by constitutional means. Had Marx been alive today, probably, he would have modified his views regarding the inevitability of the class-war. Marx's defect lies, chiefly, in that he relies upon data which is not sufficient to draw the conclusions he arrives at, and in being influenced by too much scepticism and cynicism in estimating human nature and attributing human motive; so that his thesis cannot be taken to be an entirely objective study.

Whatever propaganda value it might have had two or three generations ago, to-day the theory of the class-war is only helping to create confusion in people's minds being no more a doctrine supported by facts. It is this confusion which has led some of the communists to condemn even Gandhiji as a tool of the capitalists although to every unbiassed person Gandhiji must appear as one who has done more than anybody

else to eliminate exploitation from our present-day world.

One would do well to remember that socialism to-day has taken fuller shape as an idea and that socialist thought has grown more comprehensive and clear, thanks to the efforts of intellectual groups like the Fabians and to thoughtful writers like Bernard Shaw, who is also a Fabian by the way, and Bertrand Russell, to mention only a few.

Shaw's *Guide To Socialism,* to give a single instance, is not only much more clear, comprehensive and convincing than anything Marx wrote but the Fabian brand of socialism, to mention one among many other brands, is in every way an improvement over the crude Marxian brand, *i.e.*, communism.

Many of the socialists who differ from the communists are not moderate but only modern and it is the class-war fads who are really out of date.

To any intelligent observer it will be evident that not only our world has already imbibed quite a good deal of socialism but that socialist economy is coming to be accepted more and more not because of any class interest but simply as a progressive move. It must be noted, however, that even if every country in the world were to become socialist exploitation and wars might not cease altogether until all the nations learn to look upon one another as members of one world family. In this connection it is both interesting and instructive to note, what Bertrand Russell says in the same book *Roads To Freedom* (page 156) :

> "In Australia and California, there is an intense dislike and fear towards the yellow races . . . . I cannot but think that, if Australia were completely socialized, there would still remain the same popular objection as at present to any large influx of Chinese or Japanese labour. Yet if Japan also were to become a Socialist State, the Japanese might well continue to feel the pressure of population and the desire for an outlet. In such circumstances, all the passions, and interests required to produce a war would exist, in spite of the establishment of socialism in both countries"

From what has been said above it follows that socialism is not necessarily international and that one can be a very good socialist indeed, without believing in the theory of the class-war. In fact this bewildering theory has, to a certain extent, scared away a good many from joining the socialist cause who otherwise would have been attracted to it.

Whatever force it might have had in the past, to-day while socialism is becoming increasingly popular the theory of the class-war is coming to be viewed as more reactionary on the whole than revolutionary.

The rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany can partly be explained as resulting from a reaction to the theory of the class-war and not as a reaction to socialism as many wrongly suppose. Both Italy and Germany call themselves National Socialist States and introduced measures which Marx would have thought steps in the direction of socialist economy. This is what John Gunther, the eminent American Journalist-writer, has to say about Fascism in his book *Inside Asia* (page 80) :

> "The conventional Marxist definition of Fascism is that it is the last stand of private monopoly capitalism against social revolution. I do not find this definition very satisfactory, since it ignores the considerable revolutionary element in Fascism It ignores the fact that Fascism borrows heavily from Marxism, and makes a pretence at least of establishing a social order in which some of the extravagances of capitalism are curtailed
>
> Under Fascism both capital and labour are at the mercy of the state, which is the supreme embodiment of economic as well as political authority."

Being frankly and blatantly imperialistic and opportunist, Fascism is neither the friend of capitalism nor the enemy of socialism Fascism has not hesitated to wage war against capitalist countries nor to conclude pacts with socialist countries It is out and out Machiavellian. Believing as it does, however, in the doctrine of the totalitarian state and being intensely nationalist it cannot tolerate a disintegrating influence like the doctrine of the class-war.

The theory of the class-war has come to be viewed as a reactionary doctrine not only by the fascist countries but even nationalist China under Chiang Kai-shek, which has always continued to be friendly with Russia, did not hesitate to carry out a bloody purge of the communists in China when their influence was felt to be detrimental to Chinese national interests. Indeed, communist purges are not wholly absent, even in Russia, the cradle of orthodox communism.

The dispute between Stalin and Trotsky represents to a large extent the difference between modern socialism and orthodox communism, and with the banishment of Trotsky from Russia international communistic influence, too, is virtually eliminated from Russia.

The reason why Russia to a certain extent developed on Marxist lines, in the beginning is to be found in the fact that it did not have a democratic government during the Czars' regime; and consequently the intellectual groups, who



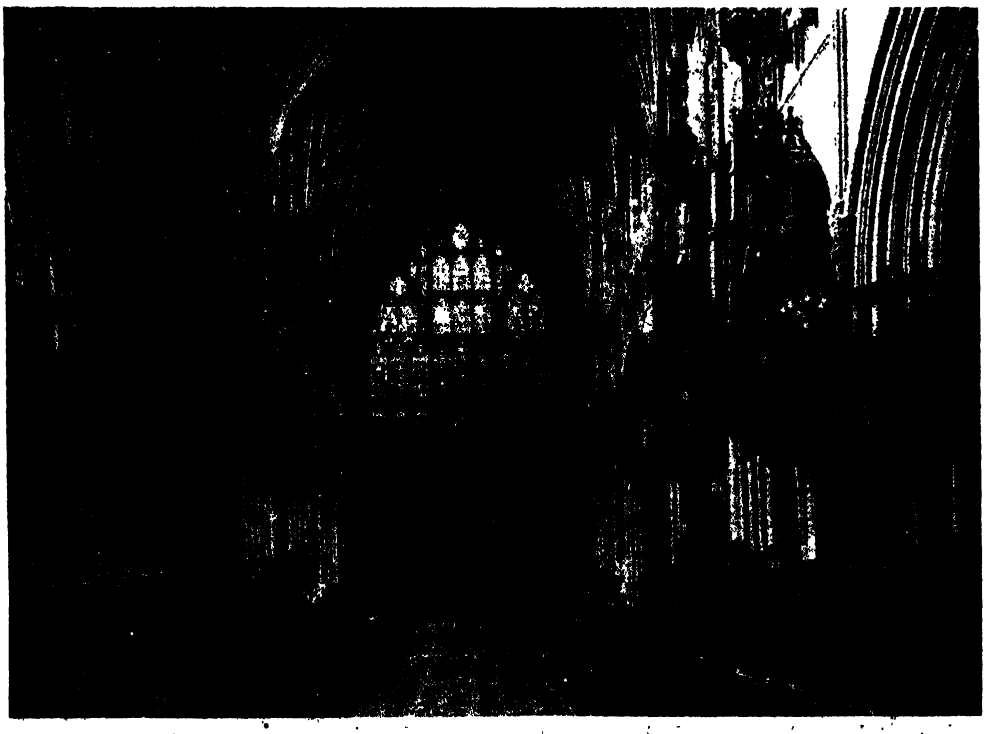
The west front of Peterborough Cathedral with its three mighty arches.



The west front of Wells Cathedral is richer in medieval carving and wider than any other English Cathedral



Chichester Cathedral, with its tall spire, dominates an English market town which even to-day retains some of its medieval atmosphere



The Choir was the richest and most complete portion of Exeter Cathedral before the German raid

largely contributed to the Russian revolution, found the slogan of the class-war a very useful rallying force for the organization of revolt against the existing government.

Not only has Russia been swerving from orthodox communism but under Stalin's regime it has been steadily conserving its energies to build up a strong nation instead of wasting any of its energies on doubtful international ideologies.

Russia to-day has emerged from hazy theories into practical wisdom and as has been pointed out already, in its present heroic resistance to German aggression, Stalin is appealing to the Russians in the name of the fatherland and not in the name of any international ideology.

Whatever significance the theory of the class-war might have possessed in the past, to-day, when the causes for class-strife are much less, it not only ceases to be a revolutionary doctrine but is in danger of actually developing into a reactionary influence.

CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND

By NORMAN HILLSON

Canterbury

Canterbury, standing in the heart of the ancient kingdom of Kent, is not only one of the oldest cities of England but also the site of her first Christian cathedral. It was in 597 that Pope Gregory the Great sent St. Augustine and his missionaries from Rome to convert the English. St. Augustine came to Canterbury and began to build what was later to become the huge Metropolitan Church. He was enthroned as first Archbishop and, with but brief intermission, Archbishops have sat on this throne ever since.

From these very early days the Cathedral of Canterbury has been of supreme importance in England and its importance has been enhanced by its architectural beauty. Like so many other English Cathedral Churches, it was the result of slow development and an admixture of passing designs and styles. Often damaged by fire, there were times when the monks of the attached Benedictine priory were disheartened. This was especially the case after the great Archbishop Lanfrance died in 1089. A contemporary prior, Conrad, built a choir which even his contemporaries, described as "glorious." It was burned to the ground, and the monks called in William of Sens, a Burgundian mason. He carried on with the building until he was incapacitated by falling from scaffolding, and was succeeded by William the Englishman, who created the outline of the great church we know to this day.

Since those days the Cathedral has been much enriched and now the huge tower called the "Bell Harry" dominates the whole building.

Approached by way of a gate house, it stands apart from the town, which grew around its walls. It has been the centre of English episcopal life from the moment of its inception, and its archbishops have numbered in their ranks eminent divines from the earliest times. Lanfrance, Anselm, Becket, Hubert, Walter, Chicheley, Morton, Cranmer, Pole, Parker, Laud, Juxon, Tenison, Tait and Benson—each name is a footnote to English history.

The Cathedral is full of treasures. The marble throne of the Archbishop dates from 1200, and in the north choir aisle you can still see the helm, surcoat, sword and spurs of Edward the Black Prince, who died in 1376.

Rochester

The missionary work of St. Augustine did not cease with the foundation of Canterbury Cathedral. His was a nation-wide mission, and he gave it expression in the other notable church of the Kentish kingdom—the cathedral of St. Andrew at Rochester.

The ancient building, begun in 604, although not of the ambitious proportions of the mother church, still stands on an eminence above the river Medway and is a familiar landmark in the English scene. It was not until 1130 that the cathedral as it appears to-day was consecra-

ted. By that time successive priors of Canterbury had added to the fabric and the beautiful west front in Norman style had been completed.

Rochester, as its name implies, is a city of Roman origin, and for centuries it was an important fortress commanding a vital bridge across the river Medway. The noble remains of the castle keep bears witness to its former importance.

The town to-day is small, but it has an honoured place in history, for, throughout the



The choir is unusually long in Canterbury Cathedral and is notable for the fine ornamentation and the use of round and pointed arches

centuries its citizens have insisted on maintaining their liberties, and it is interesting to note that in the very early days the monks of the cathedral fought with the citizens to safeguard the privileges of the royal borough, a status it has enjoyed since the Norman Conquest of Britain in 1066.

The most famous Bishop of the See of Rochester was St. John Fisher, martyred by King Henry VIII and canonized by Pope Pius XI in 1935.

Chichester

Of more importance in the south was the cathedral of Chichester, in coastal county of Sussex.

To-day this once thriving entrepot of merchants and sailors operating in the adjoining creek leading down the point of Selsey is a dreamy, half-forgotten town of about 14,000 people. But its former significance is emphasised by the beautiful market cross which stands through quite close to the precincts of the cathedral If you wander through the Dean's garden beyond the cloisters, you will find that the herbaceous borders are backed by the old walls of the original Roman camp erected in the first years of the Christian era.

The cathedral stands as a reminder of the years now passed, dominating the small city with its massive stone walls, its detached campanile and its tall spire

One can capture the atmosphere of a medieval market town, for the Cross, erected by Bishop Story round about 1500 marks the junction of the four main streets which used to serve the ancient gates Here to this day street vendors gather to peddle the produce grown on the rich lands which surround the city.

Chichester Cathedral was built in 1108, and although it has often been damaged by fire, it still retains more on less the form intended by its founders.

Its architectural charms are of a modest and yet ingratiating kind They do not obtrude. But Chichester must always be an abiding memory for the traveller, for it is so essentially of the English countryside.

He can stand on the Downs above the park of the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood and look down on that pleasant dip of land. Far away the sea is hidden in a bank of mist. Nearer are the woods and the sweep of green fields, with here and there an occasional village There is an uncanny sense of peace and very great quiet. And all the time in the half haze of a summer afternoon there is the dim outline of the cathedral church which was built nearly a thousand years ago.

Exeter

Exeter, known in Roman times as Isca Damnonorium, lies in the south-west of England. It is the capital of the historic county of Devon, but even today its population is only a little more than 50,000. The modern city has spread below the broad ridge of land above the river

Exe on which, in the year 1050, Leofric, the first Bishop, founded a church on the site of a primitive Saxon monastery.

Though other cathedrals in England were built by strangers, Exeter has the distinction of having grown out of the soil, of being made with local materials by local men and sanctified in its development by native bishops such as Bronescombe and Quivil, both of whom were born within the walls of the ancient city. Nothing remains of Leofric's foundation, and the present cathedral dates from 1114. Although it is not so extensive as many other English cathedrals, it is one of the most perfect examples of the Decorated style.

The church is dedicated to St. Peter and stands just a little isolated from the modern town, across a spread of lawn. The first view is inspiring to the stranger. The ancient twelfth century towers of the north and south transept rise in contrast to the noble masonry of the choir and the Lady Chapel of a later date. Apart from occasional restoration work, the whole cathedral was completed by 1480.

The unexpected is the most satisfactory benison to the discerning traveller. It is there in full measure if he enters Exeter cathedral by the west door, for he will immediately be confronted by the full sweep of nave and choir extending under a vaulted roof for more than one hundred yards.

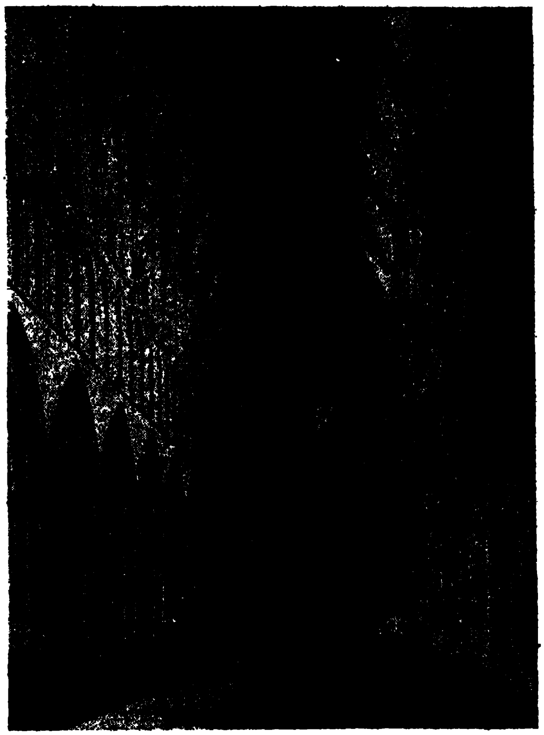
But the first astonishment is enhanced by the many surprises in the detail of the church itself. There is the unique ministrel's gallery in the triforium dating from the fourteenth century. Here are carved figures of angels playing eleven medieval instruments: cithole, bagpipe, recorder, viol, harp, Jew's harp, trumpet, organ, gittern, shawn, timbrel and cymbals. On Christmas afternoon the choir sings carols from this gallery to music played as far as possible on these same ancient reeds and brass.

Then there is the reredos of the altar made in 1319, the choir screen carved about the same time, the ancient tomb of the original Lady Chapel, and the bosses in the arching of the vaulting.

Wells

But if Exeter has charm, what of Wells, in the county of Somerset?

The cathedral of Wells has few equals in Christendom. One can endorse the words of the unknown eighteenth century writer, "In Jerusalem only was a wider influence born." Here indeed is a unique survival of the great days of the medieval church. The west front gives on to a broad expanse of grass and is bordered by the ancient Deanery and the College of the Vicars Choral, one of the most perfect specimens of domestic architecture extant. To the far side is the Bishop's Palace, a moated grange, with the original battlements, and the remnants of the great dining hall—for in other days the Bishop of Wells was a soldier-priest and had to defend his diocese against possible incursions from the marches of Wales.



Though one of the smallest Wells is perhaps the most beautiful of the English Cathedrals

The Cathedral precincts can only be reached from the town through ancient gates, one of which is still called the "Penniless Porch," because for many centuries paupers were allowed to beg there. The palace moat is now a paradise of lovely water-lilies and swans. The swans daily ring the bell of the drawbridge to remind the warden that feeding time has come.

On crossing into the close, seven hundred years of history remain behind the visitor, for here is a complete expression of the religious life of another day. The present church was started in 1174 and took 200 years to build. Few

churches have so many sculptural treasures. In spite of the latter day iconoclasm, the west front is rich in medieval carving.

For those whose interests are not concerned with architecture, there is the fourteenth century clock with its strange figures—a wonderful specimen of the art of the horologist. At the striking of the hour, knights on horseback revolve in opposite direction as if engaged in a joust in the tilt yard.



The spire of Salisbury Cathedral is the tallest in England, 404 feet (123 metres). There is an uninterrupted view of this spire for miles around

Outside, in the gardens of the palace, the wells, or natural springs from which the city takes its name, still play merrily and unceasingly. It is said that no one has ever been able to find out how deep they are.

Salisbury

Salisbury Cathedral, in Wiltshire, the country of the plain, also stands remote, and in its own place. It has often been said that its actual setting, above the river Avon and its tributaries on land that is almost flat, is the finest in all England. And the great spire, the tallest in England—404 feet (123 metres)—immortalised by the landscape painter Constable, complete a scene of compelling beauty.

Like Wells, Salisbury Cathedral stands in the middle of an historic countryside. Not far away are the mysterious ruins of Stonehenge. The earthworks of Old Sarum can still be outlined on the bare uplands. Here used to stand a city which gave its name to the Breviary of the "Sarum Rule" which subsequently was made the basis of the present-day English liturgy.

The cathedral itself is unusual in that it was built in one distinct plan, with the single exception of the spire. It took only forty-six years to build—1220-1266—and, so far as outward appearance is concerned, it remains more or less the same as when it was designed. The thirteenth century priest had the same view of the church across the close as the visitor has to-day.

Norwich

Norwich Cathedral, with its tall spire, commands the flat countryside of that curious region of inland lakes and lagoons known as the Norfolk Broads. It is a cathedral which was built in 1096 by Herbert de Losinga who was so stricken with remorse for his many delinquencies in buying and selling ecclesiastical preferments for his own profit that he determined to use his unhallowed gains in the building of a mighty church. He embarked on the work with tremendous vigour, and before his death, in 1119, the church was completed as far as the altar-screen of the Holy Cross.

His successor, evidently inspired by Losinga's energy, carried on the work so that the west front, nave and central tower were opened by 1145. The cathedral was then practically complete, and apart from the replacement of the wooden spire in the middle ages it has not been appreciably changed since.

Here indeed is a vast building designed in one short period of time for the purposes of monastic ritual. In nearly every other cathedral, adaptations had to be made for ceremonial purposes, or the introduction of a chapel to the dedicatory saint, or the preparation of a feretory. At Norwich there were always processional aisles, and the nave was so vast that even though the monks appropriated five bays for their choir, there yet remained nine for the convenience of the laity beyond the screen of the Holy Cross.

Many old monastic buildings have been lost with the passage of time and through the spoliations of the reformisg and Puritan eras.

But Norwich Cathedral remains a gem of the very finest native church architecture standing in the midst of a delightful city which, although it has become considerably commercialised, still retains a great deal of its old-world charm.

No cathedral in all England has a more beautiful and restful close. It is entered by great gateways, one of which was built by "old Sir Thomas Erpingham" (who commanded the archers at the battle of Agincourt in 1415 and whose remains are buried in the cathedral) and it contains the ancient Deanery and Bishop's Palace, both buildings of considerable splendour. The whole scene is rich in religious and literary associations, and a monument to Lord Nelson reminds the stranger that the great admiral was a native of these parts.

Ely

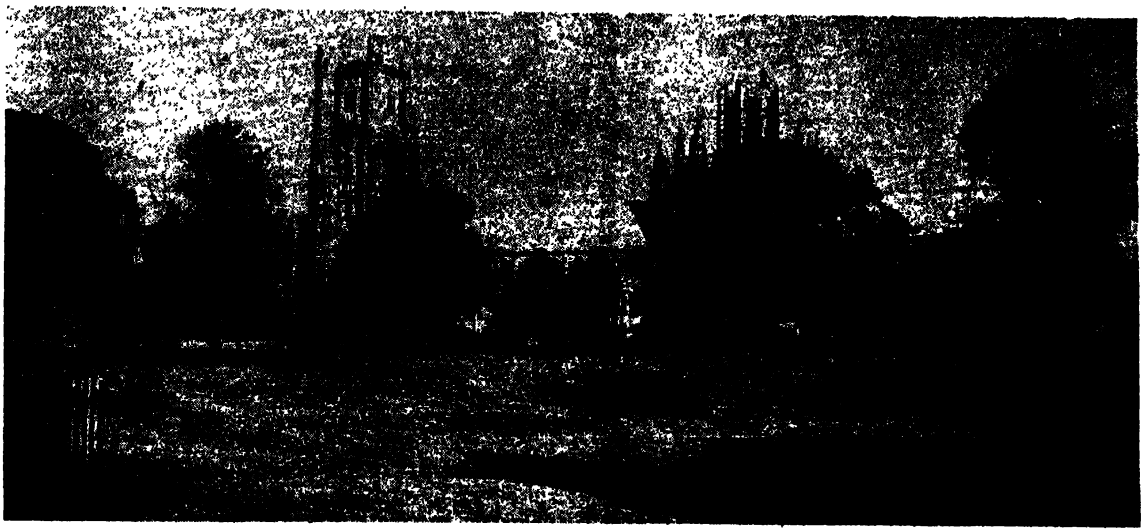
The tall spire of Norwich dominates the Broadland country, but even its vast height is not so impressive as the huge Norman tower which surmounts the cathedral of Ely in the Fenlands further to the West.

Ely Cathedral is one of the most remarkable in Christendom. It is the complete expression of the early desire of religions to seek seclusion from the outer world. As long ago as the year 673, a group of monks sought the most inaccessible part of the marshland known as the Fens and began to build a great church. It was not only a wonderful achievement in architecture and design; it was also a supreme expression of devotion and labour. All those tens of thousands of heavy stones had to be brought in flat-bottomed boats along the channels of the Fenland.

The whole of this Fen area is so flat that Ely can be seen from almost every horizon in the dim haze of the marshland.

A visitor who climbs the central tower today can see the sea lapping the foreshore of the Wash, and the towers and colleges of Cambridge, many miles distant, seems but a stone's throw away.

It has been said that this cathedral stands like a solitary ship at rest on a calm sea. Its isolated position certainly gave it a position of military importance in the years after the Norman conquest of Britain, for it was in these Fenlands that Saxon resistance continued to the bitter end under the leadership of the patriot Hereward the Wake.



From almost very point in the Fenland districts of England the massive Cathedral of Ely can be seen

In the early middle ages the Bishops were powerful temporal lords, receiving the huge revenues, but money was needed in plenty, for the precarious foundations on the marshes caused frequent collapses in parts of the fabric. At one time in the fourteenth century the tower, the Lady chapel and three bays of the Norman choir had fallen to ruin. The Cathedral presented such a dismal appearance that when the great architect Pugin saw it in 1342 he collapsed for several days.

But the monks were not deterred. Within seven years all had been restored once more, with

the exception of the tower. The base of this was too wide to permit of ordinary vaulting and so, with true medieval instinct for compromise, an octagonal lantern was built instead of the ordinary tower. This gives the great marshland Cathedral an outline which is not to be found elsewhere in Christendom.

PETERBOROUGH

The third of the great Cathedrals in Eastern England is Peterborough. In 598 the Kings of the Saxon kingdom of Mercia founded at Medeshampstead ("the homestead in the meadow") a church consecrated in the names of Saints Peter, Paul and Andrew. King Wulfere declared at the opening in a loud voice—so says the chronicle—"This day do I freely give to St. Peter and to the Abbot and to the monks of this monastery these lands and waters and meres and fens and weirs; neither shall tribute or tax be taken therefrom."

Thus came into existence the Cathedral of Peterborough. Often rebuilt in the early centuries, it was for a long period a storehouse of sacred relics. The Abbot Elsinus (1006 to 1055) assembled in the feretory pieces of the swaddling clothes, of the stable manger, and of the Holy Sepulchre. There were bones of the Innocents and of St. John the Baptist, and above all the incorruptible arm of Oswald, King of Northumberland, which, so legend declared, should never die, because of the generosity of this monarch during his life-time.

By reason of its many sacred treasures Peterborough was called in envy "the proud." Certain it is that, in medieval times, the precincts were regarded as so sacred that even Kings had to remove their footgear before entering the church.

The existing Cathedral was consecrated as long ago as 1237, having been 120 years in the building. In its present form it contains no fewer than eight different styles of architecture. Its unusual west front and its strange assortment of towers and pinnacles have made it the subject of controversy among scholars for many years, while the original shoddiness of some of the early building material has often endangered the security of the fabric.

THE ROMANCE OF THE POST OFFICE IN INDIA

By P. C. MITTRA

THE history of the growth of civilisation has been the story of the increasing mastery gained over elemental forces of nature by human society. In no other sphere this constant but victorious struggle of man over nature is better illustrated than in the domain of transport and communication. Since the cavemen led their isolated lives in groups of two score or three, people have felt the urge of communicating with their kin whom distance separated from them. From cavemen to patriarchal tribes, from these tribes to feudal communities and from these to modern states, society has been ever broadening its scope. In this dynamics of growth the development of postal system has been the main instrument in fulfilling the increasing urge of people to draw near each other.

The story of our land too, beginning from the flourishing village communes of five thousand years ago to the present-day India of industrial towns and linked-up villages, unfolds the tale of postal development that is almost a romance in its details. India of seven lakh villages is welded to-day into a nation. But we would be committing a mistake to believe that political factors alone have contributed to this transformation. The harmless and unassuming institution of post offices sprinkled over hills and dales, in distant villages and humming towns, has been no mean factor in influencing the national consciousness of forty crores of people inhabiting this vast country. In a sense the dawn of world consciousness in our minds has been also made possible by the postal agency that has brought us in intimate and rapid contact with people of all parts of the globe and has thus given us opportunities of knowing their thoughts and ideas and sharing their hopes and fears.

The postal system in India has a chequered history. Its origin may be traced to a remote

antiquity when couriers used to convey state messages to and from the seat of Government. From the accounts of foreign travellers we find that ancient Hindus had communications with contemporary Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians. A Pandu king is said to have had frequent communications with the Roman king Augustus. In this period Hindus had regular intercourse with the people of the Black Sea and Caspian regions and access even to the continent of Africa. In the days of Chandragupta there existed a royal road from the bank of the Ganges at Patna through Lahore to Taxila in the north-west of the Punjab for the easy conveyance of merchandise and correspondence.

During the Moghul period the exigencies of state necessitated more frequent communication within the country. This led to some improvements in the postal system. The enlightened king Sher Shah introduced mounted post in India. Under this system a pair of horses were kept ready on the route at every two miles throughout the entire length of 2,000 miles of the trunk road across the northern India plains from Bengal to Sind. Emperor Akbar, the efficient administrator that he was, went a step further and built post-houses at stages of ten miles on the principal trunk roads and ordered swift Turki horses to be placed at each stage. A distance of a hundred miles was thus covered in one single day and night. From Agra to Ahmedabad in Gujarat, letters would reach in five days, and it was indeed a veritable achievement for which the Moghul administrator could justly feel pride. Such efficiency could not however continue for long as the Moghul empire fell into decay after repeated clashes with powerful Marathas.

It is in the time of Clive that we again find a regular postal system established in the country. During his regime Zemindars along the various routes were held responsible for the supply of runners to carry mails. His successor Warren Hastings placed the post office of India on a better footing and allowed private correspondence also to be carried through the postal channel. It was indeed a big step forward.

For the next fifty years the history of the post office is obscure. There was no general postal system in the country prior to 1837. The Collectors or the District Officers were responsible for the post offices and mail lines within their respective jurisdictions. There was no central authority to control the postal officials and maintain uniformity in procedure. There were no postage stamps and charges had to be paid in cash. It was in the year 1837 that by an Act public post was established which conferred on the Government the exclusive right to convey letters. A Government monopoly was established and all private persons under pain of severe penalty were prohibited from carrying leters for hire without permission. Uniform postage rate of half an anna on a letter weighing one quarter of a tola, either for the unit or for the ascending grades of scale, was established. The lowest rate of letter postage was fixed at two annas per 100 miles and copper tokens for postal purposes were struck specially for public convenience.

Then came the year 1854 that is rightly looked upon as a landmark in the history of post offices of India. In that year the entire department was placed under a Director-General, postage stamps were first introduced and uniform rates were fixed irrespective of the distance to be covered by the letters.

The next stage commenced with the Queen's Proclamation that heralded profound changes in the country's administration. Postal system began to develop enormously and as a matter of fact all the radical changes were brought about within the next three decades.

The first big change was in connection with the money-orders. Previous to 1880 money could be sent through the Government Treasuries but the system was cumbersome. In that year this work was taken up by the Post Office with the result that in a few months the number of money-orders issued and the amount paid were doubled and quadrupled. The extent to which the money-order business has increased can be seen from the fact that while the value of inland money-orders in 1880-81 was 45 millions, in 1939-40 it had risen to 758 millions of rupees.

The next major innovation was the postal Savings Bank that in its present form was started in the year 1885. In providing an easy and safe place of deposit for men of ordinary means this system has immensely grown in popularity. Its success can be gauged from the fact that during the last sixty years the amount of deposits has risen from 27 lakhs to 78 crores of rupees.

The Parcel Post in India had its origin in the old 'Bhangy Post' system, a name derived from bamboo stick or *bhangy* which an Indian carrier balances on his shoulder with loads hanging at each end. The rates under this system varied with the weight and distance. Gradually the system was abolished and arrangements were made with the railways to carry parcels. In 1871 a uniform rate of postage irrespective of

distance but varying with weight was introduced and a rate of 3 annas for 10 tolas was fixed. In 1907, after an agitation by the public, the rate was further reduced. It is doubtful whether the parcel post at the present rates pays the post office.

In 1877 Value Payable Post or Cash on Delivery system was established and in the next year the Post Office undertook the insurance of letters and parcels. Under the Value Payable Post system the Post Office not only undertook to deliver a parcel, but also, for a small commission to collect the value and cost of the article from the addressee. In India where there are but few large firms outside the presidency towns catering to all tastes, this system has proved very convenient to people of means, living in rural parts. They pay the post office for the purchases of their choice and feel as if they are doing the actual shopping.

For the developing of the overland post office efforts were made from the very beginning. In the time of the East India Company direct communication between India and England was organised by means of fast steamers in the Mediterranean and the Red Seas. In 1830 the steamer *Hugh Lindsay* made the first voyage from Bombay to Suez. In 1840 the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company obtained a charter pertaining to the contract for the conveyance of mails between London and Suez, while the vessels of the East India Company's Navy conveyed them between Suez and Bombay. As time passed on direct and swift communication between India and all the important ports of the world was established (in most cases by air lately) which has helped to link the postal system of India with all the continents. The system of airgraphs is the latest device adopted for quick delivery of letters abroad.

For prompt disposal of mails, sorting on board the steamers and railway trains was introduced. This has proved to be very advantageous. Under the present arrangement the mails are lifted from the steamer direct into the Foreign Mail Sorting Office on the Ballard Pier, Bombay. There they are opened and sorted by a large number of sorters for various parts of India and within three hours fast running trains steam forth with despatches of letters to Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow and other important cities.

A network of post offices is found spread to-day in all parts of India. The humble peasant at his wooden plough and the educated city dweller at his office-desk both make regular uses of the efficient postal services. According to the latest report of the Director-General, there existed at the end of the last year 1,58,000 miles of routes over which mails were carried by different agencies. The remotest corners of the country were not forgotten. Surmounting insuperable difficulties the postal department serves this vast subcontinent through twenty-five thousand post offices and double the number of letter-boxes.

The Indian postal system has adopted the most modern methods. The modern innovations like the identity cards, Express Delivery, Indian Postal Order and Cash Cartificates are unique features.

The variety of services rendered by the department and the vastness of its transactions can best be appreciated when we view it in the background of the national economy. Notwithstanding the fact that the League of Nations years ago declared India to be the eighth industrial country of the world, ninety per cent of the population still live in villages, most of whom are dependent on agriculture and are illiterate. To this vast class of people banking facilities are not easily available. For them the postal agency renders such services as are supplied in advanced industrial countries like Britain and America normally by widespread branches of national banks. In the development of trade and culture in the country-side the importance of the postal system can therefore be hardly too much emphasised.

Lastly, no account of the Indian Post Office would be complete if we fail to pay our tribute to the 'unknown soldier' of the department—the postmen and mail-runners, who are symbols of regularity and precision. The success of the entire system is made possible only by their honesty and dutifulness. We can rightly estimate their role when we realise that it is a formidable task in India to deliver letters in view of the fact that letters are posted here in twenty different languages and written in as many characters. The houses are not numbered, the address on the letters is often incomplete and illegible. The cover of the letter is considered the appropriate place for sending salutations and greetings, and for expressing pious hopes for the welfare and long life of the person addressed. A typical and amusing example of such form of address is quoted below:

"To the inseparable from my heart, the fortunate Babu Sib Nath Ghosh, having the same heart as mine. From Post Office Hasnabad to the village of Ramnathpur, to reach the house of the fortunate Babu Priya

Nath Ghosh, District Twenty-four Parganas. Don't deliver this letter to any person other than the addressee, Mr. Postman. This is my request to you."

This is not enough. Sometimes in addition to some title of respect or honour, high-flown phrases of flattery are written with no indication of the place of delivery. Let us quote again,

"To his Highness the respected brother, beneficent lord of us the poor, my benefactor, Munshi Manik Chand—may his good fortune continue."

The unfortunate postman has to wade through these difficulties. He has often to go about seeking assistance of some of the local residents in deciphering many a doubtful address. His salary is generally low, yet he is surprisingly honest. He delivers on an average 300 postal articles a day. He has no time to be idle. In fair weather or foul, day in and day out, with clockwise precision he is to be seen traversing with rapid strides the limits of his jurisdiction.

Like that of the postmen the rural mail-runners' task is also not a little arduous. It at times and places involves great risks. In the North-West Frontier Province, the runner with his mail-bag runs the risk of his life from trans-border tribesmen. In the forest tracts of Central India attacks by man-eating tigers are not merely travellers' tales but grim realities. In the riverine districts of eastern Bengal the postmen and runners have to go from village to village by boat and have to face frequent storms that seem all-powerful in their ferocity when one meets with them, on a frail country boat in the mid-current of a swollen river.

The postmen are an important factor in the department. They are in the lowest rung of the ladder but all the same it is they who form the base, who are the pivot of the whole postal organisation.

THE CAMEL-DRIVER DREAMS OF HIS GOD

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Pale pink dawns and pure gold noons and grey-green even-falls
Immemorially enamel
The solitary desert-track by which He goes,—
If you have ears you'll hear the uncanny way in which He calls
Across the desert,—if eyes, you'll see its sands blush into rose on rose
Stained by the shadow of His calm horizon-humped camel.

*

My God, you ask ? why, He is a camel-driver who exists
Beyond the margin of our dreams, daring the desert climb
Of aeon-spread tranquillity whose stars are even as molten gravel :
He is garbed in a self-glow of nakedness, turbaned in flaming mists
Of memories that float about the distant summit-points of Time,—
His camel's hoof-prints change to crystal wells at every point of the lone desert-travel !



IN TUNE WITH RABINDRANATH

By GURDIAL MALLIK

The other day I switched on the radio of my soul to catch the spirit of Rabindranath as it stirred in spring the newly-grown green leaves in the *sal* avenue at Santiniketan. Somehow I felt that with the advent of the season of freshness and fruitfulness, he had come back amongst us, once again, when we welcomed it with song and dance. So I began to listen-in to the voice of his vision no sooner had the morning-bird sent out, like the muezzin from the minaret, its call to the world to awaken into adoration and activity. And this is what I heard with my inner ears:

"This is the sacred spot where my venerable father grew vividly God-conscious. And it was his holy injunction that whoever would come here would try to live in the spirit and sweep of That supreme consciousness.

He also passed on to me the torch of Truth which he had received from Raja Rammohun Roy and which he had kept burning in the Brāhma Samaj. And he said to me, 'Never let the light dwindle into dimness.'

Such was the twofold trust my father, who was as well my spiritual preceptor, gave me. And I accepted it with all my heart, pledging to myself that I shall leave no stone unturned in discharging it faithfully.

But the Ever-New Eternal changed the direction of the road on which I had been called out. He led me away from the pulpit and from the Padma and asked me to spread my seat under these *sal* trees. And He said, 'Here is a flute for you to play on and to produce from it strains of music, diverse and deep.

I played on the flute when the first blossoms in spring filled the atmosphere with the fragrance of the far-away and when the rain beat its rhythmic feet on the dancing-floor of the earth. The children heard my songs and trooped round me as if I were the Pied Piper of Paradise. They called for the tune and I played, knowing that theirs was the call of life. But all the while behind my playing on the flute there was the constant consciousness that it was My Master, —and not I—who was the owner of the instrument and also the creator of the music.

My Master was, perhaps, pleased with my performance. For, He honoured me by commanding me to walk forth from Santiniketan and wander about on the face of the earth in the role of the Pied Piper-*cum*-Poet of Humanity.

And so I travelled in the West and in the East. The children of Man heard my songs and followed me along the perfumed paths of Peace, wondering at the magic casements my songs opened out for them, overlooking the ocean of All-in-one and One-in-all existence.

But alas soon afterwards, a cyclone of terrific severity blew across the world and those magic casements were closed again. The lights went out. All over there was black-out, and it drowned in darkness the bright faces of the children of Man and also stilled their joyous voices into the melancholy monotone of the cemetery.

There is, thank God, however, no black-out in the broad heavens. The stars are still shining there, winking every night to the hooded lights in the houses of men to be of good cheer. For, the morning comes. The Sun of Truth is on His way in His chariot.

Let Santiniketan get ready with its conch-shell and its sandal-paste, its flowers and its songs to welcome the Guest of the Ages. Beware, lest like the foolish virgins, it goes to sleep in the hour of the arrival of the Eternal Bridegroom."

At this stage the drone of an aeroplane, flying overhead, caused a disturbance and my radio refused to work any longer.

A REVIVAL OF ART IN BENARES

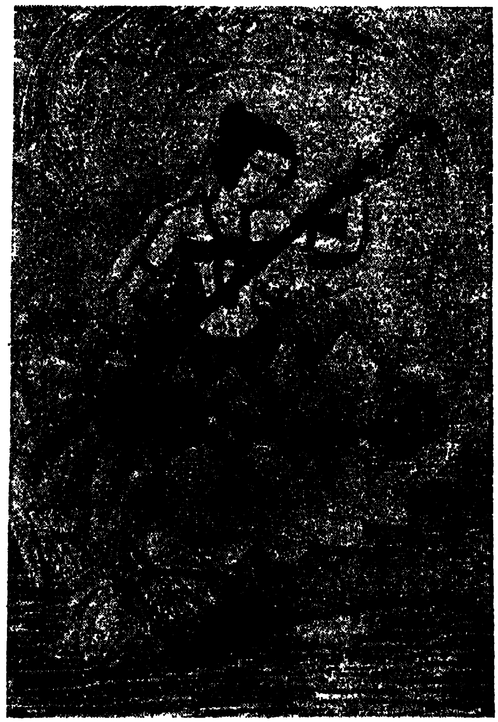
By Prof. B. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., F.R.G.S. (Edin.)

When Benares stood on a shining pinnacle of glory, the whole outside world gazed with amazement at her wonderful achievements in the various domains of culture—religion, literature, art and science. Passing through many vicissitudes of fortune in matters political, the religious capital of India has never lost her traditions in religion and literature but the continuity of her art-tradition has been broken from time to time; and since the arrival of the iconoclastic Mahommedan invaders in India, the real art of Benares which gave her a proud position amongst the art-centres of India declined and it was never revived in any epoch of her long history. Archæological evidences exist to show that a school of sculpture, distinct in style and workmanship, evolved in Benares which culminated in the production of such marvels of plastic art as the famous Gupta Image of Buddha and other figures, which may be seen in Sarnath and other ancient sites of Benares. Whether the art of painting, cultivated to a high degree, ran on a parallel line with that of sculpture, we have as yet no direct proof to ascertain. Probably in the Mughal period, under a foreign inspiration, the art of painting received an impetus. Some of the specimens of this art of the period, although half Hindu in composition, may be witnessed in old aristocratic houses of Benares. But there can be no comparison between the elegant Gupta Sculpture of Sarnath and the artificial paintings of the Mughal period produced in Benares.

Art degenerated into mural decorations of fantastic figures, *e.g.*, of elephants, horses, monkeys, etc., on whitewashed walls of public buildings, and music too similarly degenerated into street-ballads sung in the Benares *melas*.

Suddenly, in this gloomy atmosphere of artistic inaction and inertia, Benares saw a new light of the dawn. Pandit Pujya Malaviya, unlike other contemporary educationists, had a glorious vision of a picturesque Hindu University and realised his dream by embellishing all the buildings of his University with the revived art of ancient India. When the architectural Hindu University was completed, great artists from all parts of India began to flow into Benares with manifold motives, but no one lingered on in this ancient city with the dominant purpose of preserving and reviving the traditional art of India except Mr. Ranada Ukil, Director of the "Ukil's School of Art" in Delhi and one of the most renowned painters of Modern India.

Art came to the Ukil family, to which Mr. Ranada Ukil belongs, as a natural gift. His brother, the late Sarada Ukil, whose fame as a painter of originality spread to all cultural quarters of India and abroad, did not care for any high post or government service and maintained his independence by opening a private school of art in Delhi, where all the four brothers co-operated to make it a success. The Government of India, Native Princes, all appreciated the work



Goddess Saraswati. Painted on silk

of the school, where teaching was carried on and original paintings were painted by these two gifted brothers. Ranada Ukil was given the duty of teaching the classes, which he carried out with admirable success.

Soon after he had finished his educational career in the Government School of Art, and the Indian Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta where he had been in direct touch with Mr. Percy Brown and Acharya Abanindra Nath Tagore, he

began to produce original paintings of great merit which gave him a rank among the first-rate artists of India. In 1926, he won the Viceroy's prize, a rare award given to the foremost work of a painter. In 1929, Ranada Ukil was chosen as one of the four eminent aritists who were commissioned by the Government of India to travel to England and paint the walls and the dome of the "India House" in London. Mr. Ukil was fortunately given the most difficult task of representing the themes of *Alexander's meeting with King Porus*, the *Id and the first Moon*,



Radha's first lesson on flute. Painted on silk

Ragini Todi, the Seasons, which he accomplished with such artistic excellence as to attract the deep admiration of Sir William Rothenstein, the famous Principal of the Royal College of Art, London. We quote his lines:

"I can speak highly of his initiative and resource as a painter. He was an interesting student while he was at the College, and carried out his paintings at India House to the satisfaction of all concerned."

The mural paintings of the India House, first of their kind, making a wonderful display of Indian Art, created a great sensation in the art-circles of London. Repeated appreciations came from the art-critics and the press voiced them in glowing language. Mr. Ukil was invited by His Majesty the King Emperor to parties in the Buckingham Palace, and Queen Mary, as a mark of appreciation, bought an original painting of Mr. Ukil, named "Shahjahan's dream of the Taj."

After a successful career in England, all the four artists returned to India and Mr. Ukil without caring for any government post went to Delhi and took up the work as the Director of the Ukil's School of Art founded by his elder brother. Now began the real period of his artistic creativity. Within a period of seven years, Mr. Ranada Ukil painted a gallery of paintings, which won for him laurels of praise from all the cultured people of India. His paintings named:—(1) The Goddess Durga, (2) King Bhoj and 32 dolls, (3) Shahjahan's dream of the Taj, (4) Waves kissing the Moon, (5) Series of Omar Khayyam, (6) Goddess Saraswati, (7) Set of paintings of *Durga Kavach*, (8) Set of eight temple dancers, (9) Goddess Kali, (10) Siva and Parvati, (11) Ragini Todi, (12) Prince Salim at the grave of Anarkali, (13) Mural paintings for Tripura Palace, were highly patronised by the Ruling Princes who purchased them at high prices for the purpose of decorating the walls of their palaces.

The keynote of his art is naturalism linked with a halo of divine light. His divine figures are full of human feelings, which they tell us by their expressions, his human figures in turn are not devoid of a divine glow. This commingling of the divine and human aspects has been an outlook of our Eastern Religion and Mythology. Mr. Ukil, nevertheless, did not follow the tradition slavishly and in many instances, broke away from the old conventions.

"When Greek art reached its perfection, the limbs which infer the soul, enough of the soul to inform the limbs, were faultlessly represented. Men said the best had been done, and aspiration and growth in art ceased. Content with what had been done, men imitated but did not create. But man cannot remain without change in a past perfection; for then he remains in a kind of death."

Mr. Ukil probably felt disgusted with the old trammels of traditional art, practised in the early days of our Indian renaissance and felt in tune with Rossetti, Millais and Hunt, who said:

"We will paint men as they actually were in the past, in the moment of their passion, and with their emotion in their faces, and with the scenery around them as it was, and whatever background by nature there was behind them, it shall be painted direct from the very work of Nature herself, and in her very colours. . . . We cannot grasp the whole of nature and humanity, but we shall be in their life, aspiring alive and winning more and more of truth."

Such a spirit in him led to the triumph of his art at the end. Let us take some of his

masterpieces from this point of view and illustrate our ideas:

1. "*Waves kissing the Moon*"—is an ideal picture of great imagination. The moon rises in the blue horizon uniting the sea with the sky. Her mellow light melts in a stream and spreads over the dancing waves, which leap up almost in a heavenly joy to get hold of the nectar of beauty, stored in the Moon-God. The waves have taken the beautiful shape of a maiden, with eyes full of rapturous joy, with body resigned in love, clasped in union with the Moon-God, manly and humane, with locks which betoken a divine character. The waves again around the Queen of Waves, have been ingeniously represented as a bunch of velvet flowers. This imagery may be considered as a great achievement in Indian decorative art.

2. "*Ragini Todi*"—is an anthropomorphic representation of the famous Indian tune called Todi. The face of the Vina-player is extremely meditative as if the musician is in tune with the celestial world although her fingers are alert enough to play on the strings of her instrument so effectively as to attract a herd of deer to her side. The European critic will no doubt be reminded of "Orpheus and his flute."

3. "*Prince Salim over Anarkali's tomb,*"—Prince Salim (afterwards known as Emperor Jehangir) was a true lover of a romantic kind and stands pre-eminently in this respect as a contrast to all the other bureaucratic rulers of his family. His love with Anarkali, so sublime in character, so pathetic in history, resulted in the cruel burial of the unlucky girl at the hands of his religious father. The painting shows the bereaved prince kneeling before the black sepulchre of his beloved and pouring forth all the sorrows of his heart, which express themselves in the face and the body of the condoling lover. The whole atmosphere, the clouded moon, the barren trees and a kneeling plant is in perfect harmony with the mournful figure of the Prince, drowned in an ocean of sorrow.

4. "*Goddess Durga,*"—A mythological painting of Mother Durga in the act of killing the demon Mahisasura. The divine spirit of force acting upon the demon of evil is wonderfully represented here. The majestic Goddess has perfect poise in her face, a great animation in her armed hands and a dispassionate activity running through her whole body engaged in fighting the demon, as if she is performing a natural duty. The lion, skilfully painted as in decorative art, is no less spirited and powerful than his divine mistress.

5. "*Kali*"—is also a picture of the much-adored Goddess of the Hindu Pantheon. The ancient mythology of Kali makes her a female deity of destruction. Like Siva, her consort, she revels in a dance of cosmic dissolution. She is busy killing a host of demons, she is forgetful of her great husband being trampled under her feet, her wild fury is balanced by her serene and smiling face. This picture was purchased at a high price by H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir.



Goddess Kali

6. "*Saraswati,*"—All the traditional ideas regarding the representation of Saraswati, both in sculpture and painting, have been revolutionised in this painting of Mr. R. Ukil. The Goddess has only two hands, her swan is caressing the hair of the Goddess with its beak from the back and is outspreading its long decorative tail to hood its divine mistress. She is seated on a full-bloomed lotus springing from the bed of a lake. The eyes of this figure give expression of meditation, and contemplation, which are the very spirit of this Goddess of Learning. Her slim and somewhat emaciated body also gives evidence of a deep concentration which neces-



Ukil's School of Art, Benares

1st Row (from left to right) : M. K. Lakshman Singh of Sailana, Yuvaraj Digvijaya Singh of Sailana, Mr. R. Ukil (Director), Kumar Ramendra N. Roy (Bhowal Sanyasi), Mr. S. K. Mustafi, Mr. Sajani Kant Motilal
2nd Row (from left to right) : Kumar Lakshman Singh of Gangwal, Mr. K. C. Roy, A.R.C.A., Mr. Surendra N. Mukherji, Advocate, Mr. J. Ukil, Kumar Hanumant Singh

sarily follows the real pursuit of learning. This idealistic painting of our painter won a covetous prize in the Hollywood exhibition held in America.

The few paintings, noticed above, I have chosen as showing the variety of subjects he deals with, the wide field of his imagination and as revealing the depth of his artistic thoughts. His masterly treatment of the subjects, the themes of which are not Hindu, such as the "Scenes from Omar Khayyam," and "Shahjahan's dream of the Taj" is equally appreciated.

The delicate lines, the colour-scheme, a special toning and texture which characterises his paintings, are indeed the essential qualities of Ukil's art. Mr. Ranada Ukil is a brilliant colourist: his colours are outspoken, his decorative figures hued with a mixture of colours throw a dazzling impression upon the mind of the spectator. I venture to think as a layman that the brilliant tints which he now uses in his pictures may take a new turn, and like his elder brother Sarada Ukil's his art may appear in an original scheme of colouring, sometimes subdued, sometimes strong, but always alluring our eyes to a transcendental world of the *Aurora Borealis*.

In 1940, after the death of his beloved brother, Ranada Ukil buried his pencil and brush in the soil of Delhi, and came down to Benares to make the choicest offerings of his art at the feet of the great God Siva, the Nata raj of dancing, the father of Music and Muses. His settlement in Benares, his opening of a school of art in the city and a painting class in the Benares Hindu University, augur well and herald a welcome revival of art, which this ancient city deserves so urgently at the present moment. Will the educationists, the cultured residents of Benares take a special note of this silent worker and selfless artist, who cares more for teaching students and creating a band of young artists for future India than for propagandising his private work and going in pursuit of money and fame.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

The principal event of the month of May was the conclusion of the North African Campaign. The victory is as yet too near to be viewed in its proper perspective and as usual a lot of things have been said, in the midst of the rejoicings, by the Allied spokesmen and press which—to say the least—are premature and on the other hand much that would add to the credit of some of the armed forces of the Allies that participated in this hard-fought campaign has as yet been left unsaid. The Washington Conference having come so soon after the end of the campaign has also effectively diverted the attention of peoples of the United Nations from a close viewing of the logical conclusions of this Allied victory. All attention was fixed on Mr. Churchill's summing-up and the reactions amongst the peoples and the press of the United Nations.

Mr. Churchill has spoken and spoken at length with all the skill of a veteran public speaker. Comments on his main speech and the subsequent declarations have been many, and as was to be expected, they were divergent and even contradictory. Mr. Churchill has said a lot that has stirred the emotions and the imagination of the Allied peoples, but in the main he has left all—excepting the very few that are in the inner Council of War of the United Nations—guessing as to the exact nature of the future plans of campaign against the Axis. There is nothing in all that he has said that indicates any change of plan from his previous declarations that the European theatre of war has to be given all possible priorities and until a decisive victory is obtained there, all other theatres of war are to be regarded as secondary only. The only deviation from the above plan that can be seen in his Washington declarations is that now according to Mr. Churchill the Allies are in a position to wage simultaneous war on all fronts. The declaration stops there, so far as we can make out, and the main object in all these speeches seems to be to keep the Axis guessing as to where the main blow will fall. In the European theatre of war also Mr. Churchill indicated that a trial will be given to the theory that a decision may be obtained there by an aerial offensive alone, and the present greatly intensified tempo of aerial warfare may be taken as an indicator in that way. On the other hand, many comments are now appearing in the press regarding the nature of the plans for a major offensive, by land, sea and air, on the continent of Europe. Some predict a concentrated attack on Italy, others hint at a "pincers move" with one arm striking on the western-most part of the occupied zones and the other hitting the continent far down in the eastern Mediterranean.

From the first reactions to Mr. Churchill's speech—and from parts of the speech itself—one was led to the conclusion that the war was coming to an end in the near future and that a clear, decisive, and all-round victory for the United Nations was visible in the immediate offing. With the passing of the tumult of the victory in North Africa a more cautious tone has crept in all the predictions and Mr. Churchill has further qualified his declarations with more reserve as regards the duration of the struggle, and the nature of the task before the Allies. This is just as it should be, for as yet very little has been really achieved, in comparison to what remains to be done. The continent of Africa has been freed from the menace of the Axis, it is true, but Africa was never a major theatre of war and the victory obtained there—substantial and tangible though it is—should not be credited with any higher values than is justifiable after proper regard has been paid to the ratio of Axis forces destroyed or immobilised in Africa to the sum-total of Axis strength.

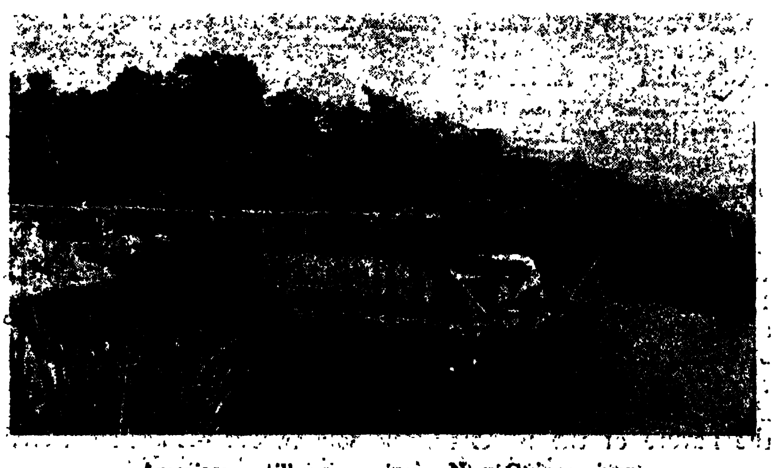
The main effect of the North African victory is to extend the sphere over which the Allied threat of a major counter-offensive on the continent of Europe is now looming. This in itself must have resulted in major dispersals of Axis strength over a large area, thereby lessening the Axis pressure against the Soviets to some extent. Beyond this, and beyond partially clearing the Mediterranean sea-route, nothing of any great tangible value has yet been attained by the conclusion of this campaign—excepting the liquidation of the Axis forces operating in North Africa—so far as the final decision in this World War is concerned. The North African campaign has been an extremely tough and hard-fought-out affair, in which many reputations have been gained and lost. It has been full of dramatic incidents relating to victories and defeats, with many chapters illustrating the relative values of human courage, determination and endurance under the conditions of modern mechanized warfare, and considered purely by itself—as an isolated war—it has most certainly and substantially contributed to the making of military

history of modern times. But far greater tasks, calling for incomparably greater efforts lie ahead of the United Nations on the continent of Europe and over the millions of square miles overrun by Japan in the Far East and China, and as such it is imperative that the North African victory be viewed in its proper perspective.

On the Russian front the lull still continues. The opposing forces are on the alert along the far-flung battle line and the activities occasionally reported indicate a condition of *qui vive* on both sides as the time approaches for the start of the summer campaign. The danger to the Russian forces has not been lessened in the interim period and the threat to the Caucasus is still there. On the other hand, Germany has now to meet a very much intensified aerial offensive, now striking at her vitals and further has to keep in readiness forces sufficient to oppose any major invading force that the Allies may launch into action against her defences in occupied Europe. It is highly doubtful whether the threat of a Second Front, or the destruction caused by the aerial offensive over Axis Europe would delay the summer campaign substantially, as Germany cannot afford to let Russia recoup much longer. The nature of the campaign, if and when it is launched, would be the truest indication as to what effect the Allied counter-offensive has had on Axis Europe. If the summer campaign be delayed much beyond the middle of June, it would certainly indicate that Germany is now definitely on the defensive, though even that would not mean an early end of this war, unless Germany cracks up internally as miraculously as she did in the last World War.

The Luftwaffe has its hands more than full now that the great Allied Air-offensive is on. The thousands of tons of high-explosive dropped in the industrial centres of Germany do not merely mean destruction of sinews of war, it further means a great enhancement of the stress and strain on the morale of the peoples of Axis Europe. The fighters and fighter-bombers that Italy and Germany have so far kept grounded, in reserve for the counter-operations against Allied landing attempts, will either have to be drawn upon heavily soon or else a very substantial new force will have to be created to meet this new offensive. Either way it means greatly added strain to the resources of the Axis High-Command, and these resources have already been stretched to the limit by the Russian campaigns.

Mr. Churchill has made a statement that the defeat of Germany would mean the certain defeat of Japan, though the defeat of Japan does not entail the defeat of Germany as an equally natural consequence. Mr. Churchill as one of the Heads of the Allied innermost War Councils may certainly be in possession of facts not given out to the public, which may justify such a statement. As gauged by known facts, however, the statement appears to be typically Churchillian. Germany defeated in 1945-46 will most certainly not mean the extinction of a Japan that is allowed to gather strength till then, and Japan completely defeated in 1943-44 would most certainly mean the release of great forces—from the Russian Far East, from China and from India—and great resources, which would most certainly hasten the end of the Axis in Europe. If Germany were defeated and broken in the near future then what Mr. Churchill said would appear to be more logical, but then Mr. Churchill himself has said that he does not see any reason as to why this would *not* be a long war.



American artillery crossing a New Guinea river



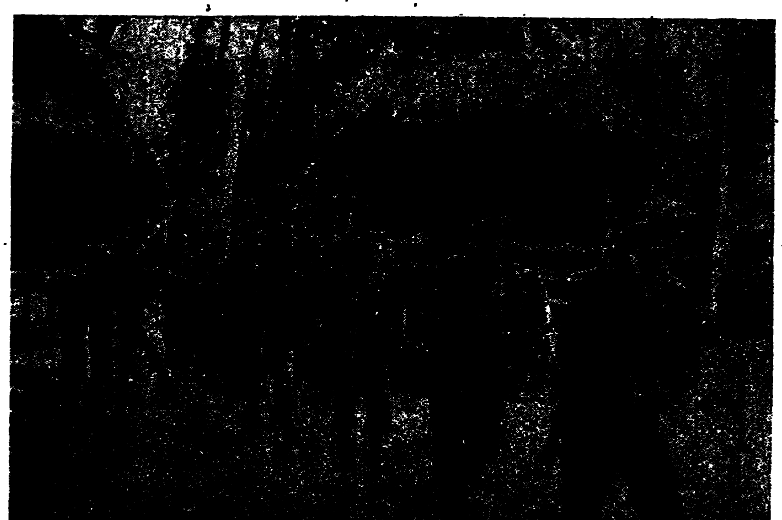
Men of an Allied lookout on a mountain-top in New Guinea watching action between Japanese and Allied forces from a distance



Allies (mostly Australians) drive their way through the jungles of New Guinea



U. S. Marine gun crew under a camouflage net on Guadalcanal, fighting the Japanese in the Solomon Islands



U. S. troops carrying light machine guns march through a native village in New Guinea on their way to the Allied front lines



This anti-aircraft gun was abandoned by the Japanese and seized by the U. S. Marines



Two U. S. soldiers watch New Guinea natives preparing thatched roofs for a house



U. S. Marine Corps camp on Guadalcanal, with bomb shelters cut into the hillside nearby



U. S. Marine commander lives in this tent on Guadalcanal

IN MEMORIAM ASUTOSH MUKHOPADHYAYA

By PRABHATKUMAR MUKHERJEE
Lecturer, Calcutta University

The sad and unexpected death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in 1924 created a void which has not yet been filled and perhaps will never be filled up again.

> His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world 'This was a man.'

Sir Asutosh was a man indeed almost unparalleled in history on account of the versatile character of his genius, his many-sided activities, his manly virtues, his sturdy independence, his splendid and imperishable excellence of sincerity and strength. A tower of moral grandeur, "he stood four square to all the winds and that blew." He stood head and shoulders above his compeers who had to hide before him their 'diminished head.' Before his luminous presence their genius seemed to be rebuked. Well could he afford to pass his days in gaiety and mirth,

> "To sport with Amaryllis in the shade
> Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair."

But he was made of sterner stuff and his motto was 'to scorn delights and live laborious days.' His life was spent in "patient thoughts abstruse, matins and vespers and harmonious verse," like the great Newton, "voyaging on strange sea of thought alone."

Sir Asutosh was a genius of a wonderful type. Like the born poet "he was a trumpet wishing for battle." He was the acknowledged Legislator of the World. His utterances full of wisdom have "the trumpet of a prophecy."

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the prince of men; he had "the king-becoming graces as justice, verity, temperance, stableness, bounty, perseverance, mercy, loveliness, devotion, patience, courage and fortitude."

His was a magnetic personality, he had an eye to merit, and he could not allow a genius to pine in obscurity. He had—

> "The front of Jove himself;
> An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
> A station like the herald Mercury
> New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
> A combination and a form indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal,
> To give the world assurance of a man."

This was Sir Asutosh. "Like Maia's son he stood and shook his plumes that heavenly fragrance filled the circuit wide."

> "But Oh ! the heavy change, now thou art gone,
> Now thou 'art gone, and never must return."

But—

> "Through the centuries let a people's voice
> In full acclaim,
> A people's voice,
> The proof and echo of all human fame,
> A people's voice, when they rejoice at civic.
> At civic revel and pomp and game
> Attest their great Commander's claim
> With honour, honour, honour to him,
> Eternal honour to his name."

Sir Asutosh was a staunch fighter for freedom. The spirit of freedom manifested itself in all his many-sided activities—be it in advancing the cause of Bengali language or in fighting against the reactionary forces in connection with the University Act of 1904. His memorable letter to Lord Lytton in 1923, the then Chancellor of the Calcutta University, still rings in the ears of the Nation. "Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always," was his watchword which "the great cannon to the clouds shall tell and the heaven shall bruit again respeaking earthly thunder."

Sir Asutosh was an educationist of the highest order. He strove for the removal of the curse of illiteracy from Bengal and for the spread of true and high education among his countrymen. As Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University for years he effected several improvements of far-reaching importance. The panegyrics so feelingly showered on Sir Asutosh by Desabandhu Das cannot but flash in our mind, the moment we think of Sir Asutosh, nay the moment any thought of education or educationist springs in our mind. Said Desabandhu Das from his Mayoral chair :

> "It has been said that he was a great lawyer. But the greatness of the great man was greater than the greatness of a mere great lawyer. It has been said that he was a great judge. Undoubtedly he was. But the greatness of the great man was greater than the greatness of a mere great judge. It has been acknowledged that he was a great educationist. Certainly he was. And if you count the number of educationists throughout the world I doubt whether you can come across a single educationist better than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee."

It was Sir Asutosh who dreamt to give a high status to the Bengali language thus counteracting the baneful effects of making English the medium of education as established by Lord Macaulay. The further advance of the vernacular, one of the glorious achievements of his worthy son, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the lovely product of a glorious pattern, is but the sweet fruition of the seed sown by the illustrious father.

Who would not be charmed to hear the famous speeches delivered by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, in the meetings of the Senate as its Vice-chancellor? The members embraced him like "children on a long absent father, they clung to him like captives about their redeemer." 'Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest,' his face was like that of an angel full of beatific vision. Like Prospero he worked many wonders in the University. His Convocation addresses preserve as in a vial "the precious life-blood of a master spirit" whose voice rolls from age to age "chanting divine like the prophetic old."

As a judge and a jurist Sir Asutosh Mookerjee carved his name in the niche of Fame. His name must be filed in Fame's eternal beadroll. He realised like the great Burke that the Law is one of the sciences which make a man perfect but he was fortunate enough to have none of the defects that mar the character of the prominent lights of that profession. Said Burke in his speech on American Taxation while describing the character of Prime Minister Grenville:

> "The Law is in my opinion one of the first and noblest of human sciences, a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt except in persons very happily born, to open and liberalise the mind exactly in the same proportion. Men too much conversant with office are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement."

Sir Asutosh had large and liberal ideas. In the language of Milton he sat

> "On the Royal Bench
> Of British Themis with no mean applause
> Pronounced and in his volumes taught our laws
> Which others at their Bar so often wrench."

It is not for me to pass any opinion on the judgments of Sir Asutosh. It would be sufficient to say that the learned and illuminating discourses having references to similar judgments and case-laws of the Courts of the old world and the new, ancient and modern, surprised the Bench and the Bar alike, because apart from their masterly scholarship they evinced a vast knowledge and breadth of vision on subjects full of complexities and intricacies.

The best portion of the life of Sir Asutosh is mirrored in his Herculean achievements in the domain of the University. The University he loved, the University he reared. He lived and moved and had his being in the sacred precincts of his beloved University. Who would not be touched with the sincere pathos and deep emotion surging out of a bosom richly laden with noble ideas when he said:

> "Plans and schemes to heighten the efficiency of this University have been the subject of my day dreams. They have haunted me in my nightly rest. To University concerns I sacrificed all chances of study and research, probably to certain extent the interest of my family and friend and certainly I regret to say a great part of my strength and vitality."
>
> "I shall beg from door to door throughout Bengal and ask my post-graduate teachers to starve their family to keep their independence. As members of this University stand up for the rights of the University. Do your duty as Senators of this University. Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always."

He realised that freedom must be the palladium of the University,—the breath of its nostrils. The University was his *Alma Mater*. She taught him language and sentiments and he learnt how to venerate her. Like Wordsworth this high priest of Nature could well cry out:

> "She gave me eyes, she gave me ears
> And humble cares and delicate fears."

Each stone of this sacred building brought before his mind's eye "the dark backward and abysm of time" as also glorious visions of the future. Each stone "murmured deep a solemn sound." Rightly could he exclaim like the poet, "Visions of glory, spare my aching sight."

It would be no effusion of a prejudiced mind or blind faith, nor a translation of hypocrisy to say that the princely contributions of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh and Sir Taraknath Palit and many other endowments of no mean worth and importance were but the offspring of the selfless devotion of Sir Asutosh to the cause of the University.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was ever an indefatigable worker. Even when he was but a student he made books and thoughts his valued companion and he lived in a world of his own, "where mirth and sloth were made to moan." He would like the thrice great Hermes outwatch the Bear. Childhood, youth, old age all reveal:

> "His life was work, his language rife,
> With rugged maxims hewn from life."

Sir Asutosh was a real and congenial friend and guide to the students and best could he claim to be so, as it was he more than anybody else who could understand the minds of the students, their sorrows and sufferings which never

failed to evoke a favourable response to the clarion call of their needs and wants. They could pluck comfort even from his looks. His very words acted like the anodyne draught, a balm to their hurt minds. In ecstasy would they burst forth :

> "A largess universal, like the sun
> His liberal eye doth give to every one,
> Thawing cold fear."

It will be no overstatement to say that many bright stars of the day in the field of education or in any other exalted station could not have so shed their effulgence, nay would have been lost in total obscurity without the fostering care or mighty support of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. It was under the sunshine of his benign patronage that hosts of students could steer their tiny vessels through a prosperous course to have their message wafted across the distant seas.

The services of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to the Calcutta Corporation as also to the citizens of the metropolis cannot be lightly regarded nor uttered feebly. The Corporation of Calcutta being in financial difficulty in the beginning of the present century steps had to be taken to obtain accommodation from the Bank of Bengal. The Bank, however, refused to allow any advance to the Corporation unless proper security was offered by individuals. None would come forward and yet the loan was essentially necessary. Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, as he, then was, along with Mr. R. H. M. Rustomjee, the great Parsi magnate, came out with a spirit of self-sacrifice of surpassing nature and volunteered themselves as the surety and thus saved the honour and prestige of that august institution. Like a genuine administrator he had the highest interests of the State before his mind's eye and like an ideal servitor he brushed aside all selfish considerations. It might be mentioned here that he was perhaps the only member of the Corporation of the time who, as a member of the General Committee, would not take the fees for the meetings attended by him and that this could not in any way impair his attendance even in the midst of his multifarious duties knocking at the door.

The achievements of Sir Asutosh as a social reformer will be long remembered. He felt very keenly the evils that crept into our society and tried his best to remove them in scorn of consequence. The incomparable excellences of his conduct, the inimitable unassuming habit and notably the free access to all irrespective of rank and fashion cast a spell on all with whom he came in contact. In fact no small part of Sir Asutosh's success towards the eradication of the evils of luxury and the vices that followed in her train was due to the rare example he set by his plain living and high thinking,—"the ancient dower of inward happiness." In dress and deportment, even in the most majestic walks of life, he showed the greater Hebraism and simplicity reminding one of those "Arcadian times that Maro sang." He also tried to improve the style and tone of his mother tongue. He realised the menace of "a frightful multitude of books doing the wider and the wilder mischief." He agreed with Carlyle that if one read a book preaching loose morals 'he should bathe seven times in the Jordon.' He felt like Ruskin that one should try for the "eternal Court" which is open to us all "with its society wide as the world, multitudinous as its days, the chosen and the mighty of every place and time." He was a writer of no mean order and his facile pen usurped his leisurely hours only to elevate and enrich the writings of his time.

It was the outstanding ingenuity and dynamic personality of Sir Asutosh that helped him considerably in tiding over difficulties of gigantic proportion proferred by the Non-co-operation movement. With regard to the boycott of schools and colleges he had his differences with Mahatma Gandhi and Desbandhu C. R. Das and he stood to his conviction founded as the rock.

The organizing capacity of Sir Asutosh extorted admiration from all. When Their Imperial Mejesties visited India, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the principal show in all the functions, all held in the brief span of a few days, in different institutions of different phases of activity and culture. The sagacious conduct of the functions and the brilliant expositions, the marvellous demonstrations and the memorable addressess therein by Sir Asutosh made His Majesty express a genuine surprise and admiration for the wonderful energy, erudition and the organizing capacity of this great genius. Sir Michael Sadler and the members of his Commission were struck by his vast learning, his masterly grasp of subtle and delicate issues, his deep penetration into motive, his remarkable organizing capacity and his astounding administrative ability.

We can ill afford to pass off in silence the unforgettable precocity of Sir Asutosh as revealed in the rare display of his genius in the field of Mathematics when he was a mere student of the college. "The child shows the man as morning

shows the day" so very aptly applies to the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The unique achievements of the student Asutosh most highly prized by the reputed Universities of the West, echoing the honoured recognition to no small parts of the globe, were like an arch, wherethrough gleamed the untravelled world and therein showed the green young Asutosh an insatiable thirst for knowledge infinite, to justify in future years, the appellation commonly bestowed on him—an appellation of being the favoured child of the goddess of learning.

One cannot fail to note, rather is thrilled with a feeling of joy and pride to mention the devotion of Sir Asutosh to his mother—a devotion 'that makes breath poor and speech unable.' It was the sincerity of devotion that could so easily throw off the laurels thrust upon him unasked—an honour that moves a heart which seldom thirsts for "Circean draught of flattery and applause." A mere obedience to the religious scruple of the mother outweighing the value of an esteemed invitation from the Viceroy drew forth from His Excellency an utterance with a sneer clad in ireful command. "Tell your mother that the Viceroy of India commands her son to go." In dramatic promptness came a reply released from the volcanic mind of Sir Asutosh, "Then I will tell the Viceroy of India on her behalf that the mother of Asutosh Mookerjee refuses to let her son be commanded by any one excepting herself, be he the Viceroy of India or anybody greater still." Like the great Socrates he had his genius in attendance which was unto him both Law and Impulse. It was perhaps by the tranquil beauty of his nature that he could enjoy an ideal family life, happy and peaceful, that seldom falls to the lot of men of eminence.

Another characteristic of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was that he had always the rosiest optimism. Though he had lost much of the glory of "those visionary hours" "much of the robust optimism and many of the illusions of the springtide" still he had superabundant faith in the moral providence of God. White-handed hope "came to him like a hovering angel girt with golden wings." He loved man, pitied him his faults and admired his virtues. "The crimson thread of kinship was to him no fiction of the imagination."

He was a man of a forgiving disposition but he would not tolerate the insolence of any man howsoever high-placed he might be. The fitting blow to the swelled-headed arrogance would very often misgive the genuine tenderness of his heart, which made him perfectly oblivious of the monstrous faults even of the deadliest enemies begging his pardon or seeking his protection. Everybody feared Sir Asutosh, his sparkling eyes "made the beholders wink," they acted like the cockatrice. For this he was rightly called the Bengal Tiger.

In short, every opportune moment of his life was the father of hosts of achievements embalmed and treasured up in undying anecdotes, each one of which would shine as a precious possession in men of eminent distinction.

Such is Sir Asutosh Mookerjee whose death we deplore, who had converted the "thorns of his path into purple roses," who had his "seat in the choir invisible of those immortal dead" to "trick his beams with newspangled ore and flame in the forehead of the morning sky."

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE FRIARS

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

In the thirteenth century Europe sent a few monks into Asia, partly as explorers, and partly as missionaries. To these ecclesiastics the West owed some of its earliest geographical information of the countries and people of inner Asia, one might almost say, the only fairly correct geographical knowledge, which the later middle ages possessed of Mongolia, China and related countries. While the accounts of these Franciscan monks never became general knowledge in Western Europe, in the minds of those who were intelligent enough to realize the importance of these travelling accounts, Asia and things Asiatic must have moved out somewhat of the hazy sphere of the fabulous into a better knowledge and clearer perception of a greatly extended geography of the eastern continent.

Western Europe of the 13th century had good reasons to be interested in the interior of Asia, which had sent out armies which in one stupendous whirlwind campaign had broken the

military resistance of the kingdoms of Eastern Europe, first the Russian principalities, then the Hungarians, and an army of Polish and German knights at Liegnitz, in Silesia. All this had taken place within a few years, from 1236 on, and Mr. Harold Lamb, in his *March of the Barbarians*, rightfully raises the question, what would have happened to Western civilization, if Batu and Subotai, the two outstanding leaders of the Mongol armies, had not been recalled back to Karakoram, the capital of the Mongol empire, for the election of another Khakhan, Ogodai, the son of Chenghiz Khan, having died in December 1241.

Here are a few geographic and ethnographic notes which the Friars took :

(1) "Leaving the land of the Cangle, we entered into the country of the Bisermins, who speak the language of Comania, but observe the religion of the Saracens.'—John, p. 37 (p. 21).

"To the west of the magnificent plain is Curgia (Georgia) where once lived the Crosminians. At the foot of these mountains is a large city called Ganges, the ancient capital of the Crosminians; it kept the Georgians from descending into the plain."—William, p. 199.

Friar William in the same place derives the name of the Georgians from the name of the river Curg :

"This river gave its name to the Curges, whom we call Georgians."—William, p. 199.

(2) "His wife (Master William's) was the daughter of one Larkaine, and born in Hungary, she spoke French and Coman well."—William, p. 160.

"We met there another European, named Basil, the son of an Englishman and born in Hungary, and he spoke the same languages."—*Ibid.*

Does Hungary here mean the Greater, or the Minor ?

(3) "The people of Cangle...were by parentage descended from the Comans. Upon the north side of us, we had great Bulgaria, and on the south, the Caspian Sea. Having travelled twelve days' journey from Volga, we found a mighty river called Jagac (Ural), which flows out of the north, from the land of Pascatir, falling into the Caspian Sea.

The language of Pascatir and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepherds, not having any cities. Their country borders upon Great Bulgaria, on the west frontier. From the north-east part of this country, there is no city at all. Great Bulgaria is the farthest country in this direction that has any city. Out of this region of Pascatir came the Huns of old time, who afterward were called Hungarians. Next to it is Great Bulgaria."

It seems clear that William identifies *first*, the Comans with the people of Cangle, the latter being descended from the former. *Secondly*, the language of the Comans is spoken also in the region of Khwaresm (Khwarezm), if Bisermins as above stands for the nation of the Kharezmians. *Thirdly*, he identifies, linguistically, the languages of the Hungarians and the Bashkirs of Pascatir (Bascarts by Friar John). John says : "The people called Bascarta, or Great Hungary." (In the same passage John speaks of the "Bilers, that is, Great Bulgaria."—p. 22.)

Thus the friars had a clear conception of the close relationship which exists between the Hungarian and the Bashkir races. Modern investigation has established the fact that Hungarian is an original Finnish dialect, which very early in the history of the language incorporated numerous elements of Bashkir, that is, Eastern Turki origin.

In another place Friar William draws still more remarkable linguistic conclusions. Describing the Uighūrs, the most advanced of the earlier Turkish races, as he found them on his way to Karakorum, some time after he had crossed the river Ili, running into Lake Balkash. He says after finding them in goodly numbers throughout the Mongol dominion :

"Among the Jugires remains the original and root of the Turkish and Coman languages."

Friar William, after all, narrow as he may have been in some things, had the marks of a scholar. Not merely outward things interest him, although he has the eye of an observer; he constantly and honestly raises and tries to answer to his own satisfaction, questions of historical connections, things of the inner life of folks and races.

It seems strange that his many sound comments on such subjects should have gone unnoticed even by the more learned of his and the remaining half a dozen of centuries. He pictures for us a workable outline of Turkish tribes with their habitats, ranging from the Amur river clear across Asia and away into Europe. Naturally he connects the Hungarians with the Huns, as all his generation did. While there is no clearly traceable historical connection between the two races, being more than half a millenium apart in history, the temptation of finding an etymological connection between the two names, is and has been a common failing of earlier writers.

As there was, in the 13th century, a Lesser Hungary in Europe, and a Greater Hungary, Friar John says :

"The land of Comania on the north side immediately after Russia has the people called Mordunis, the Bilers, that is Great Bulgaria; the Bascarts, that is, Great Hungary."—Page 37.

And on page 22 he says :

"Returning (after the Mongols, here Tartars, had conquered the Russians, Comanians, Hungarians and Poles), they invaded the country of the Mordunis, who are pagans, and conquered them in battle. Then they marched against the people called Bilers, or Great Bulgaria, and utterly wasted the country. From here they proceeded north against the people called Bascarts, or Great Hungary, and conquered them also."

The sources of information, which the friars possessed, clearly pointed to very definite Asiatic habitats for both the now Christianized nations of the Bulgarians and Magyars. While, as we have seen, many of these tribes had Turkish affinities, or were of purely Turkish blood, none of the early travellers makes this claim for the ancient Bulgarians. Modern historical and linguistic investigation tends to reject the assumed Turkish descent of the original Bulgarians, but connects them with the Caucasian groups of races, like the Lesgs, and others. Thus, the Friars were not such linguists and historians. Friar William especially is perhaps the most outstanding of that group of early travellers for sober relation of facts as within his reach of knowledge and information. That he, once in a great while, reproduces some fantastic bit of folk-lore, mistaking it for natural science, or history, this weakness one is glad to overlook.

Upland, Indiana

GURU GOBIND SINGH AND WORLD PROBLEMS

By Prof. DARBARA SINGH, M.Sc.

It is a little less than three hundred years when Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth Guru of Sikhs, was born into this world. The study of his life and teachings reveals him as a master mind and a consummate genius. And the more it is studied the more interesting it becomes.

Guru Gobind Singh was a combination of a great many noble qualities. At once a mighty commander and a humble, unassuming servant, a great hero and a saint, a poet of the highest order and a brave soldier, a householder and a brahmacharī and a Guru and a disciple, he was a saviour of the poor and the lowly and a powerful resister of tyranny and injustice. He was a great spiritual leader who delivered his lessons from the exalted seat with force and clearness all his own. He was a great organiser who assembled the rich and the poor at one place and they were prepared at any time to lay down their all in his service and at his bidding. He was a great general and warrior who fought against the vast numbers of the enemy with a handful of soldiers, risking his life in the thick of the fight. His poetry has a rare flow and vigour and those who read it at once realise what a great poet he was. As a man of learning he knew Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Panjabi, the languages that were then current in India. Above all, he had an unhesitating and ungrudging spirit of sacrifice of a unique kind. Not only this, he was always open to conviction and correction by others, a quality seldom found in great leaders.

If the above-mentioned qualities are all acquired, God gave him His gifts also. Tall and handsome, he was a god of beauty and personal perfection.

His admirers have sketched Guru Gobind Singh as a superhuman hero endowed with divine power but he condemned all such attributes with all the emphasis that he could command. Gobind Singh wished to be described only as a human being. The historians have described him as a general and warrior, for wars took most of his time. But from his very infancy he was full of love and sympathy for all and readily offered them to the downtrodden. In this matter he recognised no foe for foe is in the man and not man himself. Even when the battle was raging with terrific violence he gave his *darshan* to his devotees, in the ranks of the enemy where they burned with a desire to see him.

Generally there are two ideas fast-rooted among common masses; firstly that Guru Gobind Singh stood for the Hindus and arranged his forces against the Mohammadans, and, secondly, that, he stands aloof from his predecessors, his mission showing a definite departure from those of theirs : whereas the work of the previ-

ous Sikh Gurus was to spread the Name of God and love with the fellow-beings, the work of Gobind Singh has been only war, organisation and military career. The first idea can be easily refuted even by a cursory glance at his life. His forces included Mohammadans and in the beginning his enemies were all Hindus. His Mohammadan enemies, it appears, were invited by the Hindus to join them in their attacks on the Guru. The second thing is entirely circumstantial. At this time the enemies of the Sikhs had increased enormously on account of the emphatic declaration of the principles of Sikhism, *viz.*, equality and fraternity, and its growing popularity, and, moreover, the Moghul emperor had definitely declared his policy of spreading Islam by threats and promises, the Guru, therefore, had to fight a threatening danger. There was no public and no public opinion that the Guru could mobilise to advantage. The Guru had seen the effect of the great and unique sacrifice of his father as a waste on the mind of the Moghul Emperor. He could not pause to try the worn-out methods and merely depend on the verdict of the posterity.

At the altar of sacrifice Gobind Singh laid down the life of his father when he was below ten, his aged mother, his sons of tender age, two of them under his very eyes, his dear wife and a large number of his most devoted and loving followers. When the news of the death of his sons reached him he listened with perfect equanimity and then uttered, 'Oh Lord! Thy *amanat* has been safely returned to Thee.' Sometimes during his struggles he was left helpless and companionless and had to pass his nights all alone, in wild jungles, making the thorny ground his bed, a stone his pillow, firmament his canopy, tigers and wolves his watchmen and wild bushes his companions.

But what was the impulse that guided Gobind Singh to make such monumental sacrifices and what was the idea that compelled him to live such a difficult life? His predecessors had lived a comparatively easy life but he was always pursued by his enemies. From one of his verses the motive that compelled him to such a life is quite clear:

> For this purpose we came into this world; God sent us to establish righteousness,
> Everywhere ye must spread righteousness and destroy the cruel and the tyrant,
> Only for this purpose we were born, understand well all ye saints,
> To establish righteousness and to lift up the good,
> To exterminate all evil-doers root and branch.

This was the aim of the Guru and this was the imperious craving of his mind. This idea of life is quite distinct from many schools of thought existing before. In this respect Gobind Singh rises to the climax mark—all other things, such as, purity of life, purity of action, love of fellow-being, remembrance of God and His invocation, and humility of life as the foundation of man's character and not the sole aim of one's life and, hence, deserving a passing, although emphatic, mention and not engrossing all his attention.

With such ideas Guru Gobind Singh brings about a revolution in human thought. The principles and teachings of other spiritual leaders are only aiming at self-purification but those of the Guru befit a man to improve society and lift human society by an active service even at the risk of his life. Thus, serving and sacrificing he should sing joyfully:

> "Set foot on this path
> Give thy head and don't show thy back."

This is the only acquisition that the Guru aims at and regards all other possessions as hollow and unreal. This is an attainment in itself and its own reward. With such clear-cut principles as Gobind Singh had it is not strange that he should constantly find himself in troubles. He lived for larger humanity doing active service under the most arduous circumstances. Such are the men that the world stands in need of.

The greatest living man of today, Mahatma Gandhi, the pride and privilege of India, although in spirit a true follower of Guru Gobind Singh does not see eye to eye with him regarding the line of action. One is an apostle of non-violence and the other is the master of the sword. But is it not that the times have changed and the brute force has lost its efficacy? Placed under similar circumstances in which the Guru found himself we do not know what the apostle of non-violence would choose.

Guru Gobind Singh preached and worked for his principles to his extreme inconvenience. He had to sacrifice his nearest and dearest and he did most cheerfully. Nothing was more valuable to him than his profession of making sacrifice and doing good. The Guru was a unique personality.

The greatest contribution that the Guru made towards world problems was to create a society that should know no distinction of caste and creed and riches and poverty and should observe perfect equality and fraternity between man and man and should be inseparably united through the relationship with the Guru and

should have the godhead as the impelling force to do good. It was through an organisation only that he could realise his objective. He named the organisation as Khalsa, 'the order of Pure Ones.' With the aid of this organisation he worked laboriously through thick and thin and achieved a good measure of success in his mission.

With the growing strength of the Khalsa many artificial barriers were broken and all those who were adversely affected seriously began to think of their prestige. They combined their forces to frustrate the noble efforts of the Guru. Therefore it is not very strange that the Guru should have first come into conflict with the Hill Rajas. When they found that their own efforts were not enough to defeat the Guru they invoked the assistance of the Moghul emperor who was already inimical towards the Guru as evinced by the martyrdom of Guru Arjan and Guru Teg Bahadur.

Guru Gobind was ardently admired and revered by his men that constituted his army. His army consisted of rich and poor and Hindus and Muslims that had either become Sikhs after taking the *Amrit,* the water of life, or were simply the staunch admirers of the Guru. An account of the several fights between the Guru's men and their enemies furnishes an evidence of great love and reverence for the Guru which manifested itself in unique sacrifices on their part and their wonderful fighting power.

Guru Gobind Singh never waged wars for the sake of any territory and glory. He never pursued the fallen foe. Had he wished he could build a kingdom. But wars or military profession or a secular state was not his aim. He was ever on the defensive. All these wars were forced on him. He was compelled to fight for his existence, otherwise he had no time to think of wars that should detract his attention from his mission. Belonging to the line of the Gurus, he was only to preach the mission of Guru Nanak more vigorously and effectively, *viz.*, Love and Truth and the Name of God and work for the evolution of human society that should observe perfect equality and fraternity between man and man. He fought for the establishment of the most fundamental right of mortals, 'To Live and Let Live.' This is the second great contribution that the Guru made towards the world problems, that is, the construction of a human society nobler and purer.

Another great contribution that Guru Gobind Singh made towards the world problems is to elevate the character of man individually. He fought so many battles and often came out victorious but even for a moment he never humiliated his enemy. He treated him most magnanimously. At one time one of his own men was found serving out water to the enemy while on the battle-field and when brought before the Guru he complimented him and praised him. Sometimes it happened that the same persons who had been ever a bitter enemy of the Guru sought his help. The Guru embraced him and did all for him. The Guru knew no hatred and low means. The Moghul emperor who was out to crush him was praised by the Guru for his bravery and piety even when he was fighting him. The Guru recognised no man as his foe excepting when he behaved as such. He had a great and noble heart. He loved to see similar qualities in his Sikhs.

Quite unlike other great spiritual leaders and reformers he organised a society in which there is no place of autocracy or absolutism. When he instituted the Khalsa and served the water of life to the first five he asked them to serve the same to him also as if he was their follower and they were his guides. In his future doings also he respected them with the same decorum and courtesy as he showed them first. This step was taken by the Guru with full consciousness and he applied it for the whole of his life. In this way Guru Gobind Singh has laid the foundation of a perfect sort of democracy or equality among his men which they have preserved to this day.

Another great contribution that the Guru has made towards world problems is to raise the dignity of the women-folk. When he prepared the *amrit* for his Sikhs he got it sweetened by a woman who put sugar into it. It was his own wife who did so. When the Sikhs perchance fell on women they never violated their chastity. They had them escorted to their homes. This beautiful trait of character of the Sikhs has been amply praised by Mohammedan writers who had all hatred for the Sikhs and their actions and no good word.

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

I sincerely believed that after the publication of the Broome Report, relieving the white population of fear of peneration in Natal, the Indian settlers, at least for the time being would be left in peace,—peace which was not merely of very great importance to South Africa but also to the Allied Nations with whom South Africa was associating in this deadly world war, but it was in vain. Disregarding the findings of the first Broome Commission, arrived at after one of the most exhaustive and painstaking enquiries ever conducted in South Africa, the City Council of Durban passed a resolution demanding that legislation be enacted for racial segregation.

In fact, the very municipality of Durban has shown itself to be the culprit. It has done nothing to meet the housing requirements of Indians. It has opposed every move to grant any decent sites for Indian occupation, and it has never stopped its shouting about 'penetration and segregation.' Yet Durban is the most 'English' city in South Africa. And it is these very English, not the South African Boers, who are frantically making continuous attempts to segregate 'British Indians' at this perilous period of world war.

It is reported that a legislation was introduced and passed in the Union Parliament preventing Indians from further acquisition and occupation of land in predominantly European areas. The legislation has threatened the position of Indians in Natal to such an extent that they are driven to desperation. In fact, the Indians without exception look upon the application of segregation to themselves as a racial stigma. It is galling to their national pride to feel that, though the members of their race may sit in the Imperial War Cabinet beside the most distinguished statesmen of the British Empire, in South Africa they must not live in close proximity to even the dirtiest and filthiest of their white fellow subjects. It is an unbearable insult to the sentiment of an ancient and civilised people, and inherently unjust.

Any scheme of segregation is contrary to the terms of the Capetown Agreement, which is still in force between the Governments of South Africa and India. Dr. Hofmeyr, the Minister of Finance, once declared unequivocally that it was impossible for Government to accept the principle of segregation unless it had first specifically terminated the Agreement with the Government of India.

The Indian community of Natal, while opposing segregation, do not desire to live in European areas. Historical experiences show that all the world over people of the same race find it congenial and convenient to live together and the Indians in South Africa are no exception to this rule. It is not denied that there might have been some isolated cases of acquisition in predominantly European areas by Indians, but it is mainly due to the Durban Municipality's criminal neglect of the areas predominantly occupied by Indians and want of civic amenities and also the lack of provision of areas for normal expansion of the Indian settlers. To-day it is found that after 83 years of Indian settlement in Durban, only 20 Indian families occupy houses in the essentially European areas of the Berea. Surely, this cannot be called Indian penetration, nor can it be said that there is a need even for the most selfish motives, to offend the feelings and national pride of the Indian community of South Africa and the people of India by implanting upon them the stigma of segregation and racial inferiority, especially at this critical juncture when India and South Africa are fighting shoulder to shoulder to defeat the Axis Powers.

But the harm was done, and the legislation was enacted. There is no alternative left to India but to recall her High Commissioner, as a protest, from South Africa, for there is no point in keeping him in the Union which has received him for the purpose of fulfilling the Capetown Agreement, now so callously sought to be trodden under by the Union Government of South Africa.

Indians in South Africa will struggle for survival and a decent human existence till the end of Time, but they look up to the Mother-Country and its Government to see that their case, in these critical times, does not go by default.

"THOUGHTS ON PAKISTAN"*

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

As the central subject of this book is both topical and thought-compelling, we have read the whole of it very carefully. Although we do not wish to disparage the learning which the author has displayed in this work, nor the skill and the ingenuity with which he has generally tried to interpret the large mass of information it contains, yet we are sorry to observe that it is not a calm and judicious survey of the question with which it deals, in all its various aspects. Nor does the work bear that evidence of a prolonged reflection or a spirit of philosophic detachment which a work of this nature should have exhibited. Rather it bears marks of haste and quick generalization. Not that there are no merits in this work: there are certainly some. But there are many grave defects in it, primarily arising from misinformation, misinterpretations, gross exaggerations, ugly distortions, perverseness of mental attitude, half-truths, dozens of misprints, grammatical errors, and ill documentation. The author says that his "aim is to expose (*sic*) the scheme of Pakistan in all its aspects and not to advocate it . . . . to explain and not to convert" (pp. 10-11). But actually he has not only advocated Pakistan again and again, he has also given repeated warnings to the Hindus as to what would happen to them if they did not agree to it. As a matter of fact, he has manipulated all his arguments with a view to making out a case for Pakistan. His scheme of Pakistan, however, is, as we shall show later on, somewhat different from that of Mr. Jinnah and his immediate followers, in respect of some details. But the underlying principle is the same in both the cases.

In connexion with the merits of the work we must mention the admirable boldness and straightforwardness which the author has shown in stating some of his views. In this he does not mince matters; nor does he spare anybody, however high or great. And we fully agree with him in what he says in regard to (*i*) "the ever-growing catalogue of the Muslim's political demands" (pp. 245-66); (*ii*) the Lucknow Pact, and the Communal Award (pp. 98-102); (*iii*) "the spirit of exploiting the weaknesses of the Hindus" as shown by the Muslims (pp. 266-67); (*iv*) "the adoption by the Muslims of the gangsters' methods in politics" and its reaction in the shape of "gangsterism" by the Hindus (p. 267); (*v*) the British policy in relation to the Muslim demands (p. 98); (*vi*) the "system of communal hostages" (p. 104); and, lastly, the Congress policy of "appeasement" and its deplorable consequences on Indian politics. The author is perfectly right when he says (p. 102), "To allow a communal majority to rule a minority without requiring the majority to submit itself to the suffrages of the minority, especially when the minority demands it, is to enact a perversion of democratic principles and to show a callous disregard for the safety and security of the Hindu minorities." He is equally right when he observes (p. 100), "The separate electorates for the Hindu majorities in the Hindu provinces are not a matter of their choice. It is a consequence resulting from the determination of the Muslim minorities who claimed to have separate electorates for themselves." His analysis in this connexion is both penetrating and original.

We cannot agree, however, with the interpretation which the author has put on the much-abused principle of self-determination (pp. 4-5). "The Muslims," the author solemnly declares, "cannot be deprived of the benefit of the principle of self-determination." All right. Will the author apply the same principle of self-determination to the Hindu and Sikh minorities in all the predominantly Muslim areas? In equity he must. And what will be the effect of all this on the political system of this country? The author should have borne in mind that "the right of self-determination is," as Lord Curzon once remarked in 1923, "like a two-edged sword and can be admitted only with reservations." The principle of self-determination is to be applied to a country as a whole and not to every section of its population. Otherwise, there would be disintegration which would make it impossible to set up any stable, organized and civilized government in the country.

The author's arguments based on financial considerations (pp. 7-9 and 63-65) are thoroughly misleading. As a matter of fact, we have found that they have actually misled some unwary people who cannot think for themselves. In regard to the figures of revenue raised by the Central Government from the Central sources in different provinces, the author should have known what the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report pointed out (para. 203) long ago: "In the case of ramifying enterprises with their business centre in some big city, the province in which the tax is paid is not necessarily the province in which the income was earned." This statement applies particularly to Taxes on Income collected at Calcutta and in other parts of Bengal. The head office of a business firm or a plantation may be in Bengal, but the actual firm or the plantation may be, and often is, located outside of the province. Similarly in regard to the import duties. Such duties may be collected in Bengal, say, at Calcutta; but a considerable part of the commodities on which they are levied is actually consumed in areas outside of this province, *e.g.*, Assam, Bihar, the U. P., etc. Many people glibly argue that, in the event of the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan as contemplated by the Muslim League, Calcutta will continue to be the port through which goods meant for consumption in Hindustan areas will pass, and that the head offices of business firms, etc., operating in those areas will continue to be located at this city. The Government of Hindustan will not be so foolish as to permit all this. This argument also applies to Karachi. It is evident, therefore, that the same amount of total revenue cannot be raised in Sind and Bengal, for instance, in the event of the proposed partition of India as is raised today from these provinces by the Central and Provincial Governments. These arguments may also be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to other proposed Pakistan areas. Our author did not, in his haste and anxiety to make out a case for Pakistan, think it necessary to go into all these details.

The author sometimes uses political terms very loosely. Certainly, the authors of the Partition of Bengal did not intend "to create a Muslim State in Eastern Bengal" (p. 20). The new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was not meant to be absolutely independent of any Central Government of India, and its creation was not the same thing as the establishment of Pakistan in Eastern India. Again, the separation of Provinces on a linguistic basis as contemplated by the

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* *Thoughts on Pakistan* by B. R. Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law. Published by Thacker and Company, Ltd., Bombay, 1941. Pp. II+380. Price Rs. 10.

Congress (p. 22) is an altogether different thing from the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan as advocated by the Jinnahites. The Congress never meant to make the provinces so created on the linguistic basis *sovereign*, and absolutely independent of any Central Government of India of the future. These analogies are not only misleading, but are also false and mischievous.

In discussing the essential elements of a "nation," "nationality," etc. (Chapter II), the author has not, obviously with a view to the object he had in mind, practically given any importance to such factors as community of race, community of language, community of economic interests, geographic unity, considerations of political expediency and military strategy. The one factor that counts with him is community of religion and all that it implies. The author does not appear to be familiar with the *modern* distinction between a "nation" and a "nationality." There can be no nation unless the people concerned has become politically organized. As T. H. Green says, "The nation underlies the State." There can, therefore, be no nation in India today as there is now no Indian State. The Indian nation is in the making. The different communities in India are different nationalities as there are different nationalities in Switzerland, Great Britain, Canada, South Africa, and in the U. S. A. The author would do well to note in this connexion the views of such eminent writers as Lord Bryce, J. Holland Rose, Laveleye and Hayes. Renan's is not the last word on the subject.

The Muslims waited in deputation upon Lord Minto not in 1909 as the author says (p. 247), but on 1st October, 1906.

The author's arguments in Chapter V are based on a wrong conception regarding the communal composition of the Indian army. He has said that "the Indian Army today is predominantly Muslim in its composition." Sir Jogendra Singh, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, removed this misconception in the course of a statement made by him in the Council of State on 24th September, 1942. He said: "May I take this opportunity of mentioning that Mr. Jinnah was wrong. Muslim representation in the Army stands at 32 per cent. and the others provide the remaining 68 per cent." This is very significant.

The author's remarks against the high-caste Hindus and his views about the real ground of opposition to the Partition of Bengal (pp. 117-120) are most wicked and perverse. They seem to betray an unfortunate mental complex from which he may presumably be suffering. It appears that he cannot think except in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence. And according to him other people, too, cannot act actuated by a higher sense of values. That is the reason why he cannot also appreciate the real ground of opposition to what has been aptly called the proposed vivisection of India. His sense of values cannot possibly rise to the spiritual height of this opposition. It seems that he is incapable of it.

According to the author, "it is no use saying that the Congress is not a Hindu body. . . . . . The only difference between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha is that the latter is crude in its utterance and brutal in its actions while the Congress is politic and polite. But apart from this difference of fact there is no other difference between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha" (p. 41). In regard to the *mass contact* plan of the Congress, he observes that "in essence, it was the plan of the British Conservative Party to buy Labour with 'Tory Gold'" (pp. 344-45). These are some of the samples of the sweeping nature of the author's statements. There are many such statements in the book.

Now to the central subject of the book. The author has supported Pakistan in principle and given a scheme of Pakistan of his own. According to his scheme (p. 64) some portion (13 districts) of the Punjab is "to be excluded from the scheme of Pakistan" as envisaged by the Muslim League. Similarly some portion (15 districts) of Bengal is to be "excluded from the proposed Eastern Muslim State, although a district from Assam may have to be added to it." Nevertheless he has advocated the partition of India into Hindustan and Pakistan as a solution of the Indian problem, and thus accepted in principle the idea of a watertight division of this country. And he has seriously suggested a large-scale exchange of population between Hindustan and Pakistan so that these two states may be homogeneous in respect of their respective population. A very simple solution indeed! Our author has not considered it necessary to take into account in this connexion the miseries and sufferings to which will be subjected the many millions of Hindus and Muslims who will be practically compelled to leave their ancestral homes for strange places and environment, and perhaps to forget also their mother-tongue. And why all this trouble? Just to satisfy the whims of a few communalists who change their views on Indian political questions, as the author has himself shown, almost from year to year! It appears to us that no man in his senses can make such a proposal seriously. Indeed, the idea of the compulsory removal of millions of Hindus and Muslims from their ancestral homes just to satisfy the whims of some Muslim communalists is as absurd and impracticable as the idea of some Hindu communalists who seriously maintain that, since India has been known for ages as Hindustan, it belongs to the Hindus alone, and that its Muslim population must, therefore, either submit to Hindu domination or be made to leave this country, bag and baggage, for Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, etc. The author has referred in this connexion to the cases of Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. The number of persons involved in those countries was practically nothing compared with the number which would be involved in India. Even then there was no end to the sufferings of the people of those countries who had to migrate. In this connexion we would advise the author to read Sir Alfred Watson's article entitled *The Rejected Plan for India* published in *The Asiatic Review* of July, 1942.

The shifting of population being not at all a practicable proposition, the problem of minorities will remain unsolved even in the event of the partition of India into Hindustan and Pakistan. That will lead to a perpetual trouble, either on actual or on imaginary grounds, between them. This in its turn may lead on to a war between them, terminating in the conquest of the proposed Eastern Muslim State by Hindustan in collusion with the Hindu population of the former, and perhaps in an invasion of India by some foreign Muslim States on the invitation of the Muslim State on the North-West of India. Pakistan, therefore, will be no solution of the Indian problem. And we must not also forget the wise saying of *The Federalist*: "He who hopes that independent, neighbouring states can live in perpetual harmony with one another is a utopian dreamer who knows neither life nor history." Those who think that the creation of two or more independent political Unions would lead to peace in this country are such utopian dreamers who know neither life nor history.

The author has, with a view to producing effect on the reader's mind, unnecessarily exaggerated our differences. For instance, he writes on page 346 in connexion with the question of relationship between Hindus and Muslims: "They (*i.e.*, the Hindus and Muslims) meet to trade or they meet to murder. They do not meet

to befriend one another. When there is no call to trade or when there is no call to murder, they cease to meet." This is a gross exaggeration—nay, a perversion of truth. Even Mr. Jinnah did, in the course of his evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, admit on 13th August, 1919, in reply to question 3813 put to him by Major Ormsby-Gore : "*In India the Mahommedans have very few things really which you can call matters of special interest for them—I mean secular things.*" (*Minutes of Evidence*, 1919, p. 225. The italics are ours). The author has also noted this (p. 316). Certainly things could not have changed since in fundamental matters.

With a view, perhaps, to the same end, the author has given a long catalogue (pp. 158-80) of Hindu-Muslim riots which occurred in India during the period from 1920 to 1940. He has compiled it from official sources. He might have spared the reader this narration. It does not prove much. In a population of nearly four hundred millions some troubles are bound to occur occasionally. If riots develop and spread, it is largely due to the fact—and those who have experience of such riots would bear this out—that law is not enforced at the initial stage with the utmost vigour and with the strictest impartiality. Sometimes local officials allow themselves to be guided by mean "political" considerations, and a wicked spirit of vendetta against one community or another. And had not Mr. Jinnah also stated before the Joint Select Committee on 13th August, 1919, in reply to question 3854 put to him by Mr. Bennett : "If you ask me, very often these riots are based on some misunderstanding, and it is because *the police have taken one side or the other,* and that has enraged one side or the other. I know very well that in the Indian states you hardly ever hear of any Hindu-Mohammedan riots, and I do not mind telling the Committee, without mentioning the name, that I happened to ask one of the Ruling Princes, 'How do you account for this?' and he told me, 'As soon as there is some trouble we have invariably traced it to the police through the police taking one side or the other, and the only remedy we have found is that as soon as we come to know we move (*sic*) that police officer from that place, and there is an end of it.'" (From *the Minutes of Evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919*, p. 227). The author has also noted this (p. 317), but has not considered it necessary to analyse its implications. What Mr. Jinnah said in reference to riots before 1919 is equally applicable to riots that have occurred since. It may be stated here that Mr. Jinnah appeared before the Joint Select Committee on behalf of the Muslim League.

This work is an advocacy of the cause of Pakistan. Unfortunately for the cause, the author has given, in a concentrated form (pp. 49-60), such a blood-curdling account of oppressions and atrocities which some Muslim invaders and Muslim rulers of India committed in the past on the Hindus and their religion that it would make every Hindu, affected by the proposed Pakistan scheme, shudder to contemplate what his life would be in Pakistan in the event of its realization, and would, therefore, certainly make him fight against it till the last moment of his life, to avert this calamity. Thus the author has done, perhaps unconsciously, a great disservice to his pet object!

The partition of India into watertight communally-demarcated areas being ethnologically, economically, politically and strategically an absurd idea, the only solution of the Indian problem lies in a well-devised scheme of the federation of the whole of India. It is really a thousand pities that the learned author of this treatise comprising 380 pages, has not thought it necessary to consider, anywhere in it, the potentialities of federalism as a solution of our communal problem. He would do well to go very carefully through the pages of *The Federalist* in this connexion. Unfortunately for this country, very few of our eminent leaders, both Hindu and Muslim, even know the name of this remarkable series of letters written by John Jay, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. If it has been possible for the Germans, the French and the Italians—by no means always friends outside—to live in peace and harmony in the Swiss Federation, for the French and the English in the Canadian Federation, and for a number of nationalities in the United States of America, it is also quite possible for the different nationalities of India to live in peace and harmony within one political Union. The solution of our problem does not, we repeat, lie in any scheme of partition of India : it lies in the Federation of the whole of India on proper lines. This will satisfy all the legitimate claims of both the *Hindustanists* and the *Pakistanists.* "India," rightly said His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester in the course of his parting message to this country last year, "is a country fashioned by Nature to be united. Divided against herself she would be very weak : united she can be great and powerful beyond measure." In these words His Royal Highness stressed the fundamental unity of India. And in the course of his address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce on 17th December, 1942, His Excellency the Viceroy also very rightly laid stress on this geographical unity of India and on its implications in terms of the foreign policy, tariff policy, defence policy, and the industrial development of this country. Partition will surely lead to our destruction : Federation alone will save us. Our ideal should be a Federation of All-India on an indissoluble basis. And slightly varying the words once used by Chief Justice Chase of the Supreme Court of the United States of America in another connexion, we would suggest that the Constitution of India should be an indestructible Federal Union composed of indestructible autonomous units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial or religious minorities in respect of their language, religion, culture, and traditions.

We have considered here most of the principal points raised by the author in the book. There are still some other points in it equally open to criticism. But we must stop now for considerations of space.

As regards misprints and slips of grammar, the only thing that we should like to say is that they are too many to be shown here. There are some useful appendices to the book.

In conclusion, the author says : "I am satisfied that I have done my duty. If the Hindus don't do theirs they will be plagued by the very consequences for which they are laughing at Europe and they will perish in the same way in which Europe is perishing." Really? Are the three hundred millions of Hindus of India so helpless? We, at least, have a much better opinion of them. We may, however, tell the author here that in his anxiety to establish his case he has too often given us a picture which is palpably over-drawn, and thus, indirectly, if not deliberately, done a positive disservice to the cause of nationalism in this country. We, therefore, really wonder whether he has done his duty to his fatherland!

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

INTRODUCTION TO INDIA: *By F. R. Moraes and Robert Stimson. Published by the Oxford University Press, Fort, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8 only.*

The work is purported mainly to be an attempt to supply, within the short compass of 170 pages, to the British and American troops now resident in India, what the authors, an Indian and an Englishman, claim to be "a quick and balanced survey of the country," though they "naturally hope that it may have a wider market." A little more than half of the book is devoted to a connected account of India and her people under the headings, The Land, Racial Mosaic, An Ancient Civilisation, Life in the Villages, City Life, Women, Maharajas and Nawabs, India at Work, Swaraj and Swadeshi, and Birds, Beasts and Plants. This is followed by a section, extending to over seventy pages, called Classified Information, which deals with a variety of subjects of more or less importance, relating to the country and its people, the history, literature, religions, political and social movements, etc., to supplement the information contained in the first part of the book. The work contains besides a number of illustrations along with a selected list of publications about India. On opening the book the reader's attention is arrested at the outset by an outline map with illustrations which at once produces the impression that India is, perhaps, more important as a land where elephants, tigers, monkeys, snakes and fishes abound, than for anything else. At the end of the work is another outline map showing a number of important cities and railway junctions, along with the routes of the different railways working in India, with which is appended a list of cities with their respective distances by rail from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

While stating on page 9 of the book, that in the Indian people are blended many racial strains, the authors omit to mention the "pre-Dravidian" among the racial elements enumerated by them. Similarly while speaking about the Southern group of languages of non-Aryan stock, they should not have failed to mention Tulu along with Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. They ought to have recognised the fact, that the Indus Civilisation of pre-historic times was a Dravidian Civilisation, is still merely a hypothesis—it may be a possible hypothesis. On page 25 is made the statement that Asoka "left his records and his ideals engraven on iron pillars and in rock inscriptions throughout the length and breadth of India." In fact, Asoka did never raise any inscribed iron-pillar. He raised, so far as is known to us, seven monolithic pillars of stone. Referring to the activities of Mr. M. N. Roy, he is wrongly described as Mahendra Nath Roy. He is known as Manavendra Nath Roy, not Mahendra Nath Roy. It is surprising that the authors should still maintain that the recent cyclone, in Western Bengal killed only 11,000 people. According to a very modest estimate about 40,000 men, women and children were killed. Other estimates, made by parties not less auhoritative or reliable, put the number of persons who lost their lives as a result of the catastrophe at a much higher figure.

The suggestion is made that the Provinces in India enjoyed provincial autonomy with popular ministries supported by legislatures. It is almost an unmitigated insult to India, to assert at this time of day that under the Government of India Act of 1935, the provinces really gained anything like genuine provincial autonomy. The dismissal of the late Mr. Allah Bux, Chief Minister of Sind and the manner in which the new Ministry in Sind was brought into existence; the resignation of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerji, the circumstances under which Mr. Fazlul Huq was compelled to resign and the way in which the new Ministry in Bengal was constituted; and the manner and extent of interference in the affairs of the Provinces by the Central Government and the permanent services, along with some of the recent judgments of some of the highest courts in the country, have fully demonstrated the utter hollowness of the claim, that the present Indian constitution has conferred provincial autonomy on the provinces. The authors seem to support the official view that "the differences within the country" have barred "the fulfilment of Indian Self-Government." This has been no bar to self-rule or independence elsewhere and cannot reasonably be urged as a factor for delaying "the fulfilment of Indian Self-Government." It is extremely unfortunate that there is no proper appraisal or estimate of the nature and extent of the responsibility and effect of the policy of "divide and rule" systematically pursued by the ruling power.

The statement that the Hindu Sculptor carved according to the rules laid down by the priests (*vide* page 159) is not correct. There is in India, in existence, a vast body of literature called *Silpa Sastra* treating the subject in an independent and scientific manner. The question of Greek influence on Indian drama (*vide* page 115) is as yet a matter of controversy. Most scholars do not recognise such influences. In any case there is absolutely no proof that the drama came to India as one of the Greek innovations introduced by Alexander the Great. There is no reasonable ground for cherishing the current misconception about Early Buddhism, (*vide* page 24), namely, that it did not attempt to answer such questions as to whether there is any existence after death. It certainly believed in existence after death and accepted from the fold of Orthodox Hinduism the doctrine of transmigration of souls and that of liberation or *Moksha* which was given a new name, Nirvana. The account given of Hinduism is throughout superficial; unfair and incorrect. Hindu

outlook on life and the world certainly deserved to be treated with much greater sympathy, care and accurate knowledge. Some of the errors, inaccuracies and tendentious statements, have been mentioned, with the object that the authors will make an attempt in the next edition to revise it properly with a view to making it a really useful and reliable publication.

S. K. LAHIRI

PRINCIPLES OF PLANNING: *By Prof. K. T. Shah. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 99. Price Re. 1.*

The Congress appointed a National Planning Committee in 1939 with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman who at a meeting of the Committee at Bombay from the 4th to 17th June, 1939, explained the nature and scope of national planning and its objective as follows:

"The ideal of the Congress is the establishment of a free and democratic state in India. Such a full democratic state involves an equalitarian society in which equal opportunities are provided for every member for self-expression and self-fulfilment and an adequate minimum of a civilized standard of life is assured to each member so as to make the attainment of this equal opportunity a reality. This should be the background or foundation of our plan."

The Committee has appointed 27 Sub-Committees, divided under 7 main heads, *viz.*, (1) Agriculture, (2) Industries, (3) Demographic Relations, (4) Commerce and Finance, (5) Transport and Communication, (6) Public Welfare and (7) Education. Experts have been invited to serve on the Sub-Committees.

Prof. Shah (as Secretary of this Committee) has done a public service by bringing this Volume to acquaint the public regarding the principles of planning when the Government is likely to proceed in their own way and prepare their own version of a plan of development for India creating fresh vested interests—Indian and Foreign. The principles are not plans. Only representatives of an Independent National Government are competent to make plans. The principles have been laid on the assumption that they will apply to whole of India under a democratic regime possessing full sovereignty.

The book has been divided into 8 Chapters. The Essence of Planning is a simultaneous advance on all fronts and all sectors. Aims are attainment of National self-sufficiency, doubling of the present standard of living which include adequate food, shelter, clothing, social services and civilized amenities. Production must include both large- and small-scale undertakings. Industrial or Social conscription should be an invariable concomitant of the plan. Right to work must be among the fundamental rights of citizenship. Agriculture as a key industry must receive special attention and food supply must be adequately developed. Planning must rationalise the Land Revenue System. Every cultivator-family must be guaranteed irreducible minimum of human comfort. Agricultural indebtedness must be progressively liquidated and rural economy re-organised. Industries—Defence, Key and Public Utilities—should be State-owned, if not immediately, ultimately say within 10 years. The State must determine the size, location of industries and financing must be done through National Banking Authority. Cottage Industries must have a place in National Planning. There must be universal, unexceptioned system of social conscription of all adult, able-bodied citizens to abolish parasitism of every description, and eliminate exploitation of any individual, group or class by another. All workers must be organised into appropriate Trade Unions. Marriage must be rationalised and it must be regarded as a civil contract with no trace of sacrament in it. Any marriage which places either of the parties in a marriage on unequal footing will not be recognised by the State. The sick, the invalid, the infirm or disabled will be exempted from obligation to work under planned economy. There cannot be any profit of enterprise. Entire National Dividend will go to the workers or shall be spent for the benefit of workers or for further increase of National productively.

In planned economy habitual criminals, drunkards, wastrels or prostitutes would be progressively abolished or scientifically dealt with. Money as we understand it today will be scrapped. Distinction between producers and consumers will vanish. Religion has no place in this planning. Trading for profit will disappear and foreign trade will be a State affair. Difference between mental and manual labour will be recognised but difference of income between two individuals shall not be more than 1 : 10.

Thus we have here principles laid down on a strictly socialistic basis which, when given effect to, will turn India into a Soviet System. The book deserves a serious study by all thinkers and well-wishers of the country.

A. B. DUTTA

THE PROMISED DAY IS COME: *By Shoghi Effendi. Published by the Baha'i Assembly of Bombay; Mehta House, Apollo Street, Bombay. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 5 only.*

This is a book on Baha'ism and proposes to show that the promise and prophecy made by the founder of this Reform movement is about to be fulfilled. The war that is raging all around has thrown the world into intense suffering and tribulation. This was foreseen and foretold. Out of this evil, a new and a better world will emerge. This also was promised. Let us hope the promise will be fulfilled.

"All nations . . . . . . will become a single nation. Religious and sectarian antagonism, the hostility of races and peoples, and differences among nations, will be eliminated."

All this is soothing to the ear and pleasing to the heart. As an ideal and as an expression of wish, no one can demur to it. Statesmen and generals, politicians and poets, philosophers and men of religion, have, off and on, expressed similar thoughts and wishes. Even in the midst of the present world tumult, men are not wanting who talk of a new world order in which *all* (save perhaps the coloured races) will live in peace and plenty and enjoy the "four freedoms." But in spite of all this, in spite of Buddha and Christ and Muhammad, we have the ghastly spectacle of slaughter all around us.

"All men will adhere to one religion, will have one common faith, will be blended into one race, and become a single people. All will dwell in one common fatherland, which is the planet itself."

To this idea of fusion and blending of races and even of languages, we may concur. To the elimination of fatherlands and therefore of patriotism, also, we need not object. Cosmopolitanism has been dreamt by poets and admitted as an ideal by philosophers.

But how is this unity to be achieved? By professing one religion—a new one? and by eliminating the older religions? Aye, there is the rub! A *new* religion is an addition to the list and a multiplication of feuds.

There is an alternative proposal: Communism and the *denial* of all religion. The world has reached a stage when a choice perhaps will have to be made!

The book before us has the good of humanity at heart. It is a thought-provoking book and deserves perusal. Whether the reader can accept or not all that is said here, he will not regret reading it and will consider himself blessed if he finds himself in agreement with it.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

SRI AUROBINDO MANDIR ANNUAL—JAYANTI NUMBER: *Published by Sri Aurobindo Pathamandir, 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This volume was published on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Sri Aurobindo; it is a well-got-up and well-planned volume. Its opening poems are full of deep mystic significance. These are followed by papers, contributed by persons, who are well-known for their scholarship and literary ability; the first paper gives an able exposition of the ideal of Sri-Aurodindo movement and the last one is a fitting tribute to the master from a disciple. Some of the other papers (Divine Evolutionism, Towards a New World) discuss the philosophical background of the new movement; while five others are important philosophical studies; in the studies on Mayavada and the Gita, the learned writers have discussed the essential features of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy as well as the main points of its difference from that of Samkara. The two studies which deserve special reference are on "Sri Aurobindo and Bergson" and on "the concept of the supermind in Sri Aurobindo's philosophy," they clarify some of the basic concepts of this philosophy and go a long way to solve the problems which usually baffle the reader from the beginning.

This single volume thus provides the reader with the interpretation of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy in its various aspects; but that is not all, it has a message to carry.

The ideal of Sri Aurobindo movement is "to divinize the human, to immortalise the mortal, to spiritualise the material"; it teaches that by the process of integral transformation the Jiva can become the Shiva even in this Adhara. But can such an ideal be true? one may ask, can it be realised at all? Yes, answers the follower of Sri Aurobindo; because, the ideal has become the real for him in the master. What does it matter, if others cannot know of this? "Who once knows thy compassion has, friend, known" says he; and hence he openly acknowledges the master to be "the Paramashiva, the Purushottama, the sovereign lord appearing in the dual personality of the Purusha and Prakriti, Master and Mother." This is the great announcement that has been made on the occasion of Sri Aurobindo's Jayanti; and this is the message that the volume under review carries to the readers.

Two beautiful pictures of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother have added to the worth of the book.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

SECRETS OF SPIRITUAL LIFE: *By Dr. Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. With a foreword by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji of Lucknow University and an introduction by Dr. K. C. Varadachari, Professor in the Oriental Institute, Tirupati as well as an Index. Published by S. Sher Singh, B/2, Kapurtala House, Lahore. Pp. 175+21. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Dr. Mohan Singh is the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore and a distinguished author of a number of books on mysticism. The book under review contains "407 Sutras intuitively apprehended" by the author. In these Sutras Dr. Mohan Singh who is a profound scholar and thinker presents the secrets of spiritual life and gives a mystic interpretation of traditional thoughts, ideas and parables. Dr. Singh points out that these Sutras are the products of his vision and not of intellection. We are afraid we are at a loss to understand the meaning of his vision. If by vision he means experience, then it is alright; because some of his Sutras are very commonplace and are experienced by many.

The rest of the Sutras are, however, vague and complicated and are meaningless to many. As Dr. Mookerji has rightly pointed out in the foreword, perhaps one who studies these Sutras may miss the wood in the trees. The secrets of spiritual life presented in these Sutras may not serve a useful purpose to the majority. We have more than enough of Sutras in our scriptures. What is at present desiderated is a clarification—a simplification of them. There is perhaps no need for adding new ones.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

KUNDALINI SHAKTI AND PRACTICAL VEDANTA: *By Mr. Khusiram, Pleader, Kurauli, Mainpuri, U. P. Price outside India Rs. 5 and in India Rs. 2-8.*

In this book, an attempt has been made to reconcile the numerous theories of science to philosophy which have hitherto been regarded as irreconcilable. Here the learned author has demonstratively established that 'Practical Vedanta' is an exposition of Gayatri Mantra through the three aspects of Shakti, Bhakti and Gyan and that by the awakening of the Kundalini Shakti slumbering in the Swadisthan centre of the human body, the Self of man may be liberated from the eternal bondage of Maya or ignorance and his divinity manifested. The Kundalini is lying dormant in the Swadisthan centre and it can be roused by the devotional repeating of the Mahamantra—'Om Namo Bhagwate Vasudevaya.'

Almighty love and wisdom are always at work for the uplift of humanity which can only be realized on the complete surrender of Self and Selfishness. When *ahankar* sleeps, Kundalini awakens. Vedanta holds that each soul is potentially divine. Therefore, the most essential thing in the training of the human mind is to realize the secret of its divinity.

At a time like this, when the world is fast moving from materialism to spiritualism, there is need for the publication of a book like this, which attempts to reconcile the sciences of the West with the philosophy of the East.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE ART OF LOVE AND SANE SEX LIVING: *By A. P. Pillay, O.B.E., M.B., B.S. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 10.*

"The more I come into close contact with sex disorders and marital maladjustments, the more I am convinced that it is not treatment that these patients need but the right kind of instruction on biological facts and that is what I have attempted to impart in this book," writes the author in the preface. Unfortunately, the author has attempted to convey much more than that. Led by his enthusiasm he has sought to combine history, psychology, psychoanalysis, literature particularly poetry, law, popular beliefs, etc., etc., along with physiology and biology. The result has been that the scientific aspects of the presentation has suffered to a considerable extent. It would have been much better for all concerned had he restrained his temptation to quote almost at every page from recognised foreign authorities as also from the writings of those who accord-

ing to him "had no medical knowledge" and "very little practical dealings with women or love." The attention of the lay man, for whom the book is primarily meant, will inevitably be directed more towards the unscientific beliefs and interesting anecdotes in the quotations than to the valuable scientific materials contained in the body of the book.

Emancipation of women specially after the last war has created such a situation in society that the problem of the adjustment of relations between sexes not only in economical and political matters but also in gross physical affairs has been thrust in the forefront of scientific studies. Fortunately, there has been considerable progress in the psychological and biological studies of sex and it is certainly desirable that competent men versed with all aspects of the sex problem and having actual experience of cases of marital maladjustments—like the author of the book under review—should endeavour to spread the accumulated knowledge in matters sexual amongst the lay public and thus serve society at large. While there is much scientific matter in the present book the method of presentation in the opinion of the reviewer has not been scientific. A valuable feature of the book is the list of exercises (with illustrations) to acquire sex efficiency and to cure sex deficiency given in Chapter VIII of the book.

S. C. Mitra

BENGALI

DUI DAMPATI : *By Sri Manindra Krishna Gupta. Published by D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

A social drama in Five Acts. The author, now deceased, belonged to the older generation and seems to have written it under the influence of Girish Chandra Ghosh. The events concern the lives of the sons and the daughter of Hara Chandra, a Village-Zemindar and end in a whirl of death. The composition is sentimental and melodramatic, though not altogether without merit.

D. N. Mookerjea

HINDI

JEEVAN KE TATTVA AUR KAVYA KE SIDDHANTA : *By Laxmi Narayan Sudhanshu. Published by Yugantara Sahityamandir, Bhagalpur City. Pp. 337. Price Rs. 3.*

Life is a miracle of creation, so is the art of poetry. Their origin is shrouded in mystery. But their interrelationship is obvious, inasmuch as both are the resultants of a dynamic and daemonic urge towards self-delight through self-expression. There is, thus, a deep underlying association between the truths of life and the postulates of Poetry. This, stated briefly, is the thesis of the book, under review.

"The building of men's true world—the living world of truth and beauty—is the function of art," says Rabindranath. Further, the realization of unity is the purpose as well as pursuit both of Life and of Art. At what point precisely in their career they touch the impersonal, the universal and the eternal, that will ever baffle the intellect, nay, even imagination of the analyst.

All true art or literature is but a vehicle for the unveiling, unfoldment or expansion of the soul. There is a certain magic of "moreness" about it, as about Life. The author has dealt with the creative processes in man the feeler, the thinker and the knower and with his many-sided apparatus of self-expression, as seen, for instance, in folk poetry at one end of the pole and in "art-poetry" at the other. All is in the spirit of play, —a procession from the unconscious to the conscious, marked by a pageantry of colour and cadence against the background of the vast panorama of human woe and weal. The tenth (and the last) chapter illustrates from the works of several modern Hindi poets, the relationship between the truths of life and the truths of poetic art in the light of the author's explanation of that relationship. The study of *Jeevan ke tattva aur kavya ke siddhanta* is sure to deepen one's enjoyment as well as appreciation of poetry, as it is bound to heighten his sense of mystery, which surrounds life and the creative process of art.

SANTA-SAMAGAM OR DISCOURSES OF A HOLY MAN OF GOD : *Published by R. B. Madan Mohan Varma, Ajmer. Pp. 257. Price Re. 1 only.*

One would not be far from right if he characterized the book, under review, as a catechism on the philosophy and practice of the spiritual life, as against any particular or parochial creed. It is mostly a record of the answers to the questions put to a self-realized saint by earnest inquirers when he visited Lucknow in 1940 and Ajmer in 1941. Virtue, vice, duty, devotion, desire, death, life, love, God, world, nature—these and other kindred concepts in the stock-in-trade of the aspirant for the divine wisdom, are all explained with an inimitable ease. The third section is made up of extracts from the letters written in reply to the queries of the seekers. One serious omission is a lack of index, though it is slightly mitigated by the use of marginal sub-headings. The editing and arrangement of the varied material, brought together here, would have considerably enhanced the value of the publication.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHASHANO ANE LEKHO *of the late Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sankarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B. Collected by V. S. Thakore, B.A. Printed at the Navjivan Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Thick card board. Third edition. Pp. 570. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The late Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Desai was known as the Ranade of Gujarat being one of the earliest double Graduates (M.A., LL.B.) of Gujarat, and after retiring from the Chief Justiceship of the Baroda High Court, having devoted heart and soul to certain activities economical, educational and social, has left behind him a name of which every Gujarati feels proud. His public life was a model which every Gujarati would like to follow. This new (third) edition of his speeches and writings, with particulars of his busy and industrious life is a great improvement on the first (1918) two (1922) editions, and deserves both perusal and preservation.

KASHYAPA KULCHANDRIKA : *By Barot Ambaprasad Khanderno. Published by B. G. Vora, Bheraivala. Printed at the Swadhin Press, Ranpur. 1942. Illustrated. Cloth bound. Pp. 104+46.*

The Kapole Bania community of Gujarat and Kathiawad is an enterprising commercial community and the Vora section of it has produced such captains of Industry as the late Sir Manmohandas Ramji Vora, Kt. It has got its own hereditary chronicler and the present representative of that chronicler's family has written out a chronicle of the caste, based on legend and history. In addition it is a sort of Directory or Who's Who of the Vora section of the caste, whose munificent charities in Bombay and in their native place are a land-mark of their progress and generosity. Every Kapole should read this volume.

K. M. J.

COTTON CULTIVATION IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

COTTON fabrics formed the clothing of the people of India from time immemorial and the production of the raw material had been regular and uniform. Leaving aside ancient times, we find in the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries that after meeting the needs of the country, cotton piecegoods, made of Indian cotton, formed a very important branch of India's foreign trade. Bengal played a vital part in this piecegoods trade. Cotton was grown in many parts of the Province. Export of raw cotton from Bengal began in 1802 or 1803 and the first shipment was made to the China market.[1] In 1805, Bengal's export of merchandise to China amounted to Rs. 70,79,641 out of which cotton alone accounted for Rs. 28,74,616.[2] About 1814 the American war led to shipments of cotton to England.[3] The flourishing[4] Indian piecegoods trade in Europe and Asia failed to withstand unequal British competition and the cultivation of raw cotton inevitably declined. Montgomery Martin described this competition in the following few words :

> "Under the pretence of free trade, England has compelled the Hindus to receive the products of the steam-looms of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Glasgow, etc., at mere nominal duties; while the hand-wrought manufactures of Bengal and Behar beautiful in fabrics and durable in wear have had heavy and almost prohibitory duties imposed on their importation into England; our Birmingham, Staffordshire and domestic wares have ruined the native artisans of the East who endeavoured to compete with the accumulation of wealth and steam power in England."

Since the last world-war, however, India has made up the greater part of the inequality in competition by the adoption of steam and electric power in the manufacture of her cotton piecegoods. An account of the cotton cultivation during early nineteenth century and the attempts made to improve it may be of help to the researches that are now being made to grow good cotton on Indian soil.

1. Hamilton Bell's letter to Charles Allen (Offg. Secretary to the Government of North-Western Province), dated 8th October, 1846.

2. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce*, 1813.

3. Hamilton Bell's letter, dated 8th October, 1846.

4. Introduction to Volume III of Buchanan's History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India.

SPECIES OF COTTON

In December 1824, a correspondent wrote to the *Asiatic Journal*[5] that

> "the whole number of the true species of Indian cotton was limited to six, which might be resolved into three classes :
>
> First, one specie which was a tree.
>
> Second, one specie which was an annual plant.
>
> Third, four species which were biennial plants.
>
> The fruit of the first, or tree species, was not used in making fabrics.
>
> The second, or annual plant, was what was chiefly cultivated in British India, in China and in the countries on the shores of the Mediterranean. From this kind are made the fine Muslins of Dacca and other fine fabrics, which had been the admiration of the world from the remotest period. In British India the biennial plant is cultivated to a limited extent; but it is not from this that the fine fabrics alluded to are made.
>
> The third, or biennial plant was what was cultivated in both continents of America and in the West Indies. India is adverse to this plant; where the cold in the winter months destroys it; and here it must in consequence be grown every year."

James Taylor, Civil Surgeon of Dacca, in a statistical account of the district,[6] gave the following description of the Dacca cotton plant:

> "The materials of which the fine Dacca Muslins are made is entirely the produce of the Dacca district. The plant is an annual one and attains a height of about 5 feet. It is described by Roxburgh as a variety of the *Gossypium herbaceum* and is said to differ from the common cotton plant of Bengal in the following particulars : First, the branches are more erect with fewer branches and the lobes of the leaves more pointed; second, the whole of the plant is tinged of a reddish colour, even the petals and nerves of the leaves are less pubescent; third, the peduncles which support the flowers are longer, and the exterior margins of the petals are tinged with red; fourth, the staple of the cotton is longer, much finer and softer. This is the Desee, or indigenous cotton of the district, which has been cultivated in the Northern Division from time immemorial. The cotton of the present day, it is affirmed by the natives, is inferior to what it formerly was; the crops are less abundant, it is said, and the fibres, though apparently equally fine and soft, are shorter and more firmly adherent to the seed than the produce of former years. The Dacca cotton, however, notwithstanding the deterioration imputed to it, still (in 1848) ranks as an article of finer quality than the produce of other parts of Bengal or of Western Provinces. Two crops are raised in the district; they are gathered in April and in September, but the first yields the finest produce, and is one that is chiefly cultivated. It impoverishes the

5. *Asiatic Journal*, January, 1825.

6. Quoted by J. Dunbar, Commissioner of Dacca in his letter to the Suddef Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated 5th September, 1848.

soil and the same field never produces successively more than two crops of good cotton. Formerly the ground of cotton was allowed to lie fallow, and it appears to be owing to the neglect of this circumstance in the present day that the produce is now inferior in quality to the former times."

Taylor had also pointed out that

"The Northern Division of the district produced the best cotton and in the situation, especially that portion of it bordering upon the Megna and the Berhampooter, in Sonergong, Capassia, Toke and Junglebaree, in which this article was chiefly cultivated in former times. The soil here possessed the constituents that were supposed to be essentially necessary to the formation of good cotton ground in America, and it is perhaps to this circumstance that the superiority of Dacca cotton over that grown in other parts of Bengal was to be attributed."

Dunbar, Commissioner of Revenue for Dacca in 1848, admitted[7] that

"The cotton grown in some parts of the district would appear to be, upon the whole, a finer and more delicate product than any other cotton in the world,"

and remarked that

"the mere knowledge of the fact that the cultivation was at one time considerable is surely sufficient to warrant the belief that proper encouragement was alone wanting to restore it."

Inquiry into Cotton Cultivation

A systematic inquiry into the cultivation of cotton all over India district by district including native states, was carried out about 1848 at the instance of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. They had forwarded the following questionnaire on the basis of which the inquiry was conducted and reports were submitted to the Court by the Provinces separately. The questions were:

1. What is the price of cotton, freed from seed, at the principal mart or marts in your district?
2. At what price does the ryot sell his cotton, cleaned or uncleaned, with or without advances?
3. What is the expense of cleaning cotton by the Churka or Foot-roller, or by any other method which may be in use?
4. What are the expenses of conveying cotton to the nearest port for shipment?
5. What is the average produce of cotton per bigha or acre?
6. What is the quantity of land under cultivation with cotton and to what extent is it probable that the cultivation could be carried in the event of an increased demand?

The principal aim of this survey apparently was to ascertain whether Indian cotton could successfully compete with American cotton in the English market. Opinion was however sharply divided on this question. C. Allen, Offg. Collector of Mymensingh, held a strong opinion that

"In this ancient and populous country, where land is valuable and rents high, where agricultural science is almost unknown, and the want of skill, energy and enterprise of the agricultural population is proverbial where the produce is so inferior, and the cost of transportation necessarily so high; competition with America seems a hopeless task. In America, the produce is so very superior, the cultivation is carried on with every agricultural improvement upon a vast rich and perhaps rent-free virgin soil, by the most hardy, energetic, persevering, slave-driving race in the world."

Dunbar met Allen's arguments and wrote:

"There is no commercial object connected with our Indian possessions of greater national importance than the culture of cotton, so as to render it a productive article of export to Europe, and I am clearly of opinion that we should not stop till we have placed the possibility or impossibility of giving the English manufacturers the new material of a quality equal to the American, and at the same or a less cost, beyond question."

He firmly believed that the soil and climate of Dacca was capable of producing the fine cotton which she did for centuries past.

Experiment in Cotton Cultivation

An experimental cotton farm was established by the Government at Dacca and an American expert J. O. Price was placed in charge of it. A second experiment was carried on at Government expense in Rungpore under another American expert named F. J. Terry. Price arrived in India on 26 August 1843 and Terry in April 1844.[8] Price drew a monthly salary of Rs. 450/- and Terry Rs. 250/-. Terry left India after some time owing to failing health but Price continued his work for 10 years. Price had experimented to grow American, Mexican, Bourbon and Patna varieties of cotton and did not attain any appreciable amount of success. The Court of Directors was not satisfied[9] with his progress which was reported regularly to them by the Government of Bengal.

The reason for the failure of Price's experimental cultivation was largely due to the eagerness to grow foreign varieties of cotton. Dunbar, in his letter to Allen referred to before, believed that capabilities of Dacca district in point of soil and climate were just what they were, and it was upon this that they ground their hopes of being able to introduce the culti-

7. Letter to the Sudder Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated 5th September, 1848.

8. Dalhousie's letter to the Court of Directors, dated 13th May, 1848.

9. Court of Directors letter, dated 14th July, 1847.

vation of other cottons, such as Patna, American and Bourbon, 'of a hardier nature than the indigenous plant and yielding wool of a longer staple and consequently *better fitted for the English market.*' Little attempts to improve the indigenous crop were made and the experiment was thus vitiated. Records of the Government experiment under the American expert, Price, show that due regard was not paid to the advice of Turner, President of the Manchester Commercial Association, who said, "In districts in which the American plant will not thrive, encourage the growth of the best cotton that will grow."[10] The statement of Hamilton Bell,[11] who had 30 years' experience in India, that "I take it now as quite settled that our experiments must be with indigenous cotton," —did not find much support.

Insects, specially green caterpillars, created the stiffest problem for Price. He had observed that the American plants were more susceptible to insects. This insect problem still remains unsolved even today, one hundred years after Price's experiments. In March 1846 Price reported to the Government of Bengal that he had visited all the places at which "ryotee cotton cultivation was carried on and, with the exception of nine beegahs, found the cultivation totally destroyed by insects."[11a] In August 1846, Price reported that "the ravages of the green caterpillar, on the cotton sown in the farm, appear to be very extensive, and to have been confined almost entirely to the American cotton."[11b]

A letter from the Secretary of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Governor of Bombay[12] indicates that the data collected as a result of the countrywide survey were not made public at the time. These are however fully available now.

RESULT OF BENGAL DISTRICT SURVEY

Districts	Approx. area under Cotton in bighas	Yield per bigha	Instrument used for Cleaning
Rajshahi	2,000	2 to 2¼ mds.	Churka
Birbhum	1,500	2½ to 3 mds.	"
Dinajpur	500[13]	———	Cleaned by hand
Moorshidabad	600	15 srs.	"
Bankurah	18,000	2 to 2½ mds.	Khawee
Burdwan	16,000	about 1 md. 13 srs.	Churka
Hooghly	9,000	2 to 2½ mds.	"
Nuddea	2,000	about 3 mds.	"
Buckerganje	6,000	3½ to 4 mds.	Roller
Midnapore	10,000	4 mds.	Foot Roller
Chittagong	acreage unknown 75,000 mds. (uncleaned) grown	34 srs.	Churka
Dacca	acreage scattered and unascertainable	1½ to 2 mds.	Churka and Foot Roller

At the time of this survey, *i.e.*, in 1848, cotton was not grown in the districts of Rungpore (although its soil was considered favourable and experiments were started under Terry), Bogra, Pabna, Jessore, 24-Parganas, Faridpore, Mymensingh and Maldah. Large extensions of cultivation were considered possible in Bankura, Burdwan, Hooghly, Nadia, Buckerganje, Midnapore, Rungpore and Dacca.[14]

In Chittagong, cotton was the grand staple of Joomeas, or hill people, throughout the extent of the district's long frontier, from the river Fenny, which separates Chittagong from Tipperah, down to Teknaaf, the Arakan border. They are but rude farmers. A hill-side is cleared from the surface wood: the land is neither ploughed nor dug, and with the commencement of the first rains the seed is sown. Rice, gourds, pepper, cotton are all dropped in the same hole. First ripened is first reaped. Cotton is gathered in the months of October, November and December. The same hill is used for two or three years when it is abandoned and a new clearance made.[15] The quantity of cotton grown by this crude method of cultivation was not small as will appear from the following table:

10. Dunbar's Note on the Abstract of Replies of the Local Authorities to the Board's Circular, dated 21st February, 1848.

11. Letter to Allen, dated 8th October, 1846.

11a. Bengal Government's letter to the Government of India dated 16th August 1847.

11b. *Ibid.*

12. Letter from John Cannon, Secretary, Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bombay, dated 25th October, 1852.

13. According to Buchanan 25,000 bighas in 1810-12.

14. Abstract of Replies of the Local Authorities to the Board's Circular Letter, dated 21st February, 1848.

15. Collector of Chittagong's note to Sudder Board of Revenue, dated 31st March, 1845.

	Crops of 1843-44 mds.	Crops of 1844-45 mds.
Fatickcherce	10,000	8,000
Rangooneah	22,222	15,384
Satkuneah	22,222	14,285
Chukera	15,555	14,000
Ramoo	11,111	8,333
Teknauf	12,500	10,000[16]

The qualities of cotton grown under the direction of the American experts were examined by Owen Potter, a member of the Cotton Committee of the Agricultural Society at the request of the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal.[17] The results of his examinations were as follows :

ASSAM : Very short in staple, and tender; free from seeds and clean. Grown from native seed.

TIPPERAH : Good colour and clean, but short staple; woolly, dry and tender. From native seed.

DACCA : Short staple, slightly stained, free from seed. Grown from fine native seed.

DACCA GOVERNMENT FARM, AMERICAN SEED : Short stapled for this class, and seems to have been frayed a good deal in the process of cleaning; dull in colour, free from seed.

RUNGPORE, MEXICAN SEED : Stained, leafy, nibby, short stapled for its class.

PHOOLBARIAH, BOURBON : The best stapled sample of the lot, and with some native in it, stained.

THE DECLINE

The principal reasons for the decline in the cultivation of indigenous cotton in India seem, firstly, to have been the entry of machine-made British cloth into India and the stoppage of the export of Indian cotton manufactures abroad. R. Lowther, Commissioner of the Allahabad Division of the North-Western Province, in the letter to J. Thornton, Secretary to the Government of N.-W. P. dated 12 September 1846, stated :

"It must be borne in mind that the increased importation of cotton cloths and twist has caused a considerable decrease in the consumption in this country, and particularly in Bengal, where its manufacture into fabrics of various descriptions has been almost entirely superseded by the imports from Great Britain. Formerly the export of Indian cotton manufactures to England, France and America, formed a valuable and important branch of the Calcutta trade, but this trade has almost entirely ceased, and vast quantities of cotton goods suited to the wants of the natives are now imported."

Handloom cloth made of handspun yarn gradually gave way to machine products. The second reason may be attributed to the gradual decline of long staple to short staple cotton owing to decline in the fertility of the soil. Artificial manures were unknown and the principle of keeping the land under cotton fallow for the requisite period of three or four years to enable the soil to recover its fertility was also disregarded. In order to find out the reason for the transition of long staple cotton to short staple, as observed by Taylor, the life history of the plant mentioned by him may be studied with special attention to the loss of chemical ingredients in the soil under the plant.

The third cause for the decline of the Indian, specially Bengal cotton production is that attempts had always been made to adjust the cotton to the machine and nobody seems to have tried to invent machinery which might use short staple cotton for spinning on power spindles. Attention might profitably have been directed to the invention of machinery fit for spinning twist out of indigenous Indian cotton.

This however does not seem practicable till India has her own National Government strong enough to break through the capitalist clique of machine producers.

Fourth, and by far the most important cause was political. Observations on the results for the experimental measures for improving the culture of cotton in India started since 1843 was summarised by J. Forbes Royle, M.D. of the East India House in October 1847 and forwarded by the Court of Directors to the Governors in India in a circular letter dated 10 November 1847. Dr. Royle wrote :

"American planters have observed, that in the West of India, as well as in the Nizam's territory, the cultivation of cotton is conducted in a superior style, embracing the drill husbandry and a rotation of crops, but that in the Bengal Presidency, including Bundlecund, the cultivation was susceptible of great improvement. Mr. Terry and Mr. Blount both cultivated the indigenous cotton of India; the one in the Doab, and the other at Goruckpore, and both with very promising results. But they have stated to me that they were *prohibited from proceeding with this culture,* because the experiments were said to be intended for the introduction of American cotton into India, and *not for the improvement of that of India.*" (Italics mine).

In reply to an enquiry from Dr. Royle, Mr. Turner the then President of the Commercial Association of Manchester had made an important statement :

"You ask what is the Court to do as regards those districts in which the American plant will not thrive? My answer is : Encourage the growth of the best cotton which will grow; induce the natives to pick it carefully and to clean it effectually (which Mr. Mercer assures me can be done by the Sawgin, if the Kupas is only kept free from the dry friable leaves of the plant by careful picking); discourage or prevent, by every possible means, the system of wilful adulteration, so injurious and so

16. *Ibid.*

17. Letter of C. Beadon, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Owen Potter, dated 18th November, 1846.

notorious; abolish the system of conveyance by bullocks, by making roads on which carts can travel; or still better, make, or encourage others to make railroads, by which means the cotton can be sent down in bales, and thus be preserved more free from dirt and adulteration . . . I believe that if Indian cotton is sent home clean, there will be an increased demand for it; and that it is very unlikely that the spinners will discontinue to use it, even if American cotton recedes from its present value; though of course they would, in such case, only use it as its relative value compared with American. You need not fear that it will go out of use, if, as you say, it can be produced at 1½d. per pound by the ryots in India, as we have very good ground for supposing that America cannot produce cotton within 50 per cent. of this price."

Dunbar, who supervised Price's experiments at Dacca, gave his considered opinion in August 1846 that "the Bourbon cotton is more likely to do well in Eastern Bengal than any other description of exotic cotton, but that the *Bengali cotton is unquestionbaly that which will best answer.*"[18] (Italics mine)

Systematic experiments to improve cotton cultivation in Bengal by the Government began one hundred years ago—in 1843, under an American Expert, J. O. Price and the people of Bengal paid the expenses.

The experiments were, however, mainly confined to the production of cotton from foreign seeds. The reason for this might have been the eagerness of the British manufacturers to have cotton from India at a cheaper cost but of the same quality as the American variety which was, most probably, found better suited to the requirements of the machine than the indigenous one. Attempts to improve the indigenous cotton so as to make it suitable for machine spinning might have required some time which they were unwilling to lose. It is very likely that their idea was,—If India can grow world's finest cotton suitable for hand-spinning, why should it not be possible to produce the stronger variety from foreign seeds on such a good soil? The foregoing accounts show that they had all along followed the easier method of selecting good cotton-growing soil, sow seeds there and wait for the crop. Bengal soil was, however, ultimately found unsuitable for growing cotton from foreign, specially American seeds. The experiments which were expected to give quick results turned out to be completely disappointing, and long drawn out and the net result has been a great loss to Bengal. In this whirlwind of experiments, the seed of Bengal's own cotton seems to have been completely lost.*

18. Wm. Grey, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal's letter to Government of India, dated 16th August, 1847.

* Based on data collected for the writer's book in preparation "Economic History of Bengal: From Battle of Plassey to the First World War."

THE MUKAT NAMEH OR THE PATH OF SALVATION FOR A SIKH

By SIRDAR KAPUR SINGH, I.C.S.

The famous Sikh Book of Revelations, called the *Sau Sakhi*, has a remarkable hold on the imagination of the public not only owing to its alleged authorship by Guru Gobind Singh, but also owing to the strange character of its contents giving a glimpse into the shapes of the things to come. This is neither the occasion nor the place to make a critical study of the origin, or the subject-matter of the book, in general. It is merely intended on the occasion of the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh to recreate, to a certain extent, the atmosphere in which an average Sikh of the times lived and breathed, for the benefit of those who, these days, do not have time for or opportunity of studying our national literature when it is not anglicised, or translated into English. It is certain, that the *Sau Sakhi* itself is not wholly apocryphal. During his last days at Nander, Guru Gobind Singh is known to have gone extremely meditative and he used to spend long hours sitting in undisturbed *samadhi*, on the banks of the Godawari. It is said that during these *samadhis* sometimes varied emotions used to play on the face of the Guru, such as emotions of wonder and excitement, emotions of awe and expectation and emotions of joy and sorrow. On re-awakening from his *samadhi*, the personal attendants near the Guru at that time on many an occasion, asked for the meanings of this phenomenon, since it is unusual for a person in *samadhi* to exhibit emotions on his face. The answers to these querries by attendant Sikhs are known as *sakhis*, which here denotes the stories of the future. It is believed that one hundred such stories were narrated to Baba Ram Koer Gurbakhsh Singh Ji. Another three hundred stories of the future were given to three other

Sikhs, one hundred each. The stories narrated on such occasions to Baba Ram Koer Singh Ji were almost all on the subject of the political future of the Khalsa. It is quite probable that these stories were on some occasion related by Baba Ram Koer Gurbakhsh Singh Ji to Sikh *Sangats*, and they were subsequently written down. Nothing is known of the remaining three hundred stories except the tradition that they related to the future of the Hindu race, the future of India, and the future of the world in which we live, respectively. The names of the Sikhs to whom these three hundred stories were related are known but nothing is known of the contents of these stories or whether they were ever recorded into writing by those Sikhs or by somebody else who may have heard these *sakhis* from them.

The *Sau Sakhis*, that is the hundred stories with regard to the future of the Khalsa, are known to have gone under a strange and lamentable metamorphosis, over a hundred years ago, during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. A clever Brahman, whose name is now known, prepared some manuscripts of the *Sau Sakhi* interpolating certain matter which suited his purposes, and with the help of his co-conspirators, apparently some other Brahmans, he made this forged document current in the Sikh Durbar and the Sikh Armies. It would appear that this Brahman was interested in giving currency to two beliefs in the minds of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Khalsa, with a view to gain political and social advantages for Brahmans in general. He made many additions and alterations in the *Sau Sakhi* to establish that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was, in fact, the incarnation of a Brahman, Keshav Das by name, who was alleged to have guided Guru Gobind Singh in materialising the Divine Spirit of Retribution, called Chandika. For this purpose an elaborate story about the worship by the Guru of goddess Chandi was invented and made current, and it was added that the Guru was thereupon pleased to bless Keshav Das Brahman, saying that the latter would be re-born as a Sikh, and in his third rebirth would become a Singh Sahib, a Maharaja of the Khalsa. The students of history will detect the fascinating similarity of this story with the story similarly made current during the reign of Akbar the Great. The technique, though lacking in originality, was quite subtle and led to success. Further alterations and additions were made in the original *Sau Sakhi* with a view to establish that those Brahmans who had embraced Sikhism by taking *Amrita* of Guru Gobind Singh, were slightly on a different and higher plane from the Sikhs who belonged to the lower three castes. All this was done with such cleverness and such skill that it drew the admiration of even such an astute and crooked man as Raja Dhian Singh. Raja Dhian Singh, as is now well known to those who have critically studied the causes and events of the fall of Sikh Power, was dominated by one great ambition of seeing his son crowned as the Maharaja of the Punjab after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This is not the place to go into the details of this episode. But his Prussian thoroughness is apparent from the fact that he obtained the services of another Brahman to make further changes and additions in the *Sau Sakhi* with a view to establish that, it is in accordance with the Revelations of Future made by Guru Gobind Singh that Dogra power should replace Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In this process of mutilation the original and the genuine *Sau Sakhi* has been almost completely disfigured, and from the present material available it is like searching for a needle in a stack of hay to find out which portions, if any, of the current *Sau Sakhi* are genuine.

These preliminary remarks were necessary in order to enable the reader to appreciate the background of the Mukat Nameh that follows. Mukat Nameh, which is an integral part of the *Sau-Sakhi*, purports to lay down principles of personal ethics and rules of individual conduct for a Sikh. As the intelligent reader will readily find out for himself there are one or two points in it which are not quite consistent with the teachings of Guru Gobind Singh, and some other points that require elaboration before they can be accepted literally. The major portion of it, however, breathes a lofty moral air. Most of the teachings of this Mukat Nameh are quite authentic and may be said to represent the moral ethos of the Sikhs of the times which followed the death of Guru Gobind Singh.

This is a translation of the *Mukat Nameh* as it has been incorporated in the *Gur Pratap Surujudey*, the famous Brijbhasha book of poetical history.

" Then the great Guru with a view to lead His Sikhs on the path of righteousness and to help them give up the ways that lead astray, spoke thus. Hear, O, ye Sikhs, these words of wisdom. Whoever acts upon them will verily be happy. These words are the Mukat Nameh. By acting upon them you will attain the highest bliss. A Sikh should avoid incurring a debt. If he does incur one, he should pay it off honour-

ably, without delay. He should not encourage the speaking of falsehood in others, nor he should speak falsehood himself. He should live in the company of truthful persons and truth should be his guide in all that he thinks and does. In every way he should strive towards fuller and fuller realisation of the truth. The truth should be seated in his heart and the truth should ever guide all his conduct. He should avoid diplomacy, crookedness and false cleverness. He should earn his livelihood by the honest sweat of his brow. But there is one point to remember in this connection. It is subtle but the intelligent would understand it. If the speaking of truth has no other object but doing harm, this truth should not be spoken. This point I will illustrate by a story. A Brahman was sitting deep in his meditation when he saw a cow running. This cow concealed herself in the nearby jungle. Soon after, a butcher with a knife in hand came there and enquired of the Brahman as to whether he had seen a cow running. The Brahman pointed with his hand to the jungle. The butcher went there and caught hold of the cow and killed her. This kind of mechanical truth should be eschewed. Otherwise, in all dealings with the society, the truth should always be adhered to. A Sikh should never eat food which has been polluted. A Sikh should never love money for its own sake. A Sikh should never eat his food without sharing it with others, who may want it. A Sikh should not keep his hair and head bare for unnecessarily long, whether awake, sleeping or eating. A Sikh should daily read *Jap Ji* and *Jap Sahib* and meditate on the name of *Wahigru*. Before eating he should utter "By Thy Grace." A Sikh should avoid seeing a naked woman. A Sikh should not allow thoughts of women to occupy his mind. A Sikh should never covet property and money of others and he should keep away from the untouchables. He should never eat meat which has been prepared in the Mohammedan way and should never eat the flesh of a domestic pig. A Sikh should avoid dirt and should strive his utmost for cleanliness. He should always wash and clean his hands after answering a call of nature. During day and at night he should clean his hands properly. He should use cold water for washing and bathing. If, however, he is physically unable to do so he may use hot water. A Sikh must always start his day by taking a bath. He should never eat or drink anything without washing. It is a very bad thing to eat without properly cleaning yourself. A Sikh should be friendly and neighbourly with every caste and creed, though he should himself remain separate from them in his beliefs and attitudes. He should avoid tobacco in every form and should not wear deep red clothes, for they create unnecessary heat. He should not put collyrium in his eyes during the daytime and should never go to bed without his short drawers. He should constantly meditate on the true name, and at the time of going to bed should recite *Kirtan Sohila*. He should always believe that Guru ever helps and guides him. Thus he will be happy and prosperous. A Sikh should take the baptism enjoined by the Guru and should act on the precepts of Guru Garanth. He should not allow his mind to waver and wander into other paths. He should eat the food prepared by a Sikh and should give his daughter to a Sikh only after ascertaining that the latter lives the life of a Sikh. He should keep his mind constantly informed and improved by studying and understanding the *Vedas* and *Shastras*, the books containing spiritual truths. He should educate and discipline his son onto the path of righteousness. He should keep his wife on the path of virtue. A Sikh should always have his mind fixed on the words of the Guru and thus should diligently perform his duties in whatever station of life he is put. He should never be tempted by the money that is received as offerings in the name of Guru. From the House of the Guru, the Gurudawaras, he should expect nothing else except the holy food offered to the congregation. He should eat food only after the appropriate prayers have been offered and he should eat without gluttony. If a Sikh is distributing food, he should observe equality for all. If food is eaten through greed, or it is earned by inappropriate means, it does harm to the body and mind both. When a Sikh has started his meals, he should not leave it in the middle. If he does, he should not start it again. He should always remain on the watch against Mussalman, man or woman. He should never bear malice against a Sikh. All the castes become equal when they embrace Sikhism. They should interdine. A Sikh should not seek guidance from the scriptures of other religions and sects. He should not accept food offerings made before an idol. A Sikh should have no hesitation in giving up the following persons,—a Brahman who is greedy of money, a Sikh who pretends that he does but does not really act on the words of the Guru, an unchaste woman and a barren wife, and also a treacherous person. If a Sikh is in trouble and his worldly means have failed,

he should seek help from the Guru in the following manner. After washing his body clean, he should select a clean place. Then he should mix ghee, flour and sugar in equal quantities, and prepare *Karrah Parsad* and recite *Jap Ji Sahib*, and then have his mind fixed on the Guru. He should say his difficulty in prayer to God. He should stand up respectfully with folded hands. He should wear the short drawer and a turban and also a sword, at the time of the prayer. The Guru is always with him and will help him out of his difficulties. A Sikh should never call another Sikh by his half name. He who does so treads on the path of darkness and death. A Sikh should never have sexual relations with a woman for enjoyment only, and unless that woman has become his lawful wife by *Anand* marriage. A Sikh should never sleep in the mornings or in the evenings. A Sikh should never eat unclean food. A Sikh should not keep his hair untied and untidy. A Sikh should always keep one tenth of his income apart for charitable purposes. A Sikh should regularly clean his teeth with a fresh wooden brush, and clean water. A Sikh should always bow before God after he has said his prayers. A Sikh should contract relationship with Sikhs alone after avoiding the relations of one's father and mother. These are the ways which a Sikh should adopt. When a Sikh dies, he should be given a manly farewell. There should be no weeping and no customary mourning by women. The Guru's words should be recited. Praises of God should be sung. *Karrah Parsad* should be prepared and distributed amongst the Sikhs, and the words of the Guru should be recited so as to create in the mind disillusionment from the mere appearances of the world. The Sikhs then should be fed and offerings made to them of money and clothes. A Sikh should give up customs of his forefathers and of his pre-Sikh days. A Sikh should never remove the *keshas* from his head. A Sikh who has taken the baptism and baptismal vows of the Guru should ever respect the *keshas*. He who transgresses these injunctions shall be unhappy here and hereafter. A Sikh who becomes an apostate should be left alone by the other Sikhs. No food touched by him should be eaten by a Sikh. A Sikh who offers him food or drink is also not wholly devoid of blame. A Mussalman should never be trusted even if he is a fast personal friend. A Sikh who is educated in the Persian schools is likely to lose his faith in Sikhism. It is a good thing for a Sikh to admit his shortcomings before a Sikh congregation on ceremonial occasions such as births, deaths and marriages. A Sikh should never worship idols or stones and should not eat *pan*. The distinction of castes based on Varanashram breeds injustice and inequality and My Sikhs, therefore, should avoid it. A Sikh should not follow people blindly in the matter of rules of conduct and ceremonies. He should simplify his living with his faith ever firm in the Guru. People who have joined the House of the Guru and people who are born in the Guru's family, the people whom the best conscience of the human race has adjudged great such as Brahmans, should be duly respected. No hurt should be caused to those who have adopted the path of truth, the path of self-discipline, the path of self-purification and the path of self-sacrifice, such as Yogis, Sanyasis and Hindu ascetics. Also the men of learning, the Pandits, and the people whom the society has exalted should be respected. Those who do not act in this manner suffer greatly. He who comes into My House with faith and devotion, and acts upon My words with unswerving diligence shall be exalted by Me. There are higher Mansions in my House than those reached by Shankaracharya, Dattatreya, Ramanuj, Gorakhnath and Mohmmad. Just as vegetation grows on a good soil when it rains from the skies, in the same way all that is done with the gaze of the mind fixed on the Guru, bears fruit. Hear ye beloved Sikhs, this is the Mukat Nameh, the path of salvation. It should be repeated after taking a dip in the Mukatsar."

There should be nothing but admiration for the subtlety with which the validity of caste and the superiority of Brahmins by birth is reintroduced into Sikhism, by the clever interpolator. If "Mussalman" is interpreted to mean a person who either belonged to the alien conquering Turkish tribes or owed spiritual allegiance to their political system, the injunction against implicitly trusting them can be readily understood. The dictum against receiving early education in Persian schools appears to refer to the State-subsidised theological seminaries under Muslim rule and interpreted in this way both these injunctions are the soundest and the healthiest of the whole lot, from the point of view of self-preservation, and they are most startling and refreshing when contrasted with philosophico-intellectual unpoliticality of the Hindu race, the parent stock of the Sikhs and Sikhism.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Elements in Human Civilisation

Man's civilisation is a complex which must be taken as a unit. It is wrong to analyse it into various elements and accept certain parts while ignoring others. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja observes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is like light. We will be doing a great injury to our eyes if we analyse light by passing it through a prism and begin to read only with the help of the rays on one or the other end of the spectrum. Just so in civilisation, there is a material side and a spiritual side. Civilisation is neither the one nor the other. It is the unit made up of both. In the same way man too is complex. There is the spiritual aspect in his being; there is also the materialistic aspect in it. Man's intellect and emotion do not work efficiently unless he has a healthy physical body too. It is wrong to ignore the body, that is, the materialistic side of his being, and to attend only to his spiritual ends, as wrong as it is to confine oneself to the mere physical side of life; the latter is like securing a beautiful purse when there is no money to keep. No civilisation has flourished in this world which did not have these two sides. To speak of an antithesis between a materialistic civilisation and a spiritual civilisation is to ignore the facts of man's history.

What is very striking in India's civilisation, which has an unbroken history extending over many millenniums, is the perfect balance between these two aspects of civilisation. Civilisations crumble when the one or the other aspect is ignored. The balance between the two has often been disturbed in the case of Indian civilisation also; but the equilibrium was always restored and civilisation continued to flourish.

The Vedic civilisation is the model for this perfect balance between the needs of man's spiritual life and the demands of his physical existence.

Men prayed to the benevolent gods for spiritual elevation and also for material prosperity. When as a result of a virtuous life on earth man passed from this side to Heaven, there was no break in his life. There was only a prolongation of his virtuous life in another region.

Men and gods, the people and the saints, the living and the dead, earth and heaven, all these combined to form a harmonious universe. This is the civilisation of the Vedas.

The Upanisads exhibited this harmony of matter and spirit in another way. The sages in the forests and the kings in the cities lived on a basis of mutual co-operation. The kings who fought and conquered and ruled the world were the repositories of the highest lore. The sages who performed penances in the forests came to the palaces to learn about the Supreme Truth.

The truth of the world is revealed in the struggle of man in this world and not in the retirement of the forests.

At a certain stage in the history of this civilisation of harmony, one notices a slight disturbance; the world and the life in it are shown to be aspects of sin; real happiness is confined to a stage of mere spiritual existence free from all entanglements of matter. Renunciation of the world is held out as the Path to this higher state of happiness. This teaching began to affect the nation. Man started to neglect his life and his duty to the world in order to be holy. Indolence and hypocrisy were the results. This deflection was only short-lived. The revival of Indian civilisation, based on harmony, was soon started. The sages of the *Naimisharanya* (the Sacred Forest of Naimisha) were the most prominent in this revival.

The *Ramayana* held forth this teaching of the unity in man's life. Sree Rama, the heir to the throne, had to retire to the forest to oblige a weak father. But in the forest he destroyed the demons and when he lost his consort he chased the culprit, killed him, recovered his consort and after returning to his kingdom, he ruled over his ancestral country. In the *Mahabharata* also, there is a description of a long line of virtuous kings who ruled over their countries as a matter of Kshatriya obligation and yet reached the same heaven to which renunciation was supposed to lead man. The descendants of these kings had the help of Sree Krishna in the war they had to wage to win their rightful kingdom. Sree Krishna and all the sages of the forest advised them to fight for their rights. Both Sree Krishna and Sree Rama are incarnations of God.

The Nyaya Philosophy emphasises the reality of the material world. The Mimamsa Philosophy asserts the greatness of man's work in this world. The Vedanta philosophy teaches the harmony between spirit and matter. Sankaracharya interpreted this harmony in his own way, as one of absolute identity. Ramanujacharya interpreted this harmony as a relation of parts and the whole, and Madhvacharya gave his own interpretation of the two as being absolute but distinct realities in this world, God presiding over the material world as the Highest.

Moral Foundations of Society

Naked force appears at present to be the only factor which determines life. Manu Subedar observes in *The Hindustan Review*:

It is the example of a successful aggression, first on the part of the United Kingdom in building up an empire everywhere, and, later, on the part of Japan, which inflamed Germany to enforce in Europe the same law of the jungle and the law of grabbing, on which European empire in five continents had been built up. No people in the world would lose an inch of their greatness, if they acknowledged past errors, and yet,

even in the fourth year of the war, there appears to be no tendency for such public acknowledgment and for setting right those things, which could be set right here and now. This is a matter of disappointment for all those right-thinking men and women throughout the world, no matter to which country they belong, who desire in international matters to see the same dominance of moral considerations as they see it in the organisation of life with its units such as families, cities and countries. It is not nationhood, which is the highest expression of human aspiration. It is brotherhood and humanity, which takes that place. With this key, human life can be run on a just basis. If all the effort, that is made today for malevolent purposes of destruction, were used for ameliorative objects, what could the human race not achieve?

Those, who are living now, have inherited much from their ancestors and it is their duty, when they pass away after a few years more of life which God will give them, to see that the heritage, which is left to the future, is a clean and sound heritage, in which violence and force have no room, in which they stand condemned in the field of internationalism as much as they do stand condemned today in the field of private citizenship inside a state.

Looking Back

Rathindranath Tagore writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

Play-acting had an important place in the social and intellectual life in our family residence at Jorasanko. My father was born in this tradition and started quite early to write dramas and have them performed by members of the family, usually taking the leading part himself.

His earliest play produced in this way is *Balmiki Pratibha* (The Genius of Valmiki) in 1881 when he was barely twenty. In the writing and staging of this play his elder brother Jyotirindranath not only greatly encouraged him but collaborated with him in setting tunes to the songs. The play is an opera, the first of its kind attempted in this country. In order to render the music capable of interpreting the characterization and the movements dramatically, the composers did not mind adapting western modes and tunes where necessary. From the point of view of music it was a bold and novel experiment. Although the opera was composed when the author was yet in his teens it has since then been staged quite often and is still held in esteem. Misfortune seems to have attended its first performance in the month of February 1881 when the stage had been set up on the roof of the Jorasanko house. A storm made a clean sweep of the whole bamboo structure. The performance, nevertheless, took place and Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the celebrated Bengali novelist, who happened to be present, referred to it in high terms in the pages of the *Bangadarsan*. Later on, it was performed in the courtyard of our house in the presence of Lady Lansdowne. The cast, drawn from our own family, were nearly all accomplished musicians and some of them no mean actors. The performance proved a success, the novelty of its form and music giving a pleasant surprise to the elite of the then capital, who had been invited to witness it. The only evidence of this performance we now have are two photographs of one of the scenes which have become fairly familiar to the public, having been reproduced in father's collected works.

Mayar Khela (Sport of Illusion) is the only other opera that father has composed. This was published in book-form in 1888. It is perhaps more original than *Balmiki Pratibha* whose theme is taken from the *Ramyana* and the music of which shows foreign influence. *Mayar Khela* was written at the request of Mrs. P. K. Ray for the benefit of a charitable ladies' association known as the Sakhi Samiti, who performed it themselves for the first time in Bethune College; it has since been produced fairly often, mostly for charity.

Then followed *Raja-O-Rani* (The King and the Queen) and *Bisarjan*, dramas in the real sense. The first of these was staged at Birjitalao at the residence of my uncle Satyendranath. My mother was persuaded to take the part of Narayani, the first and only time she appeared on the stage.

Possibly the premier performance of *Bisarjan* took place at 49, Park Street, where my uncle Satyendranath had moved from his previous residence at Birjitalao. It is interesting to note that His Highness Bir Chandra Manikya, the then Maharaja of Tippera, who took keen interest in the play the subject-matter of which has reference to an episode in the ancient history of his own dynasty, was present at this performance. The well-known photograph of father as Raghupati bemoaning the death of Jayasingha seems to have been taken on this occasion. All the above event occurred before I was born. I have only a very vague recollection of the later performance of *Bisarjan* when it was produced by the Sangit Samaj in its club house at Cornwallis Street.

Raja-O-Rani has the distinction of being a much-performed and much-transformed play, both in public and private, inasmuch as it has been produced under the three distinct names and forms of *Raja-O-Rani, Bhairaber Boli* and *Tapati*. Eye-witnesses of the first performance will recollect the adverse criticism in the papers of the somewhat unconventional relationship subsisting between the performers on and off the stage; nor could they possibly forget the G. O. M., Akshoy Mazumdar, of comic fame, the stalwart of many a comedy and the first and foremost robber in *Balmiki-Pratibha*, who just missed turning pathos into bathos in a specially moving scene of *Raja-O-Rani* by his usual comical grimaces, and yet whose one grievance was that he had never been given the tragic part he could have done justice to!

Speaking of acting and singing, it is difficult not to recall the poetic and pathetic figure of my cousin Abhi, who acted so superbly and sang so sweetly in *Mayar Khela*, and died so young and full of promise.

A Soviet Lyric

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Simonov's *Conqueror* (1937) is dedicated to Nicholas Ostrovsky. Endowed with a great vital power, warrior, constructor, organizer, Ostrovsky lost his eyesight and was bound for life to his bed by the fetters of a terrible disease. But he did not dream of surrendering even then. Blind as he was, mentally coining phrase upon phrase and dictating them, he became a writer and thus created a book that earned universal fame. The end of Simonov's poem is a description of Ostrovsky's death. In this as in many other instances Simonov saw one more confirmation of the Soviet contempt for death. The lines are as follows:

"He's borne through the city while banners are flying
Around him in pomp that to warriors is due,
And children come fearless to where he is lying,
With features though rigid yet smiling and true.
It seems he may rise. Will it happen, I wonder?
He'll open his lips, now as heavy as lead,

And fling to the throng in a voice like the thunder
The last of his war-cries—that wrathful Ahead !
This call as a symbol our happiness bearing,
Through danger to conquests has ever us led,
This war-cry is stern, but 'tis buoyant and daring,
This cry is the truest, 'tis forward ! ahead !"

(Translated by Olga S. Moiseyenko, *Voks*, Moscow, Nos. 5-6, 1942).

Russian Patriotism

The New Review observes :

The Pacific and the Russian fronts record only preparations for a coming offensive. Raids on airfields, bombings of convoys, skirmishes in the jungle are regular items of our daily news from the Pacific; pronouncements by generals and by statesmen in Australia breathe anxiety and confidence alternately, and the Pacific remains a field of secondary interest.

In Russia, land operations are reduced to local adjustments of the front, but air activity appears to be on the increase. As the battle has reached a dull stage, our daily ration of news fare is varied with instances of Russian patriotism and valour. Though Russians have no monopoly in the matter, no praise can be too high for the patriotism they have displayed on the battlefield, in munition factories or in the occupied zones. But propagandists are little objective when they want to pass Russian selflessness as a Soviet virtue.

Communism does not exist in Russia; it is mere bureaucratic capitalism, with differentiation in the economic, social and political conditions of the citizens. The Soviet dictatorial beaurocracy has initiated large-scale industrialisation. But it has established no communist type of society; as a matter of history, it had no economic success to boast of until it repudiated cardinal principles of communism and 'betrayed the Revolution.' The Russian experiment calls for an impartial and objective study because Stalin's policy is usually given a distorted interpretation and because Russian patriotism is presented under false colours by clumsy reformers; since the Lenin-Stalin experiment was carried out on an unprecedent scale by earnest idealists, its lessons should not be lost sight of in all the plans and dreams about post-war reconstruction.

Cape Town Agreement Sabotaged

The "pegging legislation," as it is called, based on the findings of the Second Broome Commission relative to alleged penetration by Indians in the so-called predominantly European areas of the Old Borough of Durban, leads to the enthronement of the principle of racial segregation in the Province of Natal. *Commerce and Industry* observes :

The Old Borough of the City of Durban, consisting approximately of 8,274 acres, is owned to the extent of 350 acres by 25,000 Indians, (of which 204 acres only are under Indian occupation), the balance being in the possession of some 80,000 Europeans. In the "added areas" there is a vast amount of counter-penetration by Europeans, who thus have succeeded in preventing Indians obtaining suitable accommodation for residential and other purposes, for their growing numbers. Between October, 1940, and now some 90 properties were purchased for occupational purposes by Indians in areas contiguous to existing Indian areas in the Old Borough of Durban, and this fact is seized upon by the more irresponsible sections of the White population to bring

into being the proposed pegging legislation, and thus to extend the segregation principle to an area which has so far been free from that canker in the body-politic of the Union Trading licences have been the rarity these days to Indians planning out their business, and even residential accommodation is being denied to them, for the Durban Municipality while demolishing and acquiring old Indian residential properties under the special sanitary and health regulations has persistently refused to accept the obligation of housing these dispossessed Indians. An investigation shows that such of the properties which have been acquired are acquired by Indians for investment purposes with European tenants, for in view of the trading restrictions and other economic disabilities, which it has been the legacy of Indians in Durban these seventy-five years to bear, such of the surplus money which is in their hands is now sought to be utilised for investment in the Union itself. The Whites formerly used to charge Indians with sending monies out of the Union to India, but now when Indians want to show their abiding interest in South Africa by investing there the savings of their sweat and blood, the argument is advanced that they are a danger and a menace to the White civilization of the Union.

Folk Culture in Names Hindu : Parsi : Muslim

At a P. E. N. meeting in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, R. P. Masani lectured on "Folk Culture in Names." We quote from *The Indian P. E. N.*:

Mr. Masani showed how widely the idea of an intimate connection between name, character and destiny had influenced folk philosophy. It was commonly believed that, just as there were words of power, so there were names of power, each with its mystic property.

According to Islamic tradition, poverty would not enter a house where names like Muhammad, and Ali were found. Hindus and Parsis alike entrenched themselves behind the names of gods or ancient heroes, irrespective of occasional incongruities. The belief seemed to have been general in India that the adoption and repetition of names of gods, saints and sages or of sacred places and rivers conduced to spiritual welfare.

There was a wide variety of customs, traditions and beliefs concerning choice, change, exchange and concealment of names, time of naming children, etc. The name survived after death and played an important part in the funeral rites of Hindus and Parsis. The Egyptians had included the name as a constituent of man. A name was sometimes concealed lest knowledge of it confer power over its possessor. A man might be cured or killed, blessed or cursed through his name. Hindu and Muslim wives often avoided mention of their husbands' names.

Plurality of names was common to Hindus and Parsis though neither could excel the patronymic exuberance of Arabian and Welsh names.

The custom of naming children after exalted personages and deceased ancestors was comprehensible as a mark of reverence, but only superstition could explain the choice of opprobrious names believed to ward off evil influences

Changing one's name with a view to eluding malignant spirits was less common than a bride's adoption of a new name. Among certain American Indians name exchanging symbolised self-forgetting devotion. Friends exchanged names, implying sharing in one another's being. Among others, a man when his first son was born gave up his own name to be called thereafter "Father of So-and-so." The subject, Mr. Masani concluded, afforded a fertile field of interesting inquiry which could throw light on many obscure beliefs and practices.

Anniversary of the University College of Science

Ever since its foundation thirty years ago, the University College of Science has played a vital part in initiating a spirit of scientific research and enquiry and in promoting the cause of higher education in science in India. *Science and Culture* observes:

The picture of great pioneers like Sir P. C. Ray and Sir J. C. Bose, carrying on their original scientific investigations under very discouraging circumstances, was indeed a stimulus. Two Calcutta lawyers, Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghose, who had risen to great eminence from the middle classes, came forward with offerings of their lives' savings, amounting to 36 lakhs of rupees, for the cause of higher scientific education and research and these endowments enabled the Calcutta University to start the University College of Science.

Since Sir Asutosh passed away, no new large endowments excepting one from Sir P. C. Ray, which was spontaneous, have been secured for the cause of science in the Calcutta University.

Ever since the last World War, there has been a world-wide movement for the State encouragement of scientific research with a view to utilising science and scientific methods for developing the country's resources, for helping industries and agriculture in particular. In every country, new laboratories have been constructed, and funds have been provided out of the public exchequer for helping research, training research-workers, and for utilisation of the results of research. Readers of *Science and Culture* are acquainted with the activities of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in the United Kingdom, of the National Research Council in the U. S. A., Japan, Canada, and above all in Soviet Russia. On account of this movement, funds on a far more liberal scale have been available for all laboratories of the world during recent years.

To give an idea of the way this movement has affected the activities of the individual laboratories, let us take the example of the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge, which may be taken as typical.

The Cavendish laboratory was founded in 1877 for imparting higher instruction in physics to the students of Cambridge and for enabling the University professors to carry on research work.

The original donation was only £7,000 for building the laboratories and for equipment. The pay of the professors and the staff was met out of university funds. For over twenty-five years the laboratory received no further donation though the fame of the laboratory was spreading all over the world due to the work of the successive professors, Maxwell, Lord Rayleigh and J. J. Thomson. The latter records in his autobiography that it was only in 1905 that he could add a wing to the laboratory out of a saving of £2,000 from the laboratory grant and a gift of £5,000 which Lord Rayleigh, his predecessor in office, gave out of his Nobel Prize award. When in 1915 England discovered that on account of her neglect of science she was on the verge of a disaster, she set herself earnestly to repair the damage. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was founded in 1916 and it distributed a State subsidy of 1 million pounds amongst research workers in the different universities. The Cavendish Laboratory then under Lord Rutherford got a substantial part of the grant and was able to finance a large number of research schemes on the fundamental problems in atomic and nuclear physics. But the newer development in the physical sciences soon rendered the equipment absolutely out-of-date. While in the original laboratory a power supply of 10 kw. was sufficient for the whole needs, by 1930, the need grew to be 500 kw., and it is now probably far larger. The Cavendish Laboratory has further developed a number of daughter institutions for investigations on new lines, *viz.*, the Mond Laboratory on Low Temperature research, the Nuclear Physics laboratory and the laboratory for Radio Research with a station outside the city.

The need for expansion was so great that (in 1936) Lord Rutherford was thinking of issuing a public appeal for endowments when he received, through the good offices of the then Premier, a cheque for a quarter million pounds from an automobile manufacturer.

The performance of the professors of the scientific subjects can be judged in the international market alone and if one has to keep abreast in research as well as in education one must have the same equipments and same tools as professors in Europe or America have got. Otherwise it is impossible for the scientific men in this country to discharge the duties which are expected of them.

We have taken advantage of the anniversary of the foundation of the College to review the present situation and indicate the necessity for planned measures for the future. We need hardly add that we scarcely consider the present facilities available in the Science College commensurate with the needs of the times. We hope the Calcutta University authorities will be able to give their serious attention to the important question of expansion of the activities of the College and issue an appeal to the public for large donations.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Atlantic Charter

In the article entitled 'Can We Win Peace' in *Unity*, Edward H. Redman remarks :

The Atlantic Charter, until now, has been our chief means of knowing the extent to which the United States and Britain are willing to pledge themselves for building the future. We know, too, that this Atlantic Charter does not go far enough, does not pledge enough, to satisfy the longing for freedom and for a realistic establishment of enduring peace so strongly held by Russia, China, and India. The Atlantic Charter can be read and understood broadly or narrowly, depending upon the intention of the interpreter. It is therefore inadequate as a guaranty of peace and freedom, even though it is a start in the right direction. Whether it can be taken seriously will depend upon the speed with which the people of India are given their freedom from British rule.

A Free India Will Help the New World Order

Taraknath Das observes in the *Jewish Frontier* :

The heart of the British Empire is in India. It is evident that in spite of voluminous protestations by British officials there is every reason to believe that the British Government does not intend to give up its control over India now or after the World War. This will be clear to those who are unbiased and have carefully studied British parliamentary debates on India, since September 9th, 1941, when Mr. Churchill made it clear that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter would not apply to India, Burma and other parts of the British Empire. Furthermore, the British authorities instead of following the policy of establishing a National Government in India, through the Cripps Mission, has agreed in principle to partition India so that the provinces where the majority of the population is Moslem will have the right to secede from a United India and form a federation of Moslem states; and also Indian Princes will have the right to refuse to enter into a federation of Indian States. The British authorities have also suggested that before making any concession to Indian National demands, Indians will have to settle their communal disputes, which cannot be amicably settled as long as the British support the proposition of the partition of India, to use the Pan-Islamists against Indian national aspirations. It is not that the British wish to create a strong Moslem bloc of powers which would be composed of provinces or Beluchistan, Sind, the Punjab, the North-Western Province and Bengal; but they agree to the principle of the partition of India so that there would be no United India, and the Moslem World in India and outside of India would believe that the British are favoring them, and therefore be willing to side with the British.

It is a historical fact that the growth of the British Empire, adjoining India in all directions, was actuated by the necessity of controlling various buffer states to check the march of rival imperialist Powers towards India. As long as India remains a British possession or colony, Britain will have to control the whole of the Near East and the Middle East and must try to have the Moslem States or some imperialist states as its allies. *But the moment India becomes free and independent, her policies towards other peoples will be shaped in terms of Indian interest and Humanity and not by British imperialist nor pan-Islamist interests. It is my firm conviction that Free India will promote the cause of Freedom of all Asian States in the regions of South-Western and South-Eastern Asia, and adopt the same attitude as the United States of America does towards her neighbors. India's cardinal policy will be to be on friendly terms with China, Soviet Russia and U. S. A. and those states which will give up imperialist pretensions.*

Today the British Government, in order to win Arab support and the support of a section of the Moslems of India, is ready to sacrifice Jewish interests in Palestine regarding the establishment of a Jewish National Home. A free India will not need to pursue an opportunist policy, opposed to the cause of human freedom.

Indian Freedom Campaign

The India League of Great Britain having been captured by Communist influences, new bodies have come into existence in England to further the cause of Indian freedom. Congressmen in London have formed a Committee of Indian Congressmen to propagate the Congress point of view in England. English sympathizers with India's demand for immediate freedom have launched an Indian Freedom Campaign under the auspices of the British Centre Against Imperialism. Chairman of this Campaign is Fenner Brockway (Independent Labor Party), and its supporters include Dr. Edward Thompson (Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford), the greatest independent English authority on the Indian problem; Lionel Fielden, who played a prominent role in the development of radio broadcasting in India; Reginald Reynolds, author and leading English expert on India, and his wife, Ethel Mannin, the novelist; Professor George Catlin, John McGovern, M.P., and Fred Messer, M.P.

Leaders of the campaign declare : "We are profoundly convinced that the deplorable state of affairs in India constitutes a basic test of the sincerity of the declared war aims of the United Nations. Difficulties will be increased by the present policy of 'masterly inactivity.' The onus for reaching a solution rests on the British Government. The only lines on which a new initiative can achieve success entail an explicit recognition of India's inalienable right to self-determination and a corresponding willingness to transfer the essence of responsibility, not at some future date, but now."

Professor Catlin, who is well-known in Washington, is hoping to link the campaign with similar movements in America, and has already been in communication with Mrs. Roosevelt on the subject.—*Worldover Press.*

Unitarianism

In an article under the caption 'Our World-wide Fellowship' in *The Christian Register,* we read the following:

Within our ranks are hosts who are woefully lacking in any adequate conception of the range and strength of the faith they hold.

The situation is all the more anomalous when we consider that Unitarianism has proved so international-minded, not in the sense of proselyting missionary activity, but in sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the best in the world's great faiths. It thinks of religion in universal terms, and its adherents should take sustaining pride in a world-fellowship that is the result, not of coercion, but of the natural and spontaneous association of like-minded folk. The heartening truth is that there are fellows of ours in many parts of the globe—many of them small groups, scattered here and there, but also, in some places, gathered together in great churches and associations of churches.

In Great Britain there are just about as many Unitarian churches as we have in the United States and Canada—approximately 350—and the whole movement has a long and magnificent history, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association being established on the same day of the same year as the American Unitarian Association—May 25th, 1825—without either group knowing of the action of the other.

Also under the British flag are three Unitarian churches in New Zealand, four in Australia, one at Cape Town, South Africa, and a very significant Liberal movement in India. The romance of this latter cannot be more than hinted in so brief an article, but it is one of the inspiring chapters of progressive religion. Its background is Hinduism. In 1828 in Calcutta Rajah Ram Mohun Roy started the Brahmo Samaj—"The Church of God."—which bears the same relationship to its parent religion that Unitarianism does to historic Christianity. It has attracted outstanding men in science and literature, and has had an influence on Indian life out of all proportion to its numbers—a mere 10,000 among 320 millions. Its ministers often prepare at Manchester College, Oxford, and at the Meadville Theological School, both of which provide special scholarships.

Paralleling this movement, although much younger, are the Khasi Hills churches in northeastern India, which were founded by Hajom Kissor Singh, in 1887, as a result of reading Channing and "The Unitarian," published by our minister, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Twelve small native chapels have resulted, besides day and Sunday schools, and a great work is being done among very humble but intelligent folk.

Bahá'i House of Worship
Wilmette, Illinois

The completion of the exterior ornamentation of the Baha'i House of Worship discloses a physical edifice impressive in size, striking in architecture, and superb in its clear white surface carved to the pattern of symbolic design.

In appearance the structure suggests to the western mind an oriental influence. To the easterner it conveys the effect of occidental tradition. The Baha'i Temple blends and harmonises, without artificial effort, many of the creative elements which characterise the historical

cultures of mankind. What is familiar acquires new significance by association with what has been remote and strange. The essential spirit of this edifice is too universal to be confined within the form and mold of any race or creed.

Temples are the symbols of the divine uniting force, so that when the people gather there in the House of God they may recall the fact that the law has been revealed for them and that the law is to unite them. . . . That is why His Holiness Baha'u'llah has commanded that a place of worship be built for all the religionists of the world; that all religions, races and sects may come together within its universal shelter; that the proclamation of the oneness of mankind shall go forth from its open courts of holiness; the announcement that humanity is the servant of God and that all are submerged in the ocean of His mercy.—*World Order.*

THE AMERICAN NEWSFILE

The following items of information are reproduced from *The American Newsfile* published by the U. S. Office of War Information:

Shipping to India will be Greatly Increased as Result of Tunisia Victory

As Prime Minister Churchill confers with President Roosevelt in Washington, they have one vitally important change in the strategical situation of the United Nations which must be foremost in their thoughts—the effect on all our grand strategy of the reopening of the Mediterranean. The collapse of Axis resistance in Tunisia makes it possible for fighter escorts and coastal patrols to protect convoys throughout the whole length of the Mediterranean; this does not mean that they can get through without danger or without fighting, and certainly it does not mean that they can get through as securely as they could if Sicily, Sardinia and Crete were in our hands. But they can get through, which means that for the same tonnage now employed on the long pull around the Cape of Good Hope we can double the rate of cargo deliveries to the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and India.

This may go far to explain the reason for the presence in Mr. Churchill's company of Field-Marshal Sir Archibald P. Wavell, British Commander-in-Chief in India, and the air and naval commanders in that area.

The strategic problems of the Far East are, as a whole, primarily naval and shipping problems. They form a part of the global problems with which we must deal in endeavouring to make the power generated in North America and the British Isles effective in such parts of the world as India, the Southwest Pacific, North Africa and the Middle East. The shipping factor being constant, there is always the primary question of its allocation. The reopening of the Mediterranean is, in effect, a gift of many thousands of tons of shipping; that is to say, many thousands of tons of additional cargo will be arriving month by month to every post from Alexandria to Bombay. This means that in all the areas served by all of these ports, from now on we can make much greater efforts and accomplish much greater results.

In Africa a subsidiary theatre of war has been eliminated, with all its drain on our resources; our lines of communications are shortened; more and more, as these processes continue, we are able to concentrate our forces against the vital centres of our chief enemies. We are about to make the Germans realise the difficulties and dangers of war on two fronts; the same achievements which make this possible likewise make it possible for us to present Japan with these same difficulties and dangers. It is doubtful whether Japanese strategists have ever given any great thought to Tunisia, but what has just happened in Tunisia may be felt in its results in Tokyo. This is truly a global war.—New York, May 14 (By Cable).

Indian Mathematician Makes Contribution to Astronomy

Doctor Chandrasekhar, 30-year-old mathematician from India, has contributed further to the knowledge of astronomics by demonstrating that the average life of the composition of a cluster of stars is between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000 years, it was revealed today. Doctor Chandrasekhar has been working for the past five years in the Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago.

By mathematical computation, Doctor Chandrasekhar reached the same conclusion regarding the life of the earth as geologists, who have established that our planet has been existing for at least 2,000,000 years.

Dr. Chandrasekhar explained to a packed lecture hall audience at the University of Puebla today that he had taken the Pleiades as the subject for his observations. He said: "My conclusion is, first, that friction is the predominant factor for the stability of the cluster and, second, that we have indications that the life of the galaxy does not very greatly exceed 5,000,000 years. This last conclusion is in agreement with the age of the universe which derives from the expanding universe theory of Einstein's general theory of relativity."—Puebla, Mexico, May 6 (By Cable).

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